









THE LIFE

OF

JAMES DUKE OF ORMOND;

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

THE MOST REMARKABLE AFFAIRS OF HIS TIME,

AND PARTICULARLY

OF IRELAND UNDER HIS GOVERNMENT:

with

AN APPENDIX

AND

A COLLECTION OF LETTERS,

SERVING TO

VERIFY THE MOST MATERIAL FACTS IN THE SAID HISTORY.

A NEW EDITION,
CAREFULLY COMPARED WITH THE ORIGINAL MSS.

VOLUME VI.

OXFORD:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M.DCCC,LI.

CALIFER STATES

DA 940 ·5 0763 1851 V.6

558 Equal 1996

SEEN BY
PRESERVATION
SERVICES

CONTENTS OF VOL. VI.

INDEX TO THE COLLECTION OF LETTERS.

CCXII. Lord Inchiquin to the marquis of Ormond.

CCXIII. The marquis of Ormond to sir Robert and sir W. Steward.

CCXIV. The same to lord Digby.

CCXV. The same to lord Byron.

CCXVI. The same to lord Inchiquin.

CCXVII. Sir George Radcliffe to the marquis of Ormond.

CCXVIII. Prince Rupert to the council of Kilkenny.

CCXIX. Arthur Trevor to the marquis of Ormond.

CCXX. The marquis of Ormond to sir Orlando Bridgman.

CCXXI. The same to lord Digby.

CCXXII. The same to the king.

CCXXIII. The king to the marquis of Ormond.

CCXXIV. Lord Digby to the same.

CCXXV. Speech of colonel Michael Jones to the marquis of Ormond.

CCXXVI. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

CCXXVII. The earl of Thomond to the marquis of Ormond.

CCXXVIII. The marquis of Ormond to sir James Montgomery.

CCXXIX. Lord Inchiquin to the marquis of Ormond.

CCXXX. Lord Digby to the same.

CCXXXI. The king to the same.

CCXXXII. Lord Digby to the same.

CCXXXIII. Lord Inchiquin to the same.

CCXXXIV. The earl of Cork to the same.

CCXXXV. Arthur Trevor to the same.

CCXXXVI. Sir George Radcliffe to the same.

CCXXXVII. Lord Digby to the same.

CCXXXVIII. Daniel O'Neile to the same.

CCXXXIX. Arthur Trevor to the same.

CCXL. Daniel O'Neile to lord Digby.

CCXLI. Sir Edward Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

CCXLII. The marquis of Ormond to Dr. Fennell.

CCXLIII. The archbishop of York to the marquis of Ormond.

CCXLIV. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

CCXLV. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCXLVI. Sir G. Radcliffe to the same.

CCXLVII. Arthur Trevor to the same.

CCCXLVI. The same to the same.

CCCXLVII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCXLVIII. The same to the same.

CCCXLIX. The bishop of Cloyne to lord Inchiquin.

CCCL. The same to dean Pryse.

CCCLI. Petition of the bishops and clergy of Ireland to the king.

CCCLII. The king to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCLIII. The earl of Clanricard to the same.

CCCLIV. The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.

CCCLV. The king to the marquis of Ormond, approving the treaty for peace.

CCCLVI. The same to the same, about sir John Read.

CCCLVII. Sir E. Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCLVIII. The earl of Clanricard to the same.

CCCLIX. The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.

CCCLX. The same to the king.

CCCLXI. The same to lord Digby.

CCCLXII. Lord Muskery to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCLXIII. The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Montrose.

CCCLXIV. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCLXV. Daniel O'Neile to the same.

CCCLXVI. Lord Digby to the same.

CCCLXVII. The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.

CCCLXVIII. The same to Mr. Humphrey Galbraith.

CCCLXIX. The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCLXX. The king to the same.

CCCLXXI. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

CCCLXXII. Sir Robert King to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCLXXIII. The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.

CCCLXXIV. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCLXXV. Sir E. Nicholas to the same.

CCCLXXVI. The earl of Clanricard to the same.

CCCLXXVII. Sir E. Nicholas to the same.

CCCLXXVIII. Sir Edward Hyde to the same.

CCCLXXIX. The marquis of Ormond to the lords &c. at Kilkenny.

CCCLXXX. The archbishop of York to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCLXXXI. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

CCCLXXXII. The same to Dr. Fennell.

CCCLXXXIII. Daniel O'Neile to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCLXXXIV. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

CCCLXXXV. The same to the king.

CCCLXXXVI. The same to lord Digby.

CCCLXXXVII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCLXXXVIII. The same to the same.

CCCLXXXIX. The king to the same.

CCCXC. The same to the same.

CCCXCI. The earl of Clanricard to the same.

CCCXCII. The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.

CCCXCIII. The same to the same.

CCCXCIV. The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCXCV. The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.

CCCXCVI. The same to the same.

CCCXCVII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCXCVIII, CCCXCIX. The same to the same.

CCCC. The king to the same.

CCCCI. Lord Digby to the same.

CCCCII. The same to lord Muskery and the Irish agents.

CCCCIII. The king to prince Rupert.

CCCCIV. Arthur Trevor to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCV. The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.

CCCCVI. Sir Brien O'Neile to Tirlogh O'Neile.

CCCCVII. Dean Boyle to the bishop of Cloyne.

CCCCVIII. The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCIX. Lord Digby to the same.

CCCCX. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

CCCCXI. The king to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCXII. The marquis of Ormond to sir Philip Percival.

CCCCXIII. Mr. Humphrey Galbriath to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCXIV. The king to the same.

CCCCXV. Sir E. Nicholas to the same.

CCCCXVI. The marquis of Ormond to lord Muskery.

CCCCXVII. Mr. Humphrey Galbriath to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCXVIII. The marquis of Ormond to sir E. Nicholas.

CCCCXIX. The same to the same, and to the king.

CCCCXX. The same to the duke of York.

CCCCXXI. The king to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCXXII. The marquis of Ormond to the king.

CCCCXXIII. The same to Mr. secretary Nicholas.

CCCCXXIV. The same to the king.

CCCCXXV. The king to the marquis of Ormond and council.

CCCCXXVI. Sir E. Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond and council of Ireland.

CCCCXXVII. The same to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCXXVIII. The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Glamorgan.

CCCCXXIX. The king to the marguis of Ormond.

CCCCXXX. Sir E. Nicholas to the same.

CCCCXXXI. Sir Edward Hyde to the same.

CCCCXXXII. The king to the same.

CCCCXXXIII. The same to lord Digby.

CCCCXXXIV. Sir E. Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCXXXV. The earl of Clanricard to the same.

CCCCXXXVI. The king to the same.

CCCCXXXVII. Lord Digby to the same.

CCCCXXXVIII. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

CCCCXXXIX. The same to lord Muskery.

CCCCXL. The same to the king.

CCCCXLI. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCXLII. The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Montrose.

CCCCXLIII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCXLIV. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

CCCCXLV. The same to the marquis of Clanricard.

CCCCXLVI. The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCXLVII. CCCCXLVIII. The same to the same.

CCCCXLIX. The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

CCCCL. The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCLI. The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

CCCCLII. The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCLIII. The king to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCLIV. The marquis of Ormond to the king.

CCCCLV. The same to the marquis of Clanricard.

CCCCLVI. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCLVII. The queen to the same.

CCCCLVIII. Sir Edward Hyde to the same.

CCCCLIX. The marquis of Ormond and council to the king.

CCCCLX. The prince of Wales to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCLXI. The marquis of Ormond and council to the king.

CCCCLXII. The same to the same.

CCCCLXIII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCLXIV. The king to the speaker of the house of lords.

CCCCLXV. The marquis of Ormond to the commissioners of the parliament.

CCCCLXVI. Lord Digby's declaration about the peace of Ireland.

CCCCLXVII. The marquis of Ormond to the king.

CCCCLXVIII. The same to sir Edward Hyde.

CCCCLXIX. The queen to the same.

CCCCLXX. The same to the prince of Wales.

CCCCLXXI. Remonstrance of the bishops and clergy of Ireland.

CCCCLXXII. The queen to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCLXXIII. The prince of Wales to the same.

CCCCLXXIV. The marquis of Clanricard to the same.

CCCCLXXV. The same to the same.

CCCCLXXVI. The marquis of Ormond to sir James Montgomery.

CCCCLXXVII. The same to the marquis of Clanricard.

CCCCLXXVIII. The same to lord Digby.

CCCCLXXIX. Sir George Lane to sir Thomas Nugent.

CCCCLXXX. The marquis of Ormond to cardinal Mazarine.

CCCCLXXXI. The same to the king.

CCCCLXXXII. The same to lord Jermyn.

CCCCLXXXIII. The same to lord Taafe.

CCCCLXXXIV. The same to the marquis of Clanricard.

CCCCLXXXV. The same to lord Digby.

CCCCLXXXVI. The same to the earl of Glamorgan.

CCCCLXXXVII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCLXXXVIII. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

CCCCLXXXIX. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCXC. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

CCCCXCI. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCXCII. The same to the same.

CCCCXCIII. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

CCCCXCIV. The same to lord Taafe.

CCCCXCV. The same to general Preston.

CCCCXCVI. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

CCCCXCVII. The marquis of Clanricard to the same4

CCCCXCVIII. Lord Digby to the same.

CCCCXCIX. The marquis of Clanricard to the same.

D. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

DI. The same to the marquis of Clanricard.

DII. The same to lord Digby.

DIII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DIV. DV. The same to the same.

DVI. The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

DVII. Lord Digby to the same.

DVIII. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

DIX. The marquis of Clanricard to the nuncio.

DX. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DXI. The same to the same.

DXII. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

DXIII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DXIV. The marquis of Clanricard to the same.

DXV. The same to the same.

DXVI. The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

DXVII. The same to lord Digby.

DXVIII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DXIX. The marquis of Ormond to general Preston.

DXX. General Preston to the marquis of Ormond.

DXXI. The marquis of Ormond to general Preston.

DXXII. The same to the marquis of Clanricard.

DXXIII. General Preston to the marquis of Ormond.

DXXIV. The marquis of Ormond to the queen.

DXXV. The same to lord Digby.

DXXVI. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DXXVII. The marguis of Ormond to general Preston.

DXXVIII. The same to the marquis of Clanricard.

DXXIX. The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

DXXX. The same to the same.

DXXXI. The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

DXXXII. The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

DXXXIII. General Preston to the same.

DXXXIV. The marquis of Ormond to Mr. Nicholas Plunket.

DXXXV. The same to the queen.

DXXXVI. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DXXXVII. The same to the same.

DXXXVIII. The queen to the same.

DXXXIX. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

DXL. The prince of Wales to the marquis of Ormond.

DXLI. The marquis of Clanricard to sir Luke Fitzgerald.

DXLII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

DXLIII. The marquis of Ormond to the king.

DXLIV. The same to lord Digby.

DXLV. The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

DXLVI. The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

DXLVII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DXLVIII. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

DXLIX. The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

DL. The marquis of Ormond to Mr. Winter Grant.

DLI. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DLII. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

DLIII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DLIV. The marquis of Clanricard to the same.

DLV. The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

DLVI. The same to the king.

DLVII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DLVIII. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

DLIX. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DLX. The same to the same.

DLXI. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

DLXII. The same to the same.

DLXIII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DLXIV. The same to the same.

DLXV. Summary relation of the affairs of Ireland, given to the king at Hampton-court in Aug. 1647.

DLXVI. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DLXVII. The prince of Wales to the same.

DLXVIII. Sir Edward Nicholas to the same.

DLXIX. Lord Inchiquin to the same.

DLXX. The marquis of Ormond to the prince of Wales.

DLXXI. The same to Mr. secretary Long.

DLXXII. The prince of Wales to the marquis of Ormond.

DLXXIII. The marquis of Ormond to the queen.

DLXXIV. The same to the prince of Wales.

DLXXV. The same to lord Jermyn.

DLXXVI. The same to lord Taaffe.

DLXXVII. The same to the marguis of Clanricard.

DLXXVIII. The prince of Wales to the marguis of Ormond.

DLXXIX. Sir Edward Nicholas to the same.

DLXXX. The marquis of Ormond to lord Inchiquin.

DLXXXI. The same to lord Taaffe.

DLXXXII. Sir Edward Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

DLXXXIII. Sir Richard Blake to the nuncio.

DLXXXIV. Abstract of the charge against the nuncio.

DLXXXV. The king to lord Hatton.

DLXXXVI. The marquis of Ormond to lord Broghill.

DLXXXVII. The same to the prince of Wales.

DLXXXVIII. The same to the same.

DLXXXIX. The same to lord Inchiquin.

DXC. DXCI. The same to the same.

DXCII. The same to lord Digby.

- DXCIII. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

DXCIV. The same to lord Inchiquin.

DXCV. The prince of Wales to the marquis of Ormond.

DXCVI. Order of the prince of Wales, forbidding sir Robert Walsh the court.

DXCVII. The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

DXCVIII. The prince of Wales to the marquis of Ormond.

DXCIX. The marquis of Ormond to lord Hatton.

DC. The same to lord Digby.

DCI. The same to the prince of Wales.

DCII. The same to lord Jermyn.

DCIII. The same to the prince of Wales.

DCIV. The same to the marquis of Clanricard.

DCV. The same to colonel John Barry.

DCVI. The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

DCVII. General Digby to the same.

DCVIII. The marquis of Ormond to Mr. Rich. Fanshaw.

DCIX. The same to king Charles II.

CCXII.—Lord Inchiquin to the marquis of Ormond.

My LORD,

YOU will perceive by the inclosed how wee are lyke to be payed the monies assigned vs vpon the Irish; which has brought us into soe ill a condition, that I must vnavoideably disband allmost all these forces, if shipping com nott suddenly to carry them away; which wee shall not be able to expect aboue eight dayes, the excise bringing in nothing to speake of, and all other means faileing vs totally. Wherefore I must be an earnest suiter to your lordship to be pleased to gaine mee an order for the receiveing of a certaine somme, though itt exceede not 1500l.; if itt be less, I shall make the most of itt, and I hope the expectation from, will suite with the allowance given vnto mee.

I beseech your lordship, that this may be sent with all possible hast, that if itt be not sufficient to keepe the men together till other means of supply may be founde (which is onely hoped for when the king's letters (not yett com) are delivered to the corporation att Limerick), yett itt may keepe them till shipping com to fetch them off, which I dayly expect.

I doe not conceive what good hope that should be, which your lordship sayes some there doe apprehend vppon veiw of the papers sent from the parliament to the north of Ireland. For my part, I doe much feare the oulde will joyne with the new Scott, and that both will putt those parts into som danger; which yett perhaps may be good news to som there.

What I have received forth of Eingland, I send inclosed, and the next that coms, I believe, will com by sir Pat. Wems, who is driven into Wales by fowle weather, as wee are informed by a shipp that came out with him.

My lord, before the passage was open betweene Dublin and this province, I sent frequently to courte for such directions as I should have expected onely from your lordship, if I could have founde means to have received your commandes any thing seizonably. But now I shall not take the bouldness to propounde any thing touching generall affaires (more then what may concerne the supply of our wants) without your lordship's approbation. Wherefore I humbly desire you will be pleased to intimate vnto mee what you would have mee say concerning the armyes gon from this kingdom into Eingland att my coming thether, which will be aboute a month hence; and yett I shall not disobey your lordship's commandes to leave the garrisons in such a condition, as that they may suffer noe prejudice by my absence; not that I can leave any provision for theyr subsistence, but because I must reduce our forces to what the places are able to keepe, not what I desire might be left to keepe them.

What I most desire to know is, how farr you would have mee ingaged in commandes there; whether you desire I should vse means to bring both armyes together; if soe, whether you would have mee interressed in any comande with them. For my resolution is to medle noe further in this, then according to what I shall finde or have cause to think best pleaseing vnto your lordship, being onely desirous to serve in that qualitie and place that may render my endeavours best acceptable to his majestie and your lordship; yet if the king have bestowed the presidencie on any other (though more worthy) personage, I hope your lordship will not comande my stay any longer here.

I shall not presume to incroache any further vppon your lordship's pretious time, haueing bein nessesaryly tedious, and therefore must abruptly take leaue to remayne,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble and affectionat servant, Cork, 3° Jan.

INCHIQUINE.

CCXIII.—The marquis of Ormond to sir William and sir Robert Stewart.

224

Sir,

I RECEIUED your leter of the 6 of Decem. the 28 of the same, and had returned you a more tymly answere, acording to your

desire, and the importance of the businesse, but that another dispatch, signed by you and others, of like weighty consideration, and directed to the lords justices and mee, hath kept this to acompany our ioynt answere to that, as alsoe that I had by another hand received just the same information of the practises that were vsed, and the disorders that were like to insue, in yours and other regiments; which were held to bee of such dangerous consequence, as that it was thought fit to represent them to his majestie, and from him to receive direction how to gouerne our selues and those vnder our comaund in an affaire, vpon the good or bad management whereof the hapynesse or misery of this kingdome, or at least of your part of it, seemes soe much to depend: all which hath bin soe writen to him, as may let him see your dilligence and industry in his searuice, and the reasons of your complyance with the people you had to deale with, in such a maner, and of your aplication to the chancellor of Scotland in such a way, as at another tyme, and for any other reason, would not have become persons of your places, and soe intrusted by his majestie in this kingdome, the subjects whereof haue only dependence vpon, and consequently ought only (in such cases) to make aplication vnto the king and crowne of England. And I am confident his majestie will make a gracious interpretation of your proceedings herein, when, by the course of duty and loyallty you have proposed to your selues, hee shall euidently see the cleerenesse and integrity of your intentions.

Touching the couenant, I shall ad noething to what is long since, I presume, come to your hands by publick authority, shewing the vnlawfullnesse and danger, and forbiding the takeing of it. Nor doe I finde by your leter that you ether expect or neede direction in that particular, wherin you apeare soe well resolued.

The course you have taken in remoouing by degrees the worst affected of your oficers, and placeing others in their roome, is certainly one of the best meanes to keepe your regiments in order and obedience. And that you may doe this with vn-questionable authoritie, I have sent pouer vnto each of you, as often as there shall bee places vacant in your regiment, to fill them vp with such as you shall finde fit for them. And what further authority you shall iudge needefull to this end, shall, vpon notice of your desire therin, bee sent you.

And whereas you desire suplys may bee sent you, which indeed

is another very powerfull meanes to keepe your troopes in order and obedience; if I could as readily haue procured them, as I am willing to contribute all my indeuours to your content and satisfaction, I should soone haue sent them. But our owne wants (which only in respect of place can bee sayd to bee neerer vs) is the sole obstacle, which by his majestie's gracious promis, and my ernest solicitation, I hope, will shortly in some measure bee remooued; and then you may rest assured that you shall partake of what comes in proportion equall to any other of his majestie's armie, as you shall allways of the care and affections of

Your very affectionate seruant,

(Dublin, 5 Jan. 1643.)

CCXIV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

225

My Lord,

YOUR letter of the 29 and a coppy of your other of the 17th of Nov. came to my hands the 17 of December, but the originall of the letter is not yett come, nor the comission a mentioned in it, though the windes have seemed to us faire from Bristoll. When it comes, I shall recease that high marke of his majestie's favour and trust, with all thankfulnesse and humble submission to his pleasure, not troubling him with a discourse of my vnfittnesse for it, and the vnfittnesse of it for mee. Nor will I endeayour (by shewing the confluence of difficultyes that apparantly I must striue with in his service) to forestall his ever gracious acceptance of what I shall be able to doe, or anticipate a favourable construction if I fall short of his expectation. But in confidence of his iustice, (since no ambition other then that of serving him could draw my consent to be raised to a place from whence my weaknesse must be more perspicuous, my errors multiplyed, and perhaps layed vpp for mee,) I shall, without more to doe, apply myselfe intirely and faithfully to his service in all places and conditions wherein his bounty shall sett or his pleasure remove mee. And my hopes to effect somthing worthy soe great and gratious a master, even in this distracted station, is much the stronger, in that I am to receaue his comands by your lordship, whoes iudgement renders them soe plaine and

directory, and vnto whoes honnor and noblenesse I dare comitt my aprehensions with a secure freedome.

My lord, before I receaued your dispatch of the 29, and coppy of that of the 17th, the forces I had meanes to transport weare imbarqued, and I hope safely landed on that side; and trust their constancy to the oath they took, rather then the too late coming of those letters, hath desided the question touching my goeing with them or stay heere. But I must confesse to your lordship, that had those letters come to mee before their departure, I should have been much confounded in my resolutions which course to haue taken, the necessity of a speedy one in a mater of soe high importance, denying mee tyme to beseech his majestie to comand my person to whatsoever action or place he should judge it to be vsefull, but not to subject my faithfulnes to the misconstruction that might be made of any want of skill and ill successe in the choice I should make where to serue him. And what had then been my answer is now my humble sute for the future.

To the first point of your lordship's of the 29 of November, I shall vse all my industry to prevent the breakeing out of the rebellion dureing the cessation, and will particularly endeavour to conteyne the Irish, by those meanes prescribed by your lordship. But there are some things to be done on that side which may very much conduce to the same end, and other things to be foreborne which may be destructive to what I labour heere.

First, I conceaue it very needful that power be sent to receive to mercy, and graunt his majesties free pardon for life and lands, to such of the Irish as shall returne to his majesties obedience. By this meanes, I am persuaded, if there should be any disturbance endeavoured by the worst affected, it may be possible soe to devide them, and engage some of them against others, that much safety will be thereby deriued to his majesty's interests and to his protestant subjects heere; and at the worst, footeing may be kept in the principall places of this kingdome till the distractions of that shall end, and his majestie be in case to prosecute such as shall interupt the assistance he may have by the quiet and vninterupted management of his affaires heere. I know not how congruous the granting of such power may be to 226 the act assented to by his majestie in England, or what may be inferred out of his dispenceing with it to his prejudice there: but I am confident, if the warr breake out heere againe, it can

never end prosperously or seasonably without that course be held. In the meane tyme, it may be kept as a private reserue, to be made vse of only when the evident danger of the losse of the kingdom calls for it. This was it I intended in my letter of the 16 of November to your lordship, which I offered to his majesties consideration in my letter of the 8th of November, directed to Mr. secretary Nicholas.

A second meanes is, that of sending hether supply of victuall and what other provisions may with most ease and speede be gott at Bristoll and elsewhere, wherevnto I find by your lord-shipp's of the 29 of November, there are allredy soe forward inclinations on that side, that I shall ad nothing in this point to what I writt in my letter of the 2 of December, sent by coll. Warren; but our wants increaseing to a desperate heighth, and with them my doubts, that the Irish will be slowe in the payments they are to make to vs; and this being soe essentiall towards the performance of what his majestic may expect from hence, I haue, in confidence of your lordship's recomendation, sent the bearer, Mr. Sommers, with this dispatch, and principally to solicit this parte of it. I beseech your lordship to afford him assistance and speedy dispatch.

A third way is that proposed by your lordship of enterteyning the Irish with hopes of good conditions in those things whereon their hearts are most set, and by gaineing vppon the ambition of the leading men. To doe this later effectually, it will help much that there be no hasty disposeing of places that are or shall be voide; which, if it should be, and to persons hatefull, or strangers to Ireland, would take from them all hope to be made capable of places of honour and advantage, or at least perswade them that such a capacity would be as ineffectual to them as an incapacity, in permitting of their persons neerer the court. And certainely they cannot be enterteyned with any hope more pleaseing to them [than] that, which I find strong in the most moderate of them, and the want of it assigned as the most forcible cause of their first takeing armes, though they held that of relligion fittest to engage the people; which will be the thing they will breake vppon, if they faile of their expectations in this and other things conduceing vnto it. I tell your lordshipp their aimes, but am as farr from adviseing, as I would be carefull to avoid any engagement that may be dishonarable to the king, or hurtfull to his affaires elsewhere.

But if it be more needfull to dispose of places out of hand, and that it may stand with his majesties pleasure to fill some of them with Irish that are protestants, and that have not been for the extirpation of the papist natives, it will much satisfy both, and cannot be iustly excepted against. This I write now, because I heard his majesty is much pressed for places heere, but intend no stopp to what your lordship may desire for your freind, who in that, and by your description of him, is without my exception.

To this may be aded, that there be no countenance given on that side to some that may pretend to be powerfull with the Irish, and may promise to worke them to greate matters for the king, whereby it may fall out that, to compasse particular designes, which perhaps their ambition perswades them to attempt, he may promise the Irish such high conditions, as will lessen the iust esteeme they ought to haue of whate his majestie may graciously and realy incline to afford them. It will make them think they have a neerer and more easy way to their ends, then by those in whome his majestie hath placed his authority, and by whome hee expects they should be conteyned in obedience, and made vsefull to him. And if there be difficulty made to graunt those things which such an vndertaker may make them beleeue his majestie is inclinable vnto, though their vnreasonablenes in themselves, or the danger that yealding to them would bring on the king, necessitates a denyall or suspension, yet that interuption will be held by them [to be] the worke of 227 the gouernour, against whome they will then have such preiudice, that whateuer he propounds will be suspected and fruitelesse. To this suspition, and to a credulity in any man that comes neuer soe little countenanced and pleaseing [to] theire hopes, there are no people more prone. I insist the more vppon this point, for that there hath already something been done in this kinde: particularlye they have been tould by some they beleeve in, from that side or heere, that a litle mony given at court would more advantage them then any they could give heere. This wrought soe in the retarding of the payments heere, that, had not my private credit gotten 1000 pounds from divers places, the men that came soe oportunely into North Wales had not gone soe soone, if at all.

To the second, I have, since I receased your lordship's, imployed all my skill to stopp the goeing over of the Scotts army,

which I hope will prevaile, since it is advantaged by the interest and importunity of the Scotts, formerly possessed of a greate parte of the north, and now desireing to drive out, and feareing to be driven [out] by the Irish. And perhaps Munro will be inclinable, haueing marryed the late lord Ards his widow. If these considerations faile, I shall looke out the fittest temptations I can think of; but our condition is so miserable poore, that I can make noe probable offers; therefore I desire to be put into the way from that side. In this business I shall make vse of sir James Montgomery, who professes very good affections to the king's service, and hath given some proofes of it, by sending frequent intelligence. From him I had the papers sent by the lord justices to Mr. secretary Nicholas. I choose that publique way of dispatch, to engage the whole board against that party; and I mention this to doe the gentleman right, and that his majestie may be pleased to signify his gracious acceptance of his service for his encouragement.

My lord, the keepeing the Scotts heere hath an appearance of present danger to Ireland, and of anoyance to England in tyme. And though perhapps their stay may at once weaken the intended invasion of England by that nation, and moderate the aimes [of] this; yet if they be largely supplyed, and wee not at all, it may prove very dangerous to his majesty's interests heere, and imediately destructive to his best subjects. This is a pressing motive to hasten to vs suplyes, els they will seduce our men, as alredy they have done some.

I cannot find that Arguyle or gen. Lesley are come or looked for, nor can I promise any more then the attempt of what is proposed, I meane in one part of it; for the other, I am in good hope to effect it.

To the disposeing of the principall Irish to come with forces into England or Scottland, as his majestie shall appoint; this seemes to be inconsistent with the stay of the Scotts heere, and cannot in any considerable proportion be expected, in case the Scotts withdraw their forces. However, all possible meanes shall be vsed to prepare them for it on this side, which may alsoe be furthered there, when their agents come. I hould it my duty to advise, that nothing considerably prejudiciall to his majestie heere or there be hastyly granted to them, vpon the hope or promise of this last conditionally; for, if peace be made, I shall hope to doe that into the bargaine.

The earl of Antrim is now at court, where he will give an accoumpt of his success and intentions.

I am in some hope, one way or other, to get armes and amunition of the Irish, which shall be bestowed as your lordship directs. If I could assure payment, I could not want that comodity in any proportion I would desire. I have yet in this province many more men then I can possibly mainteyne, therefore I am sending two regiments more to the king's service in England, and foure troopes of horse. I take this tyme, his majeste's fleete being on the coast of Wales, to secure the shipps of Leuerpoole, and before the parliament shipps come vppon this; else their ser-228 vice may be lost there, and their burden may vnavoydably hasten and encrease the wants that allready terribly threaten vs.

I have such obligations to my lady duches of Buckingham, that shee can comand mee in nothing wherein I shall not with any hazard to my selfe serve her; yet I know not how to advise the granting of the lord of Slane's wardshipp to her lord, or his sister, the young lord's mother, (for either of those must be, I suppose, the end of her desireing it,) the scandall would be soe greate, and generally taken heere. Your lordship may doe mee a very noble favour to lett mee be rightly vnderstood in this particuler.

I shall desire the king would doe his service intrusted with mee the right, and mee the honnor to heere mee, before he disposes of such places heere as are or shall be voyd. In this I feare no misconstruction, the reason of my humble desire being as plaine, as my intentions are free from any particuler end of advantage to my self, more then what I hope to deriue from a faithfull and successefull performance of my duty in the place I am to doe it.

My advice for the continuance of the parliament came to be knowne to some about the court, that gaue intimation of it to the Irish: I shall notwithstanding continue to deliuer my opinion freely and faithfully. But if I be not vnnecessaryly represented to them, as a hinderer of their desires, I shall the better be able to serue the king in what he expects. I suspect sir Brian O Neile, but wish that none of the Irish be made acquainted with my dispatches.

My lord, if this letter contayned only my owne business, I had to answeare for the vnmannerly length of it: it hath

been long a writeing, and bin stayed for some tyme for a wind. I am

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Dub 13 of Jan. 1643.

ORMONDE.

I beseech your lordship to continue this cypher, which will be much for expedition and ease.

If my lady dutchesse could find a trusty protestant to take her businesse in his name, it might be done without noise.

CCXV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Byron.

My Lord,

HIS majesties choyse of your lordship to comand in those parts, and over those men I had the good fortune to send so seasonably to his service, I find generally approved, and that approbation confirmed by the happy successe of your conduct in the defeate of those rebellious forces, that, before your coming, and the arivall of those men, had vppon the matter possessed those countyes, and strucken feare into others. In all this I receaue infinite satisfaction, and, next to the prosperity of his majesties iust armes, in nothing more then in that it hath pleased him to direct my endeavours into a hand that is soe like to improve them in his service, and to whome I desire soe much to be knowen by all the particuler services and offices of frendshipp I shall be able to doe.

There are some reasons that, notwithstanding the difficulty of providing for more men in those partes, induces mee to send you two regiments more of foote and fower troopes of horse. The foot will not be much above 1000, and the horse not many more then 160.

First, I hope that by the happy overthrow you gaue the rebells since the date of your letter, you have extended your quarters, and consequently your ability to give subsistence to these men now to be sent: and if you had not, yett I suppose this adition of strength will enable yow to advaunce with more security into, and live vppon the charge of, the enemyes contry.

Secondly, I much feare, if the sending of these men (for whom 229 I cannot possibly gaine a support in this kingdome) should be

delayed, there might arrive heere some of the rebells shipps, whereby his majesty would not only loose the service they will doe him there; but they will be such an overcharge to our little meanes, that they will endanger the starveing of themselves and the rest of the army; or (which is as bad) be seduced to ioyne with a party heere as ill affected as the worst theare. The same inconveniencyes will follow, if I send them not whilest his majesty's fleet is vppon that coast to countenance their landing; for when they are gone, it is too probable the Leverpoole shipps will looke out againe, if that towne be not in the meane tyme reduced; which I most earnestly recomend to your lordship to think of, and attempt as soone as possibly yow can, there being noe service that to my apprehension can at once soe much advantage this place and Chester, and make them soe vsefull to each other.

A third reason is a fresh report of the Scotts advauncing to the ayd of the rebells, in which case I was certify'd there was an intention to draw those forces to incounter them.—If this should fall out to be soe, I suppose it may be done with better effect to their interuption, and with more security to what yow have soe lately reduced, by this accesse of strength.

Vppon these grownds, I shall, with all the speed I can, embarque the afforesaid two regiments of foote and foure troopes of horse; the foote vnder the comand of coll. Broughton and coll. Tylyer, the horse vnder the chardge of sir William Vaughan; for all which your lordship will be pleased to provide, as for men in want of all things, and soe vsed to that want, that I doubt not any reasonable provision will satisfy them.

In the last place, be pleased to excuse the length of this first letter, the necessitated disagreement of it with your lordship's sence, and favour mee with a firme beleefe, that I desire nothing more then to be knowen and esteemed

Your lordship's most affectionate humble servant,

Dub. 16 Jan. 1643.

ORMONDE.

P. S. My lord, I vnderstand by captaine Bartlett, that he is imployed by your lordship to buy powder in this kingdome: I shall giue him my best help. In the meane tyme, I will send yow by captaine Bartlett a small proportion bought by my selfe, for which I desire mony may be returned mee, at the rates expressed in the inclosed note. If yow desire more, and giue mee hopes to pay for it, I will send more by the next.

CCXVI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Inchiquin.

My Lord,

THIS bearer will bring yow authority to receiue such a proportion of mony as is adiudged more then answeareable to what hath been receaued for the vse of this province, which is much more burdened and threatened then that can be. With this, and the supply, I am credibly informed, his majestie hath sent yow, it is not doubted but your lordship will be in much better condition then wee are heere. If these supplyes be not come, I desire to be speedyly informed; if they be, I desire to know in what proportion. My author is one Bumbury, that was agent for my lord Esmund in England.

My lord, I am soe little able to direct yow what to propound, when yow come to court, that I am not yett satisfyed why yow should goe; especially if yow be soe furnished for the maintenance of that place as I heere. But if yow continue still in that searcity yow mention, and that yow should hould it fitt to make a iourney thither to procure support for the army, leaueing it in a way of security for the tyme yow propose to be absent; in that 230 case yow will soone discover vppon the place how to make propositions suteable to the king's service, the good of this kingdome, and your owne honor. And if the king should haue disposed of the government of that province to any other, (which I cannot believe he hath,) I am most confident he will not expect your returne, vnlesse in such manner as shall satisfy your lordship and the world of the valeue he setts vppon your person and meritts in his service.

For the drawing together of those men that we are sent hence, and thence into England, all I can say is, that if there be any thought of calling mee over to comande eather, I shall desire it, and that I may be assisted by your lordship. And if it be meant I shall continue heare, I shall desire your lordship may continue in the comand you haue. This I shall certainely make knowen to the king, as I shall vppon all occasions to your lordship, that I am

Your lordship's most affectionate humble servant,

*Dub. 17 Jan. 1643.** Ormonde.

CCXVII .- Sir George Radcliffe to the marquis of Ormond.

MY MOST HONORED LORD,

AFTER longe attendance, and sundry stops removed, about your commission for North Wales, and 3 adjacent countyes, when I had it ready to be sealed, I was just then countermanded, and forbidden to proceed; for prince Rupert must haue it in all points, (so farre as I vnderstande,) as your lordship should haue had it. It is an accommodation for his highnes, and no disrespect to your lordship, that caused this change, as I hope my lord Digby will better expresse to your lordship; for so my lord Digby promised me that he would write to give you satisfaction.

After I had a little enquired into it, and found so much as persuaded me that it was necessary that the prince Rupert should have this commande, and that it conduced much to his majestye's service; I thought not fitt to strugle, both in regard of the thinge itselfe, and much more in respect of the person for whom it is designed.

The Irish soldiers in Cheshire, who served so cherefully vnder your lordship's name and authority, will still, I hope, quit themselues like men vnder the commande of so eminent a person as this prince; and then, if the service of the kinge and publique be done, all partyes wil be well pleased.

My lord of Antrim is cominge now for Ireland; the particulars of his designe I am not acquainted with: I wish his successe may be as good as his affections seeme to be. I thought it vsefull, that your lordship should have bene consulted with, which, how farre it was thought fit of by others, I well know not. But it seemes there was more hast required then was compatible with so much delay as the expectation of an answere from your lordship would have implyed.

Sir Henry Skipwith, one of the kinge's servants, tells me, that he has a nephew of his owne name, who is now in Dublin; and that he has carried himselfe very well in some service in that kingdome; and that the kinge has written in his behalfe to your lordship for a foote company. Sir Henry thinkes that my suit to your lordship for his nephew may facilitate the obtaininge of his desires; wherein if your lordship's fauour haue occasioned you more trouble from me, I know not whom to blame; but I

beseech your lordship's patience to endure the effect, (that trouble,) rather then to take away the cause (your fauour).

I am exceedinge loth to be importune with your lordship for such as concerne me much nerer. I begin to blush to thinke how many I have recomended allready; yet this gentleman, though 231 allmost a stranger to me, yet beinge of a very civile carriage, and a servant of the same maister with me, I could not deny his desire, but rather put my selfe vpon your lordship's pardon, and entreat your lordship to take notice to Mr. Skipwith, that he was recommended by me to your lordship's good opinion.

Wee haue not much newes of consequence that I could now write to your lordship. What wee haue, sir Edm. Buttler can so fully tell, as will ease your lordship of readinge it scribled by me, who can scarce hold my pen this extreme could weather. What effect the meetinge of the parlement-men the next weeke will produce, I shall take the bouldnesse to advertise your lordship by the next. In the meane tyme, I kisse your handes.

My lord, your excellence's most humble servant,

Oxon, 17 Jan. 1643.

GEO. RADCLIFFE.

CCXVIII.—Prince Rupert to the lords and gentlemen assembled at Kilkenny.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN;

THE kinge is pleas'd to commaund me to take the care and conduct of the armye in Chesshire and the partes thereabouts, with power to recruite and raise all possible forces for the repulsinge of the Skotts, who are now martching, and reddye to invade this kingdome. In which vndertakinge, I am very much encouradg'd by the hope of your good kindness to the king's affaires in furnishinge me with 5000 musketts, and 300 barrailes of powder, and match proportionable, to Chester, Water, or any other porte in North Wales; for which I desire only creditt with your lordshipps, and a day of payment and retourne of the commoditie in kinde, or the value, as the armes and ammunition shall be valued by your bills of stoare.

This I rather press to yow, and am the more instant with your assemblye and councell therein, as in that, from whence this present rebellion tooke footinge in this kingdome, and wherein I am hopefull, by God's blessinge, and your good assistance to mee in this favor, to see it fall and dye.

This knight, sir Edmond Butler, who hath borne himselfe very eminently in his majestie's affaires here, is particularly addressed to yow for this service. I pray yow looke vppon him as a person that your lordshipps, and the knights and gentlemen of your convocation and councell, will finde industrious in his majestie's service, and for whom I have this further suite to yow, that yow will please to dispatch him away to me againe with all convenient speed, the present condition of his majestie's affaires engadginge him to make his provisions by sea in winter, when the weather fights for him.

My lords, I expect very greedely a good success of this my first suite vnto your lordshipps, and shall for ever rest

Your very affectionat freind,

Oxon, this 18th of January, 1643.

RUPERT.

CCXIX.—Arthur Trevor to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

Sir Edm. Butler will lay the law of this place to your lord-shipp better then I can; for hee is by much the better proficient, and his opinion will yeald more. My lord of Antrym's interest, and how it moues, and in what it points at your lord-shipp, and how, this knight will acquaint your excellence; for I 232 dare not venture the state of such a question in a paper-boate. And indeed there was nothing that hath been acted here, but hee is an index to the history of Ireland, (that is,) soe much of it as hath been transacted since his taking on in the king's busines on this syde the water. Soe I leaue hym and his relation to your excellence's examination, vntouched and without a foyle.

Our great assembly is looked vpon here with divers countenances. Some thinke it will prove an inquisition to the courtiers, who, the souldiers say, have pocketted vpp most of the king's money. Others thinke they will declare themselves a parliament, and take the care of the army vpon them. Others, (and there I am,) that this meeting will begett a conference between the members. And if they meet, and the gamsters of Westminster and the gamesters of Oxon. part without making sure of peace, I am fouly cozened; for I find both sydes very

weary, and willing to goe to bedd, and bee out of harmes way, and especially they that are in authority ouer vs.

If the excise be made generall for some 7 years or more towards the payment of the debts of the warre, it may doe well; and the lands and revenewes of deans and chapters be given in rewards; the castles, &c., putt into hands that shall not dislike, and all religions, besides popery, vsed without enterfaring of consciences. I doe not thinke but yow will find much of this succeed.

My cipher is almost finished, and then your excellence shall have the state of this litle commonwealth, as well as it can bee cast by the judiciall or conjecturall astrology of

Your excellence's creature for euer and euer, 19th Jan. 1643. Art. Treuor.

CCXX.—The marquis of Ormond to sir Orlando Bridgman.
Sir,

YOUR letters of the 29 of 9^{ber} and 25 of 10^{ber}, came to my hands the 11 of this month, and though they conteyned very necessary advertisements as the case then stood; yet our men haueing got soe prosperous a passadge, soe good provision and successe since their landing, there is litle for mee to answeare to both those letters.

In the first place, I shall earenestly recomend it to yow to continue your care of that little army that went hence, who have alredy given soe good proofe of their constancy to the king and courage in his service. Next, I am to informe yow, that I find it absolutely necessary in relation to our wants heere, and perhaps not ill for the king's service there, to send hence with all possible speed two regiments of foot more, and some troopes of horse; for which you will be pleased to make the best provision yow can, as for the former, these being nothing inferior to them. If I cannot gett shipping for them all at once, I must send them as I can: at this tyme there cannot goe aboue 1300 foote and 140 horse at the most. How many more the regiments and horse troope will consist of, I cannot certainely tell, but I think not of many; but these will be with yow by the next faire wynd after this. I shall hasten them, for fere the king's fleet should remoove, the Leverpoole men get out, or some parliament shipps

arriue in this harbour; all which is probable enough, and eather sufficient to hinder the sending any more aydes hence, when it may fall out to be great vse of them; as doubtlesse there will be, if the Scotts come into England, who are for certaine neere Barwick, with 12,000 foote and 2000 horse, as I am tould by a lieutenant of this army that ariued heere but the last night from Whitehauen in Cumberland. I have advertised my lord Byron of my intention, and desired his care likewise in proveiding for the men.

I know that the two Bartlett's would be of very great vse to 233 bee intertained for the service, and to secure an intercourse betwixt this place and those partes; and I am confident the king's service in both kingdomes will exceedingly suffer, if they or some other be not appointed for that end; yet I am not able by any meanes to support them from hence, our chardge exceeding alredy what wee haue or can hope for. I will endeavour, for all that, to give them some help, if there may be care taken to supply them on that side with what I cannot here. However, captaine Thomas Bartlett shall be once more sent over, and I shall represent to his majestie the importance of hauing shipps to pass betwixt this and that coast.

If captaine John Bartlett come heather, and shall be to continue his service heere, I will endeavour to furnish him with any peeces he shall need. Vppon a former desire from that side, I caused this citty to [be] searched for brimstone, but then found no considerable quantity. I shall againe giue order to see what may be had of that comodity; but if it come to much mony, there can none be sent, vnlesse wee be provided or assured of payment thence.

I have written to my lord Byron to cause payment to be made for a proportion of powder I shall send by captaine Thomas Bartlet. And if mony be layd aside for that vse, and intimation given mee thereof, I shall not doubt but to be able to furnish yow with what quantitys you please to have, and at easier rates then this now sent.

Sir, I thank yow for your advertisements, and shall desire yow to continue them to

Your very affectionat servant,

Dub. 19 Jan. 1643.

ORMONDE.

CCXXI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

SINCE the makeing vpp of my long letter, which yet stayes for a settled wind, sir Patrick Wemys arrived heere, and a few dayes before him came sir Thomas Wharton and Mr. Chicester; from them I have receased five letters from your lordship, besides that, whereof I formerly had a coppy by the bearer. To these I shall give your lordship as cleere answeares as the distraction I am in at my begining to enter into this government will permitt mee.

That of the 1 of November containes only a recomendation of Mr. George Stroode for a customer's place at Drogheda; for which the very same day I receaued a letter from his majestie for one Twyford; but that letter is not soe expresse, but that I may be able to serue your lordship's frend in that particuler, if there be not some other duely possessed of the place by the lords justices, whereof I am not yett certaine; but by the next your lordship shall have a punctall accoumpt of it.

Those of 10th of November and 23d of December, in the most important partes of them, are to one purpose in relation to his majestie's service, though to be performed by divers persons; and therefore they will need but this one answeare to both, that I shall give my best assistance to my lord Taafe, and the rest that purpose the bringing of men to serve the king in England; though I much doubt they will not prevail with the Irish to part with many armed men: for besides the use they probably have of men and armes against the Scots, I am newly informed by colonel Barry from Killkenny, where those that mannage their part of the Irish affaires sit, that amongst some shipps lately arrived at Waterford and Wexford with good store of armes and amunition, there are two come to Waterford, the one out of France, the other out of Spaine; and in ether of them a person 234 from each of those kingdomes in the nature of an ambasador to the Irish; who directed their stay there till it weare well, and at a full councell debated in what manner to receaue them. What they came for, he had not then certainely learnt, the great guiders of their affaires haueing him in suspition, and keepeing at a wary distance with him; but he sayes, that one of the brothers (for soe he calls his informers) tould him, that

he confidently believes they came to procure ayds of men from them, or at least to hinder each other from prevaileing therein. And though I cannot see what great advantage it will be to either of those princes to have the bare bodyes of men at such a rate, as they will cost them, before they can come where they may be of vse to them; yet I cannot imagine for what other reason such men should be addressed to those, that are in nothing else at all considerable as to them.

Whatever their businesse is, I feare their coming will exalt the Irish, make them higher in their treaty, and perhaps be some hindrance to lord Taafe and the rest. Amongst other wayes, whereby I will endeavour to know these mens arrant, and the inclinations of the Irish, I meane imediately, by some of the principal of them, to put them in mind of their offer of 10,000 men made to his majesty in their remonstrance in March last; which may stop any hasty assent of theirs, till I shall receaue his majestie's further pleasure.

As soone as the disorder, occasioned by this change in the government, is over, I shall send Mr. Chichester into the north to his brother; and, as I shall be informed by them, I shall make vse of them in the king's service, and doe them all the service I can; your lordship's judgement leading noe man more, nor your recomendation being more powerfull with any, then

Your lordship's most affectionate humble servant,

Dub. 19th Jan. 1643.

ORMONDE.

Jack Barry writ to your lordship in the king's cypher. The effecting of what he proposed may be of vse to the king's service heere: I shall be as carefull as I can to prevent the mischeefe advertised by your lordship to be threatned.

CCXXII .- The marquis of Ormond to the king.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

BEING (as I vnderstand) by your gracious fauour to bee remoued from that condition wherin I have hetherto with all faithfullnesse served you to the highest place of honour and trust in this kingdome, your majestic may well expect, that for this, as for other your bountys, I should lay at your feete my most humble thankes; which by these I would doe with all the

acknowledgements imaginable from a person infinitly senceble how litle his merit hath contributed to his advancement.

I have heretofore given your majestie as reall thankes for passeing mee by, when you thought of an alteration in this gouernment; and soe shall doe, when by your pleasure I am reduced to my private, or any other condition; since it is impossible that, whilst I live, I can ever cease to bee

(Jan. 1643.)

CCXXIII.—The king to the marquis of Ormond.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and intirely beloued cousin and councellor, wee greete you well. Whereas wee haue imploy'd our right trusty and wel beloued cousin, Randall earl of Antrim, into that our kingdome of Ireland, in hopes of his being able to doe vs some eminent service there, conducing to the peace of both kingdomes, wee doe recommend it vnto you, to give the sayd earle of Antrim such furtherance and assistance by your authority, as shal be requisite to the better performing of those seruices wherein he shal be ingaged; particularly, if he shall not be able, vpon his owne creditt and interest with the Irish there, to obtayne the loane of such proportions of armes and ammunition as shal be necessary for the furnishing of those men, which wee haue appointed him to rayse for our seruice; as alsoe of shipps for theire transportation, either into this kingdome, or into our kingdome of Scotland, as wee shall direct. Our will and pleasure is, and wee doe strictly charge and command you, that, for the prouiding him with such requisite armes, ammunition, and victualling, you indeauour to furnish him with all the possible creditt that you can give him there in Ireland for that purpose, whether by ingaging any customes within that our kingdome, or by the farmours giving security for them vpon theire customes within that our kingdome, or any other waye that that kingdome can affoard; whereby he may be inabled for the performance of those seruices, which wee esteeme soe necessary to the condition of our affaires: and whatsoeuer settlement you shall make of this kind shal be approu'd and ratify'd by vs. As for all other particulars, wee remitt you to receive full information from the sayd earle of Antrim, and from our trusty and wel-beloued Daniell O'Neil, whome wee haue sent ouer on purpose, as a fitt instrument to

235

be imploy'd by you, and betweene you in our present designes concerning that kingdome. And soe noe waye doubting of your ready concurrence, in what wee conceiue soe much for our seruice, wee bid you heartily farewell. Giuen at our court at Oxon, this 20th day of January, in the nineteenth yeare of our raigne.

By his majestie's command,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCXXIV .- Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

THIS bearer, Mr. Daniell O'Neile, my speciall deare and intimate freind, is sent ouer soe fully instructed, and it is soe precisely his errand and businesse to informe your excellence more particularly then wee could safely doe any other waye, of his majestie's intentions and designes concerning that kingdome, not onely in the imployment of my lord of Antrim, but in all other things concerning his majestie's seruice there; that it were very superfluous for me to make additions in writing to what he is soe fully incharg'd with; and therefore I shall wholly referre your lordship vnto him. I shall onely expresse vnto your lordship one thing in his majestie's name, which is of a seuer'd nature, and therefore omitted in his instructions; that is, the reason of his majestie's not continuing vnto your lordship the command which he had given you of the forces come out of Ireland, and of those countryes where they landed. The truth of it is, his majestic finding dayly the necessity of your constant residence in Ireland during these distractions, and the impossibility to admitt of your absence from thence, without infinite hazard 236 of that kingdome; and on the other side, that army requiring some extraordinary person to command it, that might in some measure repaire the misse of your lordship, his majestie thought noe body capable of doing that but his nepueu prince Rupert. And therefore at once to remove from your lordship the temptation to come ouer, and to place somebody in the head of that army, who might correspond to your lordship in quality and reputation, he hath made his sayd nepueu generall of that army, and of all those countryes, and commanded mee to acquaint your lordship thus freely with the reasons of it, noe waye doubting but your lordship will approve of that which the necessity of his affaires both there and here seeme to oblige him to. That army

hath hitherto beene successfull and victorious in all its enterprises, as if it had been still animated by my lord of Ormond's spiritt. God continue it the same vigour and good fortune still; for I beleeue it will fall to its share to be the principall bullwarck of this kingdome against the Scots. And your lord-ship is desired by his majestie to procure and hasten ouer to it all the addition of strenght which that kingdome can furnish, either vpon new levyes, or out of what you can further spare of the old army; and that you wil be pleas'd to send word ouer speedily what numbers may be expected, and in what tyme, that wee may send back the shipps for transportation of them.

I suppose your lordship will have receiu'd allready some reliefe from hence of shoes and stockins for the souldiers there: and wee shal be sure to take speciall care of what new supplyes of men you shall send ouer hither, who shal be as wel received and accommodated as the former were. This is all the trouble at present from.

My lord, Your excellence's most humble seruant,

Oxford, this 20 of January, 1643.

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCXXV.—Speech of colonel Michael Jones to the marquis of Ormond, the day after he was sworn lord lieutenant, in the name of the earl of Kildare, and other protestants, petitioners to the board, 22 Jan. 1643.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP;

THERE have beene severall petitions presented at this board in the name of diverse his majestie's protestant subjects of this kingdome, which by your lordships were transmitted, and on theyre behalfe recomended vnto his hignes, the happie success thereof the petitioners have found in his majestie's most gratious letter of the 6th of November, 1643, wherein they have received exceeding great content, and therein rest abundantly satisfied.

Which his majestie's great grace and goodnes being to them derived through your lordship's hands, and by your meanes, they have comaunded mee to present your honour and this honourable board with theyre due and thankefull acknowledgements.

And they pray, that by the same hands and from your lordship his majestie may vnderstand how much they his afflicted people are affected, and revived in those many and gratious expressions of his royall care of them; which they looke vpon as one continued act of grace, this being of the same kind, and sutable to all that his princely goodnes, which hath at all tymes beene from his majestic communicated vnto his people; of which yet they have at this tyme the greater sence, by how much the greater theire suffrings have beene and are aboue any thing, that eyther they, or theyre ancestors, or any other people vnder the sunne, have ever found.

The petitioners doe further pray, that, as your lordships haue 237 soe happily begun, soe yow would crowne those your favoures to them in an honorable concurrence, which they hope for, and pray they may at all tymes find from your lordships in this greate worke.

And in particular they desire this may bee an happie omen to your lordshipp, being in the first act and entrance into your gouerment received with thanksgiveing; and that in a worke of the higest concernement, whether we respect the glory of God, the honour of his sacred majestie, and the present and future settlement and security of his majestie's good protestant subjects of this distracted kingdome in their religion, fortunes, persons, and lives.

The honour of all which, next vnder his majestie, wee desire may rest vpon your lordship and vpon your happie gouernement.

The lord lieutenant's answer.

MY LORD, AND YOW GENTLEMEN;

THIS is a busines which hath come suddenly and vnexpectedly vpon mee, nor was I present at this board when his majestie's letter concerning yow and it was read; but I beleiue it is as full of grace and favour as yow have expressed it, and am confident your thankefullnes to his majestie is reall and hearty. The substance of your desire and request is, (as I collect,) that I should present his majestie with your thankefullnes, and affoard yow my concurrence; which I conceive to bee most iust and reasonable in a matter wherin his majestie is soe highly concearned, and every one of our selves soe much interested.

And for yow English and protestants, I assure yow both of assistance and protection, and that, if need bee, to the hazard euen of my life and fortunes.

CCXXVI .- The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

HAUEING closed my other letters to your lordship, I now receive some out of the north, which, in regard they relate the present condition of those parts, I hold them fitt to be advertised over to your lordship; and therefore here inclosed your lordship receives duplicates of sir James Mountgomerie's, and of a part of the maior of Londonderryes letters to me, as also of a letter from the parliament to the said maior, and the severall collonells in those parts. The other papers of the late covenant, and the Scottish declaration, I spare your lordship the trouble of, presumeing yow have them already.

By these duplicates which I now send, your lordship sees how seditiously busy others are to withdraw and mislead the affections of the king's subjects; insoemuch as, on the contrary part, I conceiue it might be to very good purpose, and conduceing to his service, if his majestie shall be graciously pleased by a short particular letter to sir James Mountgomery, (who is a leading and considerable person in those parts, by his nephew the lord Mountgomery, and his two fathers-in-law sir William Stewart and sir William Cole,) to take notice of his good affections, the better to confirme and incourage him to persist and goe forward therein.

As likewise, that such a generall letter may be sent to all the comaunders of the English and Scotts vnder that English comaund in those parts, (to be read at some publicke meeting for that purpose, and particularly at the head of enery regiment,) as may both by declareing the disloyalty of the said conenant, dinert the soldiers from takeing thereof, and also fasten their dependance vpon his majesties supplyes, and not elswhere, by assurance of speedy reliefe in such measure, as his majestie shall graciously 238 thinke fitt, and may be effectually and expeditly made good vnto them.

Besides, the high reputation and grace of a letter from his majestie will doubtless prevayle further then the late proclamation of this state touching that couenant may doe, by more powerfully enliuening the affections of those that are rightly and (through the greater sence of their owne demerrit) more forceably stopping, if not reduceing to better, those that are otherwise

minded: and to the same ends, I shall not neglect in the meane time by letters from hence, vpon advise with this councell, to contribute the best I can. Soe I rest

Your lordship's most affectionate humble servant,

His majestie's castle of Dublin, this 22 Jan. 1643.

ORMOND.

The generall letter to be directed to the lord viscount Mount-gomery, the lord viscount Claneboy, collonell Arthur Chichester, sir William Stewart, sir James Mountgomery, sir William Cole, sir Robert Stewart, coll. Arthur Hill, coll. Audley Mervin, and to the rest of the comaunders, officers, and soldiers of his majestie's army in the north of Ireland; and if there were letters of like effect to the maiors and corporations of Londonderry and Coleraine, it were not amiss.

CCXXVII.—The earl of Thomond to the marquis of Ormond.

MY VERRY GOOD LORD,

I have ever accounted it as one of the greatest misfortunes that could be fall me since the begining of theise disastrous times, that I could not have the freedome to continue an intercourse of writeing to your lordshipp, or of giveing the state an accoumpt of my proceedings, and fruiteles care to preserve this countie in a due obedience.

Your lordshipp's noble fauour expressed by your letter, and inuitation of a correspondence, are deepe obligations vppon me; wherein, if your lordshipp would please to chaulk me the way how I might giue incourragement, or apply my owne seruices to his majestie, noe partes nor power I haue shal be deemed otherwise then as too too little to be imployed in discharge of my vnfained affections to both. But liueing (as your lordshipp rightly apprehends it) in this remotenes from the place where the greatest affaires are agitated, (which cannot soe easily come to my knowledge,) putts me into such a perplexed ignorance, as I cannot well resolue what to say or doe, more then to retaine my true loyalty and zeale to his majestie's seruice; wherein if I fall short of what my dutie requires, your lordshipp's aduise and comands shall with my best affections be observed to supply it. And that I may not still continue vnacquainted with the course of affaires

there, or keepe my selfe aine longer from attendance on the state, I haue taken a resolution (as soone as the season of the yeere permitts my trauell) to make a journey thither, to receaue your lordshipp's comands, and present the best testimonies I may of my constant desires to continue

Your lordshipp's most faithfull and humble seruaunt, Bunratty, 24° Jan. 1643. THOMONDE.

CCXXVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to sir James Montgomery. 239 Sir,

MY answeare to yours of the 12th present, written in my secretaryes hand, yow will perceaue by it, is that, if yow find it fitt, yow may make vse of it to whome yow shall think necessary to shew it; which yow may as well doe of this, since that being reall truth, this cannot differ from it.

I am glad to finde by yours, that the generall major concurres with yow in hindering the goeing over of your souldiers; wherein if he persist, and will give mee comission for it, I shall represent his good service therein to his majestie, and that in such a way, as shall noe further nor sooner be taken notice of then he shall direct. I have heard see much of the worth and plaine honesty of the man, that I would be very glad to assure such a servant to the king; yett on the other part, I intend not to make a cheape or fruitlesse tender of his majestie's favours, which I doubt not in spite of all opposition, will againe be worth the haueing; and particularly to those that desire settlement in this kingdom. To be short and plaine, lett him or any els propose the particuler service he or they will doe, and the recompence they will expect, and I will give them satisfactory assurance for the one, if they doe the other; that is to say, if I like the proposition.

I leave it wholy to your iudgement to offer or not to offer this, as yow shall iudge best for the king's service, wherevnto your affections are not att all doubted by

Your very affectionat humble servant,

Dub. 25° Jan. 1643.

ORMOND.

CCXXIX.—Lord Inchiquin to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP;

I FINDE by your lordship's letter, that one Bamburie has inform'd you of greate proportions of victualls arrived here; the truth whereof your lordship comandes mee to certifie: which indeede is farr different from his reporte, there being not aboue 20,000 weight of biskett, 50 smal cask of butter, and 2000 weight of cheese, come to all our ports for the victualling of the souldier now transported. But indeede I have received letters from sir John Penington, wherein he intimates that his majestie has sent him express order for the provideing of 1500ls. worth of victuall to be presently transported to Corke, Youghall, and Kinsale; in the doeing whereof, sir John promises all possible dilligence, and saves these provisions aboue-mentioned are parte of them. But sayes withall, that he has not yet one penny of mony for itt, nevther can he pay the smal some for which he was inforced to make a deepe ingagement of his creditt, to gaine that proportion of victualls sent vs by the first fleete; by which it does appeare his majestie's commandes will be difficultly obeyed.

Your lordship is pleased to think my goeing into Eingland needless, and I could wish it were soe; but indeede I canot apprehend a possibilitie to sett what I shall propounde in a right course to be effected, if I be not personally present there, and if the designe on Limbrick be not managed according to what is now agreed on betwixt the better and stronger partie there, and mee; which I neyther haue nor can reduce to writeing now, being presently to goe on shippboord; otherwise I should endeavour to give your lordship the best accompt I could of itt.

His majestie's letter sent by mee to the corporation was re-240 ceived with much joy by the maior and the well-affected partie, who caused itt to be read in courte before the commons, earnestly pressing them to a cheerefull loane; and the maior with divers of his partie offered them good example, by nameing of considerable somms from themselues; which yett would moue nothing with the other party adhereing to the supream counsell, who say they are sure the cittie off Limbrick may be confident of good conditions from his majestie, without the loane of

monyes, if they would vnenanimously adhere to them, and that therefore they would lend none; adding, that they were, by the articles, of the same partie with them, and that therefore they ought not to lend monyes (without theyr approbation) to any of Haveing privat intelligence of this, I spoke to Pat. Darcie and Gerrald Fennell, (who were there in the nature of a committee,) to lett them know that a fleete of his majestie's did attend for souldiers that could not be sent, without som mony were had at Limbrick; and did tell them the greate loss itt would proue to his majesty to casheere them. Which allsoe must be donn in this countrie, where they could live by noe other means then theft and robbery, the prejudice whereof must for the most part light vppon the Irish, the Einglish haveing litle to loose. Vppon which they seemed to the townsmen to be very gladd that they would lend mee mony, but privatly lett them know the contrarie; soe that nothing could be don in the generall business vppon the king's letter. Which being perceived by the well-affected, they lent me 500l. for the present expedition, and are resolv'd to comply with his majestie for the future, giveing mee all the advises which they thought might best conduce to the compassing his majestie's designes there.

The commissioners appoynted by mee for the civill government are my lord of Cloyne and sir William Fenton. I have left sir Hards Waller the charge of martiall affaires; and, if your lord-ship think fitt, I should be gladd they had approbations from you to strengthen theyr proceedings.

I hope the latter part of your lordship's letter will guide mee to the bounde of my discourse in Eingland, which I shall direct (to the best of my vnderstanding) according to your lordship's pleasure; and itt shall be my earnest desire that my words and actions may allwayes render mee,

My lord, Your lordship's most humble servant, Inchiquine.

Cork, 26° Jan.

CCXXX.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY 1T PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

THIS bearer is hastely dispatch'd onely to lett your excellence knowe the vnfortunate defeate which the Irish army vnder my

lord Byron hath lately received in Cheshire, by sir Thomas Fairfax comming to relieue Nantwich; wherein, though the numbers lost haue not been great, yett the losse of so many gallant officers, as Earnely, Warren, Gibson, Butler, and Munck taken prisoners, convert it into a great ouerthrowe, and occasions this suddaine dispatch to your excellence, earnestly to desyre you to dispose all the forces that can be spared in that kingdome to a redynes to come ouer hether with all speede to supply and recreute that army vnder my lord Byron.

Captaine Wake's squadron of shipps, that lyes still at Beaumaris, shall have directions to transport them with all possible

diligence.

There shall within very few dayes be dispatched another expresse to your excellence, by whome I shall write particularly and

largely, this being onely sent to avoyd losse of tyme.

I have received even now your lordshipp's large dispatches in 241 cipher, vnto which your lordshipp shall receive by the next particular and full answeres. In the meane tyme, I humbly kisse your hands, resting

Your excellencie's most faythfull humble seruant, Oxford, the first of GEORGE DIGBYE. February, 1643.

CCXXXI.—The king to the marquis of Ormond.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and entirely beloved cousin and counsellour, wee greete you well. Whereas wee are informed by our trusty and wel beloved servaunt leiutenant colonell John Reade, that, besides the crowell and inhumane racking of him, there was a seisure made of his house, monves, plate, and other goods: wee being fully satisfyed of his loyalty and fidelitye to vs, and that he never gave any just cause why any such seisure should be made, and much lesse cause to be vsed soe barbarously as he was, doe therefore will and require you that, vpon receipt heereof, you cause to be restored vnto him his house, and all such monyes, plate, and other goods as were seized on, or that he can prove were in his house, when they tooke posession thereof; and if any of them be either embeizled, spoyled, or otherwise lost, that present satisfaction be made vnto him, according to the true value of what shall be wanting or spoyled, out of the estates

of those whoe commaunded the said seisure to be made: and for soe doeing this shall be your warrant. And soe wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court att Oxford, this fifth day of February, 1643.

By his majestie's command,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCXXXII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond. My Lord,

I RECEIVED from your excellence by Will. Sommers five letters, one of them concerning supplyes to his majestie's forces in that kingdome, which wee will vse all meanes possible, notwithstanding our other exigences, to procure; the other concerning the state of affaires in the north, and sir James Montgomerye's part therein, wherein the best answere can be given is, by following your directions, as will appeare to you by these inclosed letters from his majestie. The third, representing my lord of St. Albans meritt, which care shall be taken to acknowledge and encourage. The fourth, of the 19th of January, was a large letter in cypher; and the fifth, of the 13th, a volumne, vnto both which, with greate admiration of your paynes and industry, as well as of your prudence, I returne this answere. To the first part of your lordshipp's, desiring precise directions, and not to be left to election, in the wayes of his majestie's service; the request is very iust and reasonable in such things as may be judged of better heere then there; but in such other where you are likely to have a clearer prospect then wee, it were a deminution to the greate and just opinion which his majestie hath of your excellence's prudence, not to leave it the latitude of choise. Of this nature was, att that time when I wrote concerning it, the question of your excellence's comming into England, or stay there; and of this nature is the second point of your excellence's long letter touching the receiveing to mercy, and graunting pardon to life and land to shuch of the Irish as shall com in. The power of promising it, and of making good your promises in that kinde, 242 his majestie doth give your excellence both fully and freely; but how farr forth to make vse of it, that is left to your excellence's judgement. Wherevnto there ought to be noe impediment in the judgements that may be made of it by the rebell party heere; wee are past those scruples long since, and must not be

diuerted by them from what may conduce to his majestie's service. I have heard of another scruple in this point, that is, whether it may not provoke the Irish publiquely to allure their party from them dureing the cessation: but the quere seemes not to mee of moment. As to the third point of this letter, and which is insisted vpon in all the rest, concerning the sending over of provisions, wee have allready sent into Munster such quantetves as wee were informed proportionable to the garrisons there for three months, and though wee are ignorant of your numbers of men in other parts, wee shall make an estimate by guesse, and send over in considerable quantetye to Dublin, from whence your excellence may dispence them, as you see occasion, even into the north; but wee dare not direct them thither from hence in regard of the vncertaine condition of those parts, which may, ere the provisions com thither, be perverted against vs, and so prove a releefe and support to our enemys. In this businesse I doe imploy Sommers, in whoes dispatch all possible dilligence shall be vsed.

To the fourth point, touching the allurements by honnours, places, and benefitts, I acknowledge it to be the very essenciall of all, that none be bestowed but by your excellence's advise; wherevnto I have engaged the king's promise, and I am sure nothing hath or shall passe mee contrary to it, notwithstanding many pressures, especially by my lord Antrym. And I am confident my fellow secretary will take the same care that nothing slipp by him, which will be security eenough; for your excellence will be pleased to take notice, that since his majestie honoured mee with the place I hould, he hath settled an order, that nothing shall passe, nor be imputed as a graunt from him, that is not attested by one of his secretaryes, or in marshal affaires by the secretary of a councell of warr; which your excellence will be pleased to observe, in case any thing should be brought to you vnder the king's hand vnsubsigned. I shall add onlye this one thing on this subject, that I should thinke my selfe vnfaithfull to my master, as well as vnworthye to your excellence, whome I professe to honour soe highly, should I suffer any thing to passe that were in my power to hinder, which should be in the least kinde derogatory from your excellence's honour and authority, or make any of that kingdome believe, that there were a shorter way to obteyne either publike graces or private preferments from his majestie then by your excellence.

To the other point, which in your letter you make dependant vpon this, namely, that noe countenance be given heere to any that shall com with specious pretences of doeing great things by their power and interest with the Irish: I assure your excellence, if my reason had been as prevalent with others as it was peremptory with mee in the point, there had no such thing been don at all. But thus farr I have been able to serve my owne reason, as well as your subsequent commaunds, as that although my lord Antrym's propositions, carrying such appareances and probabilities with them, could not totally be withstood; yett I am confident he hath not obteyned any power that can be of essencial inconvenience or of deminution to your lordship. Wee know the person well, and therefore wondered to find those probabilityes, which he made appeare vnto vs of his power with the Irish, notwithstanding by way of balast my good friend Daniell O'Neill, groome of the bed-chamber, was sent ouer with him to acquainte your lordshipp with all, both my lord Antrym's and his owne powers and instructions, which he read heere before his going, and tooke short notes of: but cannot reade againe, till he come to your excellence to decipher them by the king's cipher. He was thought the fittest person to steere my lord Antrym by your directions, as haveing great interest in him, 243 and being thoroughly your lordshipp's servaunt, and one ouer whome I am confident I have a prevailing power. But yet I beseech your excellence, let not my good opinion of him bee a hinderance to your excellence's deliuering your free opinion to mee, euen of him, vpon all occasions. I must confesse I cannot but very much wonder att one thing which Jack Bary wrights, viz. that my lord Antrim should have encouraged the Irish in high expectations, and to hopes of obtaining easily vnreasonable ends: whereas all his discourse heere was of what moderation hee was confident to reduce them to, and of what parties hee would raise among themselues, in case they should bee vnreasonable, and vpon the high horse. It was thought fit to give him countenance in those things which you will finde in his instructions.

To the 5t point, touching the hindering of the Scots army from goeing ouer into Scotland. When that was advised, it was in hopes given vs from Scotland, that if that strength were withheld from them, they would not bee able to inuade England with any considerable power: but since now wee see the contrary,

and that the Scots haue inuaded vs without them, I doe not see why the staying them in Ireland should be more laboured, where they will doe more hurt then any where else, in case their being there should awe the Irish from sparing vs any suply from thence. But yett, my lord, you are not advised to permit their departure till wee are at some certaintie in two things; first, whether my lord Montrose and diuers others of the Scots lords vndertakings for the king will come to any thing or noe. The Irish, in case they bee rid of that apprehension of the Scots, will engage throughly, numerously, and entirely in his majestie's seruice heere. This, I suppose, cannot be discovered till wee have treated with the agents; and therefore, in the meane time, the only safe course will be to vnite the olde Scots the best you can to the king's partie, and to worke, if possible, vpon the new; of which, that which I heare seuerall wayes concerning Munroe gives me comfortable hopes; towards which worke his majestie giues you full liberty to vse all allurements, and will make good to Munroe and others all such fitting rewards, whether of honour or benifit, as your lordship in your wisdome shall thinke fit to engage them where your promis of effecting * * * *

I am very glad to heare of the twoe regiments of foote, and fower troopes of horse more, which your excellence is sending over; whereof my lord Byron's late defeate makes the necessity more pressing, though I must needs tell you that the Irish will bee much more welcome suplys, in regard that the English there in Leinster beeing most Welsh and Chesshiremen, are very subject to bee corupted in their owne countryes, and the treacherous reuolt of some of them, was the ocasion of my lord Byron's late misfortune. I must therefore retreate, and presse it to your lordshipp to hasten by all meanes possible the leuyes and transportation of Irish, to whome no temptations or coruptives here can bee applyed.

I was in good hopes that by this time my lord Taafe, collonell Barry, Dick Power, and Milo Power, would have been in good forwardnesse with their regiments; towards which the king hath granted them a good proportion of London debts there in Ireland, which they writ to mee, and Dick Power tells mee they have very good hopes to recover, and hee shall sudainly bee dispached over vnto your lordship about it.

Your lordshipp gives vs very prudently a most necessarye caution, that wee should take care that you be not vnnecessarily

represented to the Irish as the hinderer of their desires, though vnreasonable. But I beleeue that for the particuler of your advising the continuance of the parliament there, it was rather by coniecture than intelligence. As for sir Brian O'Neill, I haue no aquaintance with him; and this I will assure your lordshipp of twoe things, that no Irishman, how neere soeere, shall bee 244 aquainted with your dispaches, and that no dispatch or instruction of any other man concerning that kingdome shall bee concealed from you.

This bearer, sir John Reade, is thought very faithfull to the king, and capable of negotiating with good effect in soeme things; the particulars [of which] he is comanded to shew your lordship.

Concerning arms and amunition, your lordship is desired to prouide [there all] the quantityes you can obtaine; and what more you can send, ether to Bristoll or Chester, shall bee bought off with ready mony.

Touching the agents from Spaine and France, imployed to the Irish, I conceive your lordshipp makes a right iudgement of them, viz. that they are imployed thither about raising of men. For the French, I am sure that is his errand; for pr. Harcourt hath obteyned a commission heere to rayse three thousand foote, and your excellence will receive a letter from the king to that effect. It is a thing, which, as it was prest to vs, could not bee denied; but I doubt not your lordship will haue skill enough, without shewing an vnwillingnes to the thing, to protract maters soe, as that they shall not reape such fruits of that permission, as may bee to the hinderance of his majestie's leuies. As for the Spanish agent, I doe not know what secrett designes he may have with the Jesuited party there; but I believe his principall errand is to hinder the other.

The dutchesse of Buckingham acknowledges her selfe much obleidged to your excellence in the businesse of my lord of Slone's wardship, and thinkes your lordship hath a greate deale of reason to avoyde the scandall of passing it to one of hiz religion. She doth therefore desire it may be graunted in the name of on Mr. Pearce Moore, an Irish protestant: but even in this shee desires your excellence to take your owne time.

There is one coll. Nicholas Minn here, whoe brought a regiment out of Munster, whoe hath had formerly the gournment of Halboling-castle. It is his majestie's pleasure, if your lordshipp

approve of it, that that government should be past to him vnder the greate seale of that kingdome.

Here is my lord of Inchiquin newly come over. I should be very gladd your excellence would write freely concerning him, whether you thinke it for his majestie's seruice that hee should bee hearkened vnto in his pretensions to the presidentship of Munster, in case my lord of Portland should bee satisfied, whoe hath had a former engagement from the king for it.

My lord, I believe I have now given an answere to all the points of your severall letters which required it, but only to the greate obligations which you lay vpon mee in them, that must be the worke of my whole life to answere in the qualitye of,

My lord, your excellence's most humble servaunt,

Oxford, Febr. 8th, 1643.

G.D.

CCXXXIII.—Lord Inchiquin to the marguis of Ormand.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP;

I cannot give your lordship such an accompt of affaires here as I could wish, his majestie's forces haveing suffered greate losses this last month, the French ambassador haveing alsoe left vs but could hopes of assistance from that nation: and the Irish (who are here extreamly relyed on) being (I feare) vnable to doe more then defend themselves from the Scott, who, I doubt, will prove dangerous rebbells to his majestie: yett the assistance which is here expected from the Irish, will not, as I conceive, be very difficult for them to give, being but to permitt some 5000 men to be raised and transported hether; which, I think, may 245 be don, though his majestie should desire none but volenteers not inlisted there.

Here is a Dutchman, called an ambassadour, who had publick audience yesterday; what he will negotiat, I canott tell: but I doe not finde there is any greate hopes att courte that his majestie may be aduantaged by it.

I have made the condition of Mounster knowen, and have propounded such means as I thought best conduceing for the preservation of itt; which the lords appointed by his majestie to consider of Irish affaires are this day to think off; and by the next I shall give your lordship an accompt of theyr determina-

My lord Digby tells mee, that he had prevail'd with his majestie to conferr the presedencie of Mounster on mee; but he findes that my lord of Portland had not onely a bare promise of itt, but the letter vnder his majestie's hand for the drawing of his patents; and that though he had forborne hetherto to make vse of itt, yett he would not now relinquish itt; and sayes, that when his majestie had designed it for mee, he did not know that my lord of Portland had soe deepe an ingagement on him; but being a person soe highly deserving from his majestie, might not be disobligged: that I should be call'd to my charge here, and shall have the forces of Mounster vnited against the spring, with a considerable boddy of horss ioyned to them, vnder my commande. This, my lord, I confess is a greate honour: but how itt will be brought aboute, I know not; for tow of my regiments are a considerable part of my lord Hopton's army, and it is thought he will as soone quitt his commande as part with them. The rest are devided vnder other generalls, from whence there will be noe smal stirr to gett them. And lastly, when I shall gett them together, I know noe possibilitie to keepe them soe 2 days, if there be not a place of rendevous appointed vs, where I may have the commande of a countrie which may yeild a contribution that will afford them sustenance; which I doe not vett finde within his majestie's power to assigne mee, except he take itt from some that has itt now ynder theyr commande: which cannott be without vnmakeing a generall. Soe that, my lord, you may perceive I am lyke att last to be thought vnworthy of any imployment, (though I hope not by his majestie, yet) I must needs feare the world, seeing mee fall from the commande of an army, to my troope and foote companie in Ireland, will think that the grounde. And though this be most lykelye to be the event of my business, I must (with all humble thankfullness) confess his majestie's expressions towards mee to bee exceeding gratious, and I am confident his royall intentions are as reall; neyther doe I finde that I have any enemie in the courte.

My lord, I vnderstood from sir Pat. Wems, that I was interested in somme commande vnder your lordship in the army there; and if your lordship houlde mee worthy of any such, I shall not decline itt, for I desire nothing more then a capacitie

to doe your lordship some service, hopeing thereby to manifest how much I am,

My lord, your lordship's most humble servant, Oxon, 10° Feb. INCHIQUINE.

CCXXXIV.—The earl of Cork to the marquis of Ormond.

MY MOST HONORED LORD,

I must conclude your lordship fortunate as well as deseruing, for you are the onely person in these times that merits the esteeme of all men, and has it. This, my lord, is as great a truth as it is an happinesse; and truly your lordship enjoyes it; for since my comming to this towne I have not heard an expression of your lordship, nor your name mentioned, but with honnor and great commendation; which is to mee so great a satisfaction, that I must confesse my selfe infinitely delighted therewith, as a 246 person who, by sundry fauors and his owne inclination, is vn-alterably your lordship's servant.

The suddain departure of the bearer giues a stop to my desires of informing your lordship of some occurrents of this place. I shall therefore onely tell your lordship, that the Scotch haue had a repulse at Newcastle, which they assaulted, and where they lost 160 men, and that my lord of Newcastle has by this time giuen them battell, his army being not then come vp out of the adjacent countyes, but by this time very strong. This brevitie I shall supply when I next write, for which, begging your lordship's pardon, I remaine

Your excellencye's most humble and obliged seruant,

Oxford, 19 Feb.
(1643.)

CORKE.

CCXXXV.—Arthur Trevor to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXELLENCE;

YOW will very suddainly receaue very instant letters from the queene, to bee as kind as possibly your lordshipp can vnto prince Rupert; especially in a present furnishment of some armes and powder, which is the only want of prince Rupert; and that supplyed, I am very confident your exellence will soone heare of his motions. This lyes soe for your exellence's hand, that I cannot but present yow with this foresight, that your returns may bee the nimbler, wherby your exellence will double the obligation.

Lord Dillon is going to the Irish councell to second sir E[dmond] B[utler]; but our confedence is vpon your exellence's endeauour.

Lord Inchiquin is returning as full of anger as his buttons will endure; and surely hee hath reason, for the king hath denyed hym Munster, after Portland, who is now providing for a present march thither. Lord Jermin is coming on very fayrely to bee of neere and much intimacy with your exellence. I haue it now in my power, for I find it desired; but I forbeare the closinge vntill I receaue your exellence's pleasure, which I expect, together with your leaue to vse my owne liberty, which shall oblige neither part more then demonstration perswades. I find prince Rupert nor all the numbers in arithmeticke haue any efficacy, but are cyphers, without lord Jermine. I haue shaped this present busines, that your exellence might haue the ball played to yow, which yow may vse as a proofe, or a bes, as yow please to call it.

Lord primat is very much your champyon, and soe is Mr. atourny. The parliament here doe rather pull men to peeces then mend the army. If it satisfy noe man more then my selfe, I will not bee any vndertaker that wee shall bee victorious. Mr. Ven from Windsor-castle hath fetched in vpon Saturday Mrs. Jarmyn from Maydenhead.

My good lord, I am euerlastingly

Your creature and servant,

Oxon, 19 February, 1643.

ART. TREUOR.

CCXXXVI.—Sir George Radcliffe to the marquis of Ormond.

MY NOBLE LORDE,

I must tell you the advice of a very good friende, [Mr.] secretary Nicholas, that dares not write soe himselfe. Yow will have many thinges recomended from the king and others. Doe not just the contrary, but forbeare a little till you have retturned a civil answere, and then doe what you will: but let no letters put you from your owne way.

The earl of Cork would be lord treasurer of Ireland. It is 247

very probable that the earl of Cork will buy the presidentship of Munster of lord Portland. This I cannot say absolutely, but severall reasons make me to thinke so. I apprehend very much ill to Munster, to Ireland, to the lord lieutenant, to the king, and to the protestants in Munster, that lord Inchiquin is not president of Munster; but the earl of Portland must be. It may be your lordship's writinge to secretary Nicholas to shew it to the king may help it. Sir G. Radeliff will endeavour what hee may. The lord treasurer disclaimes to have any hande in it. The duke of Lenox has done it a yeare and a halfe agoe, he claimes a promise 5 yeares agoe for lord Portland. The king gaue lord Inchiquin a warant to bee an erle, but lord Inchiquin is not pleased.

Let sir G. Radcliffe haue your help to take off his charge in parliament. The secretary will giue you reasons for it. Lord Digby tells sir G. Radcliffe that hee did write the same advice that secretary Nicholas gaue to your lordship. Lord Digby professeth very seriously much good will to your lordship, and was carefull that sir G. Radcliffe might write so much fully to your lordship. Lord Digby did swere deeply that Daniell O'Neil is a true and zealous seruant to your lordship, and has bene longe, and still pressed that you might be lord lieutenant; which I promised also to write, for lord Digby feares else least your lordship should mistake Daniel. I see by this that he is trusted here.

Jack Barry writes to lord Digby that the earl of Castlehauen was general of the Irish army, and the earl of Antrym lieutenant-general. Lord Digby will not belieue but that Antrym is general, and the earl of Castlehaven lieutenant-general; for so hath the earl of Antrim resolutely tould lord Digby and the king. This methinkes should be easily decided.

Lord Inchiquin is promised by the king to bee president of Munster when the earl of Portland leaues it; which was all that hee desired, after he saw that the earl of Portland was to haue it presently; and this wee now thinke has so pleased him, that hee will doe all thinges for as much advantage of the king as if he had it in possession. I perceive noe satisfaction hereby given to lord Inchiquin.

I have bene 2 dayes about this paper by snatches, as you may perceive by the manner of it; for I have spoken with severall men betwene the writinge of one part and another. Indeed I

thought that I should not gett thus much tyme before the messinger went away. Pardon me all my faults, I beseech you, and lett me be still esteemed, as I am,

My lord, your lordship's most humble servant,

Oxon, 19 Feb. G. RADCLIFFE.

P. S. The queen is with child, and meanes to be brought in bed in Ireland. This I cannot sweare, for things are mutable; but an earl tould me as a secret.

Here are 3 Duch embassadors from the States, proposinge termes of accommodation, of which I haue small hope. The earl of Portland is president of Munster: they did keepe this private, and on good cause, for it will hazard Munster. Secretary Nicholas doth think there is no other help but for you to write plainely hither that lord Inchiquin is necessary for that place: but you [are] not to take notice of the secretary, who did speake it privately to mee; and for the thinge it selfe, (that lord Portland is president of Munster,) you may say that hee did here it comonly reported.

This day comes newes of the Scots advanceinge within 6 miles of Newcastle, with 1000 horse and 9000 foote. Cominge by Anwicke, they were stopped from passinge that bridge; and having lost there 40 men, they went over 3 miles more westwarde. Since that, their horse quarters were beaten vp, and 248 some of their men killed. They have no ordinance. Marques Newcastle has marched night and day with 3000 horse and 4000 foote, and some more, which were there before. He is resolved to fight with them as soone as he can, for so he hath sent the kinge worde. They did not expect him soe soone.

The Scots agents at London haue persuaded the 2 houses to send propositions to Oxford: they are not yet come hither.

CCXXXVII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

THIS bearer, Richard Sherley, a trusty servaunt of my owne, and whoe hath often beene in Ireland, is sent over on purpose to sollicite, and to be imployed by you in the businesse of procuring armes and amunition there. It is a thing that imports vs soe much, especially as to our armye in Chesheire, that if wee

can be plentifully supplyed with them, wee shall before the beginning of Aprill have in those parts an armye of tenn thousand effective foote. His majestie would not be satisfyed in this particuler with what I had formerly written, or could now wright to your excellence; but would needs have mee send over this expresse, meerely to negotiate that businesse; and he hath power. vnder the king's hand, to assure all marchants with whome he can deale in that kinde, that what armes or powder soever they shall bring over either to Chester, Beaumauris, or to Bristoll, especially to the twoe former, shall be taken of their hands att any reasonable rates. Your excellence would be pleased to direct him as you shall thinke best; he hath nothing else to doe but to tend and expedite that worke. Notwithstanding, I have thought fitt to send vnto your excellence a duplicate of my last dispatch vnto you by sir John Reade, vnto which I have nothing to add, but onlye to desire your excellence to hasten the leuves of Irish, and to tell your excellence, that there are divers here whoe presse for commaunds of forts and places in Ireland, and some of them such as the king cannot well deny. In such case, it is not to bee anoyded; but the king must write to your exellence in their behalfe: but let mee assure your exellencie that it is the king's resolution, and which, by the grace of God, while I haue the honnour to haue trust nere him, I shall euer hould him firme vnto, not to bestow any there but with your approbation; and therefore whenever any letters of that kinde, either recomendatory or mandatory, shall come vnto you, it is vnderstood by his majestie, that if they bee contrary to your reason for the good of his seruice, they should suspend, * * * * which you may be sure shall ever be faithfully and effectually represented by,

My lord, your excellence's most entirely affectionate humble servaunt,

Oxford, this 20th of February, 1643.

GEORGE DIGBYE.

I have written vnto your excellence formerlye the reasons of prince Rupert's commission for those parts, where you had the commaund: but lett mee with all assure you, that I knew not of it till it was done, I beinge not then soe happye as to have any part in his highnesses counsells.

CCXXXVIII.—Daniel O'Neil to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

MY lord off Antrim his majestie sent hether to this counsell to demand the sending off the ten thousand foot, which in ther remonstrance they have promissed to assist his majestie with. That part off my errant that relats to this counsell iss onely to aquaint them with his majestie's and his ennemyes conditione in Ingland, to assure them, thatt the sending off this army before any thing bee concluded will rather be an advantage then a prejudice to their demands, and to solissitt their sending of 3000 men for the iles off Scottland. Thatt part which refers to your lordship iss in the cypher which iss beetweene your lordship and my lord Digbye, which bars mee from giveing your lordships an account off itt by this conveniencie. About the end off the next weeke I am in hope to wayt vppon your lordship with that his majestie and my lord Digbye's letters.

Yesternight my lord Antrim came hether. Soone after he ariued, he declared his majestie's commands to the counsell, and soe did I. This day they have taken to resolve what answer to returne: the morrow I expect to send to Duncanon, where one off his majestie's ships wayts for itt.

By the date off these inclosed your lordship will find that I am long from court, soe that I can tell yow noethinge off the late intrigues: butt in generall I can assure your lordship, that iff his majestie be not supplied with a very considerable force from hence before the end off Aprill, or assisted by some greater miracle then he has knowen yett, though he has done many, his condition iss such, that he will be forced to a shamefull and a destructive peace, both to himself and all those that are esteemed faithfull to him; and above all, to the Irish, ass well protestant ass papists. I am

Your lordship's most faithfull and most humble seruant,

Kilkenny, this 24 of February, 1643.

DANIELL O'NEILLE.

CCXXXIX.—Arthur Trevor to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXELLENCE

TO receaue from your most humble servant the inclosed papers, as the minutes of the præsent worke of this place: I shall

not need to spend your tyme (which is now publique stocke) in an illustration. Your exellence will see without a hand in the margent, or a finger, what our wants are, and therefore our desyres; yett, I thanke God, wee are neither troubled with jelousyes nor feares, the diseases of our neighbour state. If this proue successefull, every man hath his wish; if otherwise, very few are surprised, for they goe on very well and cheerefully in the recruits, both of horse and foot.

Lord Inchiquin is gone ouer better pleased then I expected. Hee doth acknowledge much to your exellence; and I haue not wanted to serve hym very faythfully vpon that account. Yow will receaue by hym some St. George ornaments, which were once in your howse, and given by lord Thomas, earl of Ormond, vnto the earl of Danby, and by hym, by will, left to the lord Willmot, who is an infinite servant of your noble family, and hath made your exellence a præsent of your owne heyre-loome; which certainly are not to bee withheld from your howse without some kinde of sacralege.

I have see much power and way with lord Jermin, that I doe presume I am able to serve your exellence there, if I may receaue your commaunds how I shall carry my selfe towards hym in any 250 interest of your exellence. His letters of the last day were written with a great desyre of a teeming freindshipp. The matter of that dispatch is looked vpon as our great hopes, which, I am confident, are not misplaced in your exellence, and for which yow will receaue very many recognizance from 60, 61, & 62 [the king, the queen, and prince Rupert] hymselfe; for whose præsent acknowledgment and future pay, I dare firmely and for euer oblige my selfe to bee

Your exellence's most humble and æternally obliged servant,

Oxon, 24th Febr. 1643.

TREUOR.

CCXL.—Extract of a letter of Mr. Daniel O'Neil, dated 2 March, sent in a letter from my lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond, dated 14 March, 1643.

THE 23d of February wee came hether, where earl Antrim mett with his feares, that part of the supreame councell, which he told you would be redy to oppose any vndertakeing of his.

Neverthelesse, it being necessary to give the king a speedy accoumpt of what he might expect from heence, he propounded to the councell concearning the ten thousand men in England, two thousand for Scotland, and the sending prince Rupert 300 barrells of powder, and the 400 musketts he writt for to the councell, with assurance that marquis Ormond should ingage himselfe, that either in mony or comoditys out of England, prince Rupertt should make satisfaction for what the councell should send to prince Rupertt. Fine days the councell tooke to consider what answeare to make. Att last, the two last weare answeared as followeth, after much oposition. The two thousand for Scotland earl Antrim shall have with armes and amunition, and two monthes provision at Erlingford eastle in Vlster, by the later end of Aprill next, where he is to have his men and shipping to transport them to the isles. The other was agreed vnto as thus: earl Antrim, rather then the service should suffer, or prince Rupert should have denyall, ingaged himselfe, that if marques Ormond would send him an acquittance for the 2800 cowes which are yett due to him vppon Vlster, he would vndertake to procure Vlster to make payment, which as yett noe comand of this councell could doe, by reason the cessation was not observed with them as with the rest. To procure the acquittance, I vndertooke vppon this incouragement.

There was a letter written to marquis Ormond to this effect: that as soone as marquis Ormond sends the acquittance to Antrim earle, or writes that he will allow of the agreement, and that earle Antrim shall send from Vlster assurance the cowes shall be payd to the councell, then the armes and amunition shall be deliuered at Waterford and Wexford.

As for the answeare to the ten thousand, which I send yow in their owne language, but their friuilous reasons i'le giue: that the king hath not writ to them concearning our demands, by which they find that they are not owned as subjects: that a declaration since the cessation tearms them rebells: that they doubt much any satisfaction intended them, when the impeached members at Dublin are bayled: that neither king nor they can be secure in Monster, whilest the lord Inchiquin governs there, or any that he deputes: that the fort of Duncannon is in the hands of a pestilent roundhead; if the treaty now in agitation at Oxford take effect, they feare the king will not include them in his conditions. Lastly, they would much betray the trust put

in them by the kingdome, without more assurance then wee can giue to put out of theire power their men, arms, and amunition: for their security, I profered what weare in the power of king or the marquis Ormond. At last, when I thought all obstacles taken away, I had the aforesaid answeare brought mee with 251 much ceremony, the faction giueing way to no better. The very truth to tell you, this councell, if they weare together, might doe much: but those that are deputed to reside are soe divided between these two great men, marquis Ormond and earl Antrim, that neither can serve the king eminently in this kind separate, but ioynt may doe any thing. Marquis Ormond's party dares not move any thing he would have for feare, nor will yeeld to any of the others desires, though both haue the same end. But this, I make noe doubt, will be easily helpt, and all goe vnanimously on togeather, when I shall have been at Dublin, and that there is that good corespondence setled betwixt marquis Ormond and Antrim earle, which I hope to give you assurance of shortly from thence. If that bee, desire what yow will, and it shall be obey'd. As for that part of the instructions which comands Antrim earl to divide them among themselves, though wee are heere but a few dayes, that matter, yppon my credit, is soe well ordred, that it is not in the power of either catholick clergy, or pope's nuncio, Spanish or French, to make any party against the king. And to confirme you in this, the earl of Antrim can bring the forces and persons in the lyst I send you. And if marquis Ormond and earl Antrim agree, he can bring, not only them, but the old and best souldiers in this kingdome; soe that you need not, vnlesse your occasions there presse you, yeeld to any exorbitant demands of the agents, either of religion or any thing els.

The nation in generall I find strangely inclin'd to receiue and obey what comands com from the king; but there are some of Lenster and Munster, either out of ambition to rule, or in hopes to bee drawne of from their eviolence by preferments, that can relish nothing that comes not their way. If the agents exceed not their instructions, your work will have soone don with them. They have power to comunicate their instructions to any, as they see cause; but are inioyned to aquaint the dutches of Buckinham with them: soe weare they to earl Antrim, if hee had stay'd. I have writt vnto her to receive your advise, and

to comunicate to yow all things from Bryan O'Neile, whome you have sure, if you but vse him kindly.

Some disorders in Conaght drawes the councell there. I goe to Dublin to morrow. Earl Antrim stayes heere till hee heeres from mee. This day letters came heather, that Munroe hath drawen all his garrisons which weare in Tyrone, and that he hath alredy sent some of his men for Scottland: whether he will follow with all the rest is not yet knowen. The army intended against them by the Irish neverthelesse drawes together, under the comand of my lord of Castlehauen, untill it be in Vlster, then my lord of Antrim is to comand in cheefe; when that is, fear no inconvenience from hence.

'Tis not to be imagined the zeale of earle Antrim to serve the king: 'tis soe much that it hurts; a comission for the government of Londondery and Coulrane is much desired and held necessary by earl Antrim for the present service. Send a letter to marquess Ormond, authorishing him to give the government of Nury and Greencastle to Walter Bagnall, a gallant man, who promiseth much, and will performe, I am confident.

CCXLI.—Sir Edward Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

I have herewith sent your excellency severall dispatches from his majestie in aunsweare to diverse letters I received from your lordshipp and the councell on that side; and I may not omitt to let your excellency understand that your letters, whereof these are the aunswers, gaue his majestie singular contentment.

I have advertisement from London, that the new Scots have 252 sent word thither, that if they will pay them their areres, and supply them with meanes, they will not embrace the cessation, but stand it out; and I heare that those of London resolve to send them some supply very speedily into Ireland.

By the proclamations herewith sent, your excellency will see his majestie's invincible care of his good subjects in Ireland, notwithstanding all the pressures that are vpon him here; and for the present, his majestie hath taken order that 500l. worth of come and provisions be forthwith sent from the parts neere Bristoll vnto Dublin, at his majestie's charge, towards a present supply of those partes, as he hath formerly sent provisions for supply of Munster.

The assembly of the lords and commons of parliament sitt here duly every day, and sometymes twice a day, and proceede very vnanimously and prudently here; and they are soe earnest to have a treaty for an accommodation, as att London this is called the parliament for peace, and that att Westminster the parliament for warre, because the messages soe frequently sent from hence for a treaty of peace have bene soe many tymes rejected upon frivolous excuses.

The souldiers which your excellency sent over to Chester, came very seasonably to helpe divert a force that was preparing to march out of those partes to the assistaunce of our cursed brethren of Scotland, who have invaded this kingdome.

Att London they are now forming a republique, and to that purpose they have put the power and authority of the 2 houses of parliament into a great councell of state, (as they call it,) composed of 7 lordes, 14 commoners, and 4 Scots, who for a triall (to see how the people will relishe their gracyous government) are for 3 monethes to manage all affaires concerning warre and peace, and all these, and the clercks that attend them, are to take an oath of secrecy, not to speake of any thing in agitation amongst them, noe, not to either house, which is noe lesse for the preservation of the priviledge of parliament, then to levy armes against the king is for defence of his royall person. this meanes the rebellious faction hopes they shal be able to steale into a republique, before the states of the vnited provinces shall discerne it, least they (whose interest it is not to haue this kingdome governed other then by a monarch) should not only not favour their ill cause, (whereof the people there haue bene more tender then now they find it merritts,) or oppose their rebellious wayes.

The king's letter to your lordshipp concerning accountants is agreeable to your lordshipp's and the councell's advise there. There were long since letters sent by the king to sir Ed. Bagshaw, Mr. Loftus, and Mr. Carleton, to account; the last of which is now here, and sayes he will hasten over with all dilligence, albeit he alleadgeth he had little in his hands to pay in.

As concerning the 2 pinnaces, comaunded by the 2 captains Bartletts, I have spoken of it to his majestic and my lord treasurer, and find small hope of effecting therein what is desired; for that there is noe meanes here to supply them with necessaries and provisions. But since those shipps may be vsefull as well to Chester and those partes as to yow in Ireland, I have here propounded to have the charge thereof borne partly by that county and partly otherwise, by way of transporting passengers and goods. And I could wishe your excellency would there see, if yow can get any private men to set forth shipps att their owne charge from that kingdome, with letters of marque to take any such Englishe or other vessells as are belonging to the rebells here, which is the way for yow to have shipps for your occasions sometymes; and here shipps are not vnproffitably soe imployed on this coast.

As I was closing this letter, I receaved a dispatch from Ireland with the charge and aunsweares of the 4 privy councellors, wherewith I shall att the first opportunity attend his majestie, and therevon giue your excellency a further account of that 253 busines by my next. Sir Rich. Greeneville came Sunday last with 30 horse to serve his majestie, who hath graciously receaved him. I am really and affectionately,

My lord, your excellency's most affectionate servant,
Oxon, 5 March, 1643.

Edw. Nicholas.

Wee hear that my lord of Newcastle hath given the Scots neere Newcastle a good blow, having killed about 300, and taken as many prisoners, and 15 cullors of horse and dragoons, but of this wee haue noe expresse from the lord marquess of Newcastle.

CCXLII.—The marquis of Ormond to Dr. Gerald Fennell.

DOCTOR FENNELL,

SINCE the remembrances I gaue Mr. Saul, and since my last letter vnto you, wherein I advised a speedy and punctuall complyance from your party with the earle of Antrym's desires, I have seen soe much of his majestie's authority to countenance his lordship's negotiation, and am soe well acquainted with the pressing necessity, that his majestie should be powerfully and seasonably assisted hence, that I must recomend it to your judgement and care to dispose those in authority with you to that worke, wherein their owne interest is so farr concearned, that

mee thinks it is evidently the most probable way to gaine those good conditions vnto them, when his majestie shall not only be engaged in honnor, (which is the strongest tye vppon a prince,) but inabled to performe that ingagement by an opertune and considerable assistance.

The particulers desired I find haue been alredy made knowen to you, and are no more then by your publick remonstance, by many and frequent professions, by your owne interest if rightly considered, and by your duty to the king, you are obleeged vnto. And therfore I shall not doubt but that, ading to all this your affection to mee, who am particulerly and strictly comanded to contribute my assistance to the performance of the earl of Antrym's charge, you will put your whole strength to obteyne for him a speedy and satisfactory dispatch.

As to that part of his lordship's negotiation wherever, as I am informed, you have assented, I presume you will consider how precious tyme is, soe much that the losse of a few weeks will render the designe ineffectuall and irrecoverable.

When you shall advertise mee that your armes, amunition, provisions of victuall, and shipping for the conveyance of it is redy, and whither it is held most convenient to have them sent, there shall not be wanting a place to receive and secure them to your satisfaction, if reason and evident demonstration in that point shall satisfy you.

Of these particulers I desire a very speedy accoumpt, as things wherein the king's service, the safety of this kingdome, and my particuler satisfaction are infinitely concearned.

And soe I rest

Your very assured frend,

Dub. Cast. 6° March, 1643.

ORMONDE.

CCXLIII.—The archbishop of York to the marquis of Ormond. 254

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCYE;

WITH soe much of the letter I received by this bearer as did concerne the newe and further supplie I did instantlye acquaint both the kinge and (occasion soe offred) the queene's majestye, who both receaved it verye acceptablye, and commaunded me to leave your excellencye's letter with the lord Digbye, which I did accordingelye; from whom I doe conceive, Ormond, you, yi.

by what fell from his lordshipp in somme discourse with me, your excellencee hath received somme returne ere this.

I humbly thanke your excellencye for your continuall care of those partes wherein I soiourne; but what armes or ammunition are falne to Chester or the lord Byron's handes, are gon thether, unde negant redire quicquam, from whence we of Wales shall have noe returne of any thinge, but must depend upon your excellencye's further charitye towards us upon somme opportunitye of transportation.

I have verye little to write, and not much (if I were vpon the place) to saye vnto your excellencye. Somwhat I shold presume to doe; but the bearer hath freed me of one scruple, that the patents for liuetenancye beinge but duringe pleasure, the latter maye supersede the former, without further legall discharge or surrender. Otherwise your lordshipp is to prudent to conceive there can be any want of malice, either in the pretended parliament of Westminster, or in my neighboure here your prædecessour in that place, to raise (if God for our sinnes shold worst our side) all objections which can be invented against your excellencye.

Thinges are soe vnfixed in this court, and his majestye (out of his to much goodnes and pietye) soe obnoxious to be shaken and removed by varietye of counsailes out of any setled resolution, that I præsume your excellencye is stored (and soe you hadd neede be) with somme fundamentall instructions for the government of that kingedome, as are not to be whisper'd awaye, or discomposed with private informations or letters of command vpon such groundes as those. If the worst fall out, which for the greatnes of our sins is not impossible, whosoever gives the advice, your excellencye must beare the fault.

The lord Digby is like to be the onelye man of affayres vpon whom your excellencye can place your kube; he is a man of good fortunes, partes, industrye, and honour, and is past the rubicon, thoughe not peradventure soe forwardlye advaunced as your excellencye. Most of our other gamsters are not yeat comme soe farre in, but that they have an eie vpon the doore, and somme reservation of hope to steale out agane vpon occasion.

We are not vnmenaced, nor without dailye losses in this verye place; and if we be secure, (as I hope we yeat are,) it is not because we are not verye weake and poore, but because the enemye (though they face it better) are everye way as weake, and almost as poore as we are.

It were impertinencye to putt your excellencye in mynde that you are to playe your game wholy in your owne tables, without expectinge any helpe or much advice from this kingdom, vntill God vouchsafe to send vs better times: if you could ridd that island from those venemous men of the north, as nature hath donne it from venemous beastes, you might liue happilye within your selues, and be the most blessed neighboures that ever this kingdome hadd. They have beene hitherto not soe much beaton (I feare me) as a little fleabitten, sithence theyr bold invasion of this miserable kingdom.

God Almighty blesse your excellencye in all your endevoures, 255 the prayer of

Your excellencye's most humble and most obliged servaunt,

Queene's College in Oxenf. 7th of March, 1643.

Jo. Eborac'.

CCXLIV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My LORD,

I RECEAUED the copy of your lordship's of the 8th of Feb. the 7 of this moneth, which conteyning very punctuall answeares to all mine sent by Will. Sommers, and others about the tyme he went, I shall now endeavour to contract this letter to a moderate length. To that end I doe now this once for all giue your lordship most humble thanks for all those things, wherein, by your lordship's favour, I rest fully satisfyed, and whereof yow shall have noe further mention; by which mark yow will be pleased to take notice of them.

I receaued, subsigned by Mr. sec. Nicholas, a letter from his majestie, giuing mee power to receaue such of the Irish to mercy as I should find necessary, and something of instruction how to doe it; which shall be soe carefully observed by mee, that I trust the king's affaires, nether here nor in England, shall att all suffer by my management of that power, which shall only be made vse of vpon very evident and pressing necessitys, or by the granting of it, if it be kept as private there as I intend it shall be here.

I doe not find by those intrusted with the government of

Mounster, that the provisions sent thither answeare the proportion mentioned in your lordship's letter; nor by Will. Sommers, that those in preparation for this place, and to be sudainely expected, will last for more then fiue weeks, if applyed only to the men garrisoned in this citty; though those in other necessary garrisons of this province, and all the north, expect to be supplyed hence. Therefore I must humbly and earnestly propose, that the supplys for Munster may be made good according to the proportion designed; those for this place enlarged, as your lordship shall find needfull vppon discourse with sir Phillip Percivall, (who can best of any man informe yow of our numbers and wants,) and that from that side tymely care might be taken of, and plentifull supplys sent to Duncannon fort, which is in present much distressed by want, and the most important place to be surely kept that I know in the kingdom. And now that I have mentioned sir Phillip Percivall, I may not pass him by without a very particular recomendation, as of a man exceedingly knowing in all the affaires of this kingdom, that hath been both before in the warr, in the treaty, and since the cessation, extreamely industrious to advaunce the king's service; particularly in provideing with great dexterity, labour, and frequently vppon his owne creditt, provisions for the men, which at severall tymes weare sent hence, who els could not haue gone soe seasonably or well furnished. The only thing I particularly move for him is, that if in this voyage, which he vndertakes by his majestie's speciall comands, hee should dye, or otherwise miscarry, he may be favourably dealt with in his accoumpts, which are many and great. This, to mee, seemes a reasonable request.

Touching the Scotts, your lordship hath, I hope, received the certaine notice I sent of the preparation of part of them for Scottland; particularly the lord Sinclare's regiment, which was above tenn dayes since imbarked; more being redy to follow, and all comanded over, as your lordship will find by the inclosed copy of the order made to that effect in Scottland. Yet the inclinations and interest of the Scotts here, vrged and fomented by such as I set on, hath not yet left working, but is still on foot to the disturbance of the oposite councells; and I doubt that strongly for mee, now that calme, if I should attempt it, as by the inclosed copy of a letter from sir Robert Stewart may partly 256 apeare. I will endeavour all I can to vnite the old Scotts and the English in the north to the king's party, and doe hope to

prevaile with the cheife officers: but the truth is, the souldier and common people are soe deeply infected, that I have litle hope they can be vnanimously, or in any considerable number, drawen to serve the king against the rebells in England or Scottland. Of the new Scotts, your lordship sees there is no hope, except that when they come into Scottland they will be resty and muteny for their arreares, as I am certainely informed they have banded themselves to doe.

Munroe hath no mind to quitt this kingdom; but can no other way be considerably made vse of, I doubt, though I intend to make tryall of him.

There is noe tyme lost, nor meanes vnattempted, to hasten the levys of Irish. Earle of Antrim is about his worke, and is assisted by mee very really and with all industry; yett I doubt there is no trusting to what my lord or I shall be able to doe vpon that designe. Your lordship hitts vppon the right way, as well for this, as for discovering whether the Irish will ingadge thoroughly for the king, when you mention the Irish agents, who, I hope, are at Oxford by this; but if I had armes, provisions to keep, and ships to transport them, I should not doubt from the ports in the king's obedience to send at tymes considerable numbers of Irish with litle noyse, and without the help of the pretended Irish councell, whereof my lord of Antrim was sworn, since his last arivall, before I heard from him.

There went yesterday hence fiue good companies of foote, consisting of Irish and English, that are vtter strangers to the place they goe to. Lord Taafe and the rest had bin with you, but that the Irish would give them nether help nor permission; nor was I able to send them. Sir John Read is not yet com, therefore I can say nothing to his instructions; but I am and haue been this good while endeavouring to get arms and amunition from the Irish for part of the areare they are in, and I hope in some measure to prevaile. In which case it will be necessary that the vallew of what shall be sent hence in those comodities be returned hether in money, victuall, or cloth, for the suport of the army here. I am dealing with merchants to land at Chester, Bristoll citty, or Minhead, good proportions of armes and amunition, vpon assurance they shall be taken of with redy money; the prises, quantitie, and time when they may be expected, I will informe your lorddship very speedyly. I desire to know whether letters of mart may be given to Dunkerkers; if so, vpon what

conditions, and to have the forme of one sent hether, but with liberty to vary, according to what may be held to sute better with this kingdom.

His majestie's letters touching prince Harcourt are not yett come to my hands: when they shall, I will performe my duty.

There shall be forthwith a graunt to coll. Mine, as his majestic comands.

Touching my lord of Inchiquin's pretence to the presidency of Munster, I can say noe more then is well knowen to his majestie, viz. that he hath faithfully and successefully served him here, and was dilligent and forward in sending to the king's service in England what men could be spared out of Mounster; and I think it will be for his majestie's service, both heere and in England, that my lord of Portland be taken of with satisfaction, and the granting of that place for some tyme suspended.

My lord, this letter is written in som hast, which may ad something to the defects I could not mend in a year's tyme. I am most really

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dublin-Castle, 8° Martii, 1643.

Ormonde.

Jack Bary is now vppon the king's service, which, I must tell 257 your lordship, he hath advaunced in this kingdome with as much faith, dexterity, and successe, as any man whatsoever. When he comes, I am sure he will give good accoumpt of himselfe, and of any thing he hath written to your lordship.

CCXLV .- Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

THIS bearer, Mr. Sommers, hath imployed himselfe carefullye in your commaunds here concerning the provisions to be sent over into Ireland; and there being a course settled for the speedy transportation of such a proportion as wee could for the present provide, his longer stay heere seemes needlesse; and therefore he returnes vnto your excellence the neerest way, to give you an account of what is allready done, and assureance that wee will hasten awaye what other supplyes can possiblye be procured. Hee goes well instructed of occurrences heere, and therefore I shall not need trouble your excellence with relations. Hee

hath likewise in charge to represent vnto your excellence the great necessitie which the armie in Cheshire hath of greater quantities of armes and amunition then wee are able to spare from hence. Vpon which errant, I sent over three weekes since a servaunt of my owne to sollicite your excellence, and I must by every messenger renew the same pressures.

I have newly received your excellence's letter of the 24th, with the inclosed advertisements out of the north of Ireland; and I have, according to your excellence's commands, given captaine Baldwine Wake order to hasten to Dublin with his ships, there to attend your commaunds. And I hope that, by that time those you write to mee of bee ready to imbarke, there will be some other leuys in a good forwardnesse; especially now that you are likely to be freed from the jelousie of the Scots from the north of Ireland, whoe now, I thinke, whould doe vs more hurt there then they can ether in Scotland or Ingland; since while they remaine in Ireland it is not probable that the Irish would spare any of their men or armes ouer hether; which, being ridd of that feare, it is probable they may in good numbers, in case wee come to any good agreement with the agents. 'Tis true, that whilst wee thought that the Scots would not bee able to inuade England vnlesse they drew their men out of Ireland, our councells went wholly upon the keeping them there: but now thatt wee see they have invaded England without them, we conceive they doe us more hurt there, by withholding those aydes which otherwise we might expect from Ireland, than they could doe us here. And therefore your excellence is noe more advised to labour the detaining of them there above a month longer; by which time, the king's undertaking party in Scotland, whereof my lord Montrose is the head, will have either gone through with their worke, or it will be desperate; the being a hinderance vnto which, is now the onlye remaining occasion for vs to wish any longer the stay of the Scots in Ireland; provided alwayes, (which I make noe doubt but your excellence hath well forethought,) that there be meanes of following them into Scotland or England with store of Irish.

It is further thought fitt to represent vnto your excellence, whether, when the Scotts shall be gone, it may not be possible so to fortify the landing places in the north of Ireland, as to prevent any more such invadations from Scotland.

Since the wrighting of this, I received a letter from captain

Baldwin Wake, wherein I finde that he having endeavoured to pass over again to Dublin with his ships, he found them in so ill case, and his men so disobedient, that he was faine to tack about, and return to Bristol, where now he is; soe that by this meanes wee are likelye to be disappointed of the former convenience for transportation of men out of Ireland. There remaining now 258 upon that coast only two ships of captain Bartlett's which your excellence can get some help from, the Irish ships must indeavour to do that work at many returns which the other might have done at few, and your excellence is earnestly desired that you will still be sending over what numbers you possibly can.

Att this instant I receive a long dispatch in cypher from my lord of Antrim and Daniell O'Neale, wherein all that I can read without cypher seems to promis wonders.

I have delayed the going of this bearer soe long from day to day, that I cannot stay him any longer to give your excellence a larger account, he being charged with letters of greate importance to prince Rupert in Chesheire; but I shall dispatch Dick Power vnto your excellence within very few dayes, with full advertisements of all things. Thus humblye kissing your excellence's handes, I rest,

My lord, your excellence's most faithfull humble servaunt,

Oxford, March 8th,

1643.

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCXLVI.—Sir George Radcliffe to the marquis of Ormond.

My noble Lorde,

I am very much your lordship's servant for your favour shewen to Mr. Carpenter at the last meetinge of parlement, whereby he is freed from the occasion of much clamorous trouble.

I beseech your lordship continue your goodnes still towards him, which I shall acknowledge as great an obligation put on me as if it were done immediately to my selfe.

I have bene a suiter to his majestye for his liberty or future protection; and I have procured so much as I conceive wil be a good warrant for that fauour which your lordship shall thinke fit to extende vnto him.

I perceive by lord Digby that the earl of Antrim was a suitor for Bagnall to be governour of Newry, but lord Digby stopt it; so I thinke that is at peace. The prince ellector doth write kindely, others would say basely, to the Roundhead parliament in England, and is expected to come ouer shortly with his mother to London; where, no doubt, he shall haue some great ofice, as great cunstable vnder the new great seale. This is our conceipt.

My lord, I have not any thinge worth your trouble, more then Mr. Sumers can tell you, onely to write my selfe

Your excellencye's most humble servant,

Oxon, S Mar. 1642.

GEO. RADCLIFFE.

CCXLVII.—Arthur Trevor to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXELLENCE;

SINCE my letters by Mr. Roberts, I haue not had the honor of receaving any of your comaunds, though I haue stayed here behind the prince in expectation of your exellence's pleasure; and vpon that account I shall still wayte, being well satisfyed I am doing my duty, though disabled to be serviceable otherwise to yow, then in my prayers, which shall neuer depart from your noble person and family whilst I stay in the world.

The eldest brother of prince Rupert hath written to the par- 259 liament in England, much approving the præsent worke, with offerr to take the covenant, and justify it with his blood; and some say prince Maurice's mother is coming to Whitehall to the same purpose. This putts great amasement into some, and the more, because it comes from very good hands, that cannot in civillity be vnbeleiued.

The queene is resolued to goe to Bristol or Ludlow to lye in, but whether of both is not yet knowne. The supream councill of the Irish rebels, by the letters of the earl of Antrim, offerr 4000l. by the month to the queen, if she come to Ireland during her stay there.

Daniel O'Neile is full of this designe, and pretends, by his letters to lord Digby and lord Jermyn, to have some great worke to finish at Dublin. He and lord Antrim by theyre letters promise very largely; but I presume your exellence guesses whereabout the ballance of the account wil bee. They seeme to referre much to the content that shal bee given to the Irish agents, and accordingly they hope to thrive in theyre vndertakings.

Sir Richard Greenvill is come hither with his commission of being lieutenant generall to sir William Waller in his pockett. Vpon his coming, the earl of Leicester went out to take the ayre; but men conceaue hee is gone to the parliament. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and sir Gerard Napper are both runne away to the parliament from theyre bretheren the commons here.

Essex and Waller are drawing downe vpon my lord Hopton to Winchester, where hee is in his head quarter. Vpon aduise of the strength of the enemy to bee 7000 foot and horse, and noe more, it is now resolved that his lordshipp shall draw to Newberry, where the king meetes hym with 1000 horse and 1500 foote. My lord Hopton is of hymselfe 4500 foot and 2300 horse.

The earle of Forth, the generall, went out vpon Tuesday to comaund the king's forces that ly in the parts about Gloucester, to prevent the releife of it. And yesterday the l. generall Wilmott followed hym with 1800 horse. The relation of this particular I beseech your exellence receaue from the bearer, who is to passe through the batable ground in question, and will thereby bee able to make a demonstration of that which I can give yow but in an enthimeme.

The lords and commons here have sent vpp a letter to them at Westminster, wherevnto there is noe answeare made. For my share, I expect nought, being satisfyed in my soule that they have putt the wayes of peace farr from them.

The report that Monroe and the new Scots in Ireland are gone home is part of the beleefe here; for it comes to lord Jermyn, written from Daniel O'Neile at the council of Kilkenny, and therefore cannot want the spirit of truth. If it bee soe, or what likelyhood there is of it, I desyre and begge humbly your excellence's judgement, that accordingly I may dispose of some poore people, which I have vpon my hands in Wales, into those parts, if they may bee there with safety.

The king wants armes and money abominably. It is hoped the Irish agents will cure this double feauer, and if it doe, the physisian will bee honourable.

Lord Jermyn tells mee, that the lady Elizabeth, sister to prince Rupert, (who is a very *dona imperia*,) is the very engineer of this sad worke in her family.

There are now some councells held about disposing of the princes. Wales is much pressed for Ireland, and York for

Wales, as thinking it to much to venture all at once in one bottome.

Our advice from the north comes very coolely. I presume it is by reason of the interruption that is given to the passage by the forces that ly about Newarke in the seige of it.

From sir Ch. Lucas that comaunds the horse towards Lanca-260 shyre, were heare there hath been divers encounters between hym and Fayrefax; but soe as neither syde can yett bragge of the foregame. They are yett in the sett, and if sir Ch. be able to keepe hym from making his way to the Scots quarters, hee beats hym and the Scotts into the bargaine; for of theyre gallaways, and pistolls proportionable, theyre brethren here are not over confident.

My whole study is how I can handsomely shape an imployment to wayte vpon your exellence for some tyme, wherein I humbly begge your assistance. If your exellence can thinke of a way without jelousy, which I find to bee a difficult labor for mee to effect, I have soe much sett my minde of seeing your exellence once more, that if I should dy before I have satisfyed that desyre my ghost will not fayle to visitt yow, and see the duty of a faythfull servant done to your exellence in the memory of

Your exellence's most obliged and obedient servant,
Oxon, 9° Martij, 1643.

ART. TREUOR.

Take heed of Daniel O'Neile in secrets, as of 166, which stands for the beast in all authenticke cyphers.

CCXLVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to sir George Radcliffe.

Sir.

I am better satisfyed why it was necessary to place the command of North Wales and the adiacent countyes in prince Rupert, then why it was at any tyme held fitt to giue it vnto mee, if then it was conceiued needfull that I should remain here. In short, I rest fully satisfyed in that matter, and exceeding much with your care of mee in it.

Lord Antrim, he sayes, is busy in the king's affaires, but I doubt he mindes other busyness. This vnder the rose for a while, you will speak more of it in a little time.

Mr. Scipworth vnderstands of your recommendation of him, and shall shortly find the fruits of it. This to your letter of the 17 January; that of the 10th of Febr. requires noe other answere, then that I still keep my selfe vningaged for an agent; and soe shall doe till I can find one I may trust for the king's busynesse and my owne; or till you shall propose one to mee.

The aduise of my very good freind, whose face I neuer saw that I can remember, shall be followed. I forbeare to thanke him for that particular, least it be not fitt for me, in relation to you, to take notice of him.

Something is now written to lord Digby touching the presidency of Munster; but for some reasons, which hereafter you shall know, I am not positive for lord Inchiquin's present haveing it. I beleeue much in lord Digby, and I easyly beleeue Daniel O'Neile was willing I should be lord lieutenant, and perhapps he will vnwish it againe.

In colonel Barry I was not rightly vnderstood, I beleeue; but the difference is decided by this with you.

I shall find some tyme of better leasure to be more lardge and cleare with you. I rest

Your faithfull freind and humble seruant, Dublin Castle, 11 March,

261

CCXLIX.—The marguis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

1643.

Daniel O'Neile, who lately spoke with the earl of Antrim, will doubtless informe your lordship what hopes his lordship hath to prevaile in the design committed to his management. For my part, I finde no ground to alter what I have writ; but because the design of the isles seemes to be assented unto by the Irish, and in a forwardness to be put in execution, I desire humbly to informe his majestie that it hath been proposed unto me, that a port of strength in Ulster should be put into the hands of the Irish, to secure their armes, ammunition, and other provisions, and from whence they may conveniently imbarke. this I have so answered, as can neither give them colour to retard their preparations, or to challenge any promise that such a place should be put into their hands without equivalent caution. But that his majesty may the better judge what is fitt to be done in this, I humbly offer,

First, that I had, before the earl of Antrim arrived, a letter from two colonels, signifying a design the Irish had to possess themselves of a port in Ulster, and desireing me to be carefull of Carlingford and Greenecastle, which in Ulster are the only places that I can say are in my power, as they would be of Strangford and other ports possest by them; as may appeare by the said letter sent herewith, together with a copy of my letter to the lord Moore thereupon.

Secondly, that the old Scots and English in Ulster haveing this apprehension, it is to be doubted whether they will deliver any port within their power, though commanded.

Thirdly, if, notwithstanding the aforesaid intimation, such a place were put into the hands of the Irish, and by them made use of against the old Scots and English, (who profess to be for the king,) it would be considered what scandal it might bring upon his majesty, what discontent it would give to all his protestant subjects, and how hurtfull every way to his service. But if the necessity and advantage of this enterprise shall out-ballance these considerations, and that his majesty shall thinke fit to command me to put one of the ports in my power into their hands, I doe in such case humbly desire, that the place to be so delivered, and the person to whom, may be named by his majesty.

These things are but lately come to my knowledge, (I meane in part,) and those appointed by his majesty to attend him hence are ready to take shipping, else I would have opposed to what I have said, what occurrs to me on the other part; but that is more properly their worke on that syde, that are much better able to doe it. I am

Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble servant,

Dub. 13 March, 1643.

ORMONDE.

My lord, this bearer, lieutenant coll. Trafford, since my know-ledge of him, hath exceedingly well merited in the king's service, and will faithfully and carefully discharge any command your lordship shall please to lay youn him.

CCL.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

HIS majesty hath lately received an account from the earl of Antrim and Daniel O'Neile of theyr negociation at Kilkenny; of all which this inclosed extract, not to say coppy, of Dan. O'Neile's letter, will give you the cleerest information; wherein certainly 262 your excellence will find how necessary it is for the king's service, that there be a perfect good correspondence settled betwixt your excellence and the earl of Antrim. It is confest, that without your power his interest can availe little; and yett perhaps may hinder the good effects of your power, if he should settle to an opposition: whereas both concurring and co-opperating in the same way to the common end of the king's service, you may both advance it with eminent success.

The life and safety of our busines here depends vpon the diversion to be given to the Scots from Ireland by an army out of Ireland, in case they should prevaile against my lord Newcastle; which may yet be doubtfull, though, God be thanked, hitherto they have still been beaten and repulst. In consideration of this great importance to obtaine these aydes from the Irish, your excellence is desyred by his majesty to afford the earl of Antrim all the assistance of your power, favour, and authority, which shall be made appeare to you necessary for the going thorough with those services he hath vndertaken, both in matters of creditt and of the ports and governments required; as also of those shipps in his majestie's service which have order to attend your commands; whereof you will find the particulars in O'Neile's letter.

I send your exellence also here inclosed all the other papers which I received from Daniel O'Neile, by which you will make the clearest judgment what grounds and what probabilities there are of successe in theyr vndertakings; onely thus much I must adde, by way of assurance of the thoroughness of my lord of Antrim's intentions and affections to the king's service, that I have got a sight of his intimate and free letter to the dutchess his wife; wherein he gives such advices concerning the king's dealing with the agents, when they come over, as would become a man whose interests of religion were quite overborne by the interest of his majestie's honour and power. This, take vpon

my credit, I sawe with wonder, considering how he had been formerly represented as a person lykely to encourage the agents to demand in that kynd.

I intend within very few dayes to dispatch Dick Power to your excellence, by whome I will write more largely and freely. In the meane tyme, give me leave to begg one thing of your exellence, that is, that you will be kind to O'Neile, and not easly to entertaine ill impressions of him; for I must give him this testimony faythfully, that I never observed any man so devoted to another's interests as he hath constantly been to your excellence's, ever since I have had any accesse or trust near his majesty; and I am confident he will not be lesse valued by you, in that he is owned for a very particular friend by

Your excellence's most humble servant, George Digbye.

My lord, if your excellence think fitt att this time to passe the wardshippe of the lord Slane, you will putt a seasonable and singular obligation vpon the dutches of Buckingham.

CCLI.—The earl of Clanricard to the marguis of Ormond.

My Lord,

Oxford, the 14th of

March, 1643.

I FIND that no labour or industrie of mine can euer make me capable of state affaires, being now more in the darke than euer.

It being true that Antrim hath commission from the king to command 10,000 men, with Daniel O'Neile of the bedchamber; it is reported from them, that the king believes well of me, but sayeth, I have no power. If I have not, it was my duty and faith to him hath lost it me, and not being regarded for it. I 263 have gone much astray, it seems, but know not wherein, nor what course to take; and but for my confidence in you, and respects to you, I should for ever quit this unhappy kingdom.

I must confess my ability hath no way answer'd my desire to serue his majestie; yet, I presume with truth, and free from arogance, I may afirme, that none of this kingdome vpon his owne privat strength and interest, without the asistance of English forces, hath kept vp a stronger party, nor presarved more of the English nation, then I have done, having neuer received pay, armse, nor provision from ether state.

I am informed by a letter from Kilkenny that the earle of Antrim parted from thence in some discontent, they having not fully answer'd his lordship's expectation; but I hope they will not faile his majestie's service, which his lordship hath vndertaken with soe much forward affection.

I did not conceiue that his majestie would have made vse of the Irish forces of this kingdome in a body vntill they had bin first declared good subjects by a setled obedience to your lordship's government; and for my owne perticuler, I shall not be ambitious to command any forces to that service vntill we may waite vpon your lordship in such an expedition, or at least goe over by your comand and dirrection; and then I hope I shall be able to cary as many able good men with me as shall be required or expected of me.

On Friday night I received letters from sir James Dillon, being on his way to Gallway with my lord Castlehauen. He writes to me he hath somthing of importance to imparte vnto me, and that a speedy meeting would be very necessary betweene my lord Castlehauen, my lord Taafe, and my self, on which he would give his atendance. I returned answere, I would be all the next weeke at Loghreagh, and if they pleased to visit me as friends and antient acquantance, and not as generalls and governours, they should be very welcome. If there be any thing materiall, I shall speedily conuay it to your lordship.

There is dayly expectation in these partes of my lord of Costello's ariuall with his commission for the gouernment of this prounce; and no arguments I can vse will alter the apprehention of most men here, but that his imployment doth reflect disgracefully vpon me.

For my parte, I loue his person, and am no ways ambitious of such a charge; and yet it may be the choice of some other, though below him, and not so well esteemed by me, might in some opinions haue much less concern'd me; but those are but variety of coniectures, and shall not trouble me, who will euer be most constantly

Your lordship's most humble and faithfull seruant,

Portumna, the 17th of March, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

I beleeue I should not have troubled your lordship with a cha-

racter, but that St. Patrick's day makes letters subject to miscarry; and yet at best leisure your lordship may be pleased to be the translator of it.

CCLII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

THIS bearer, maior Dillon, is desirous that he may have leave from your excellence to rayse a troope of horse in Ireland, and to transport them hether into England; and intreating my recommendation to your excellence, I could not deny it him, being a person who, besydes his particular relation of neere kindred to me by marriage, hath behaved himselfe very well in these warres 264 Soe that what favour your excellence shall afford him shall goe vpon the score of obligation layd vpon

Your excellence's most faythfull humble seruant,

Oxford, the 21st of March, 1643. GEORGE DIGBYE.

I have newly received your excellencie's dispatch by maior Trafford, and I shall within very few dayes returne answeres to all particulars by an expresse; only two things I shall touch vnto your highnes: the one, that the desyres of the Irish touching Carlingford and Greencastle looke very suspitiously, and therefore your excellence hath great reason to be cautious in the poynt. The other is to desyre your excellence, that the armes and ammunition, which both your excellence and sir George Hamilton write of, may be speeded away to any of the king's ports, where they shall be taken off with ready money: principally let them ayme at Chester.

Your excellencies most faythfull humble servant,
George Digrye.

CCLIII.—Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

ALL your excellencie's comaunds are very welcome to me, but any that concernes your self I receaue as a great favour from your lordshipp. I have herein sent your excellency his majestie's letter for a graunt to be passed to your lordshipp for the custody of the fort att Duncannon, after the lord of Esmond;

which his majestic graunted very reddily, and also the increase of the number of men, as your excellency desired; only he hath forborne to increase their pay, least the precedent of it should make other forts sue for the same favour. But when your lord-shipp shal be possessed of it, it wil be easy, vpon reneuing the establishment, to procure an addition of pay for the soldiers of that fort.

The other letters to the corporations of Lymerick, Gallaway, and Waterford are also herewith sent to your excellency. The letter your excellency sent me of the 13th of March concerning the customes att Waterford, and the coppies of letters there inclosed, as what your excellency and the councell did therein, is here well approved of, so vse wil be made of it when the treaty shal be here begun with the agents, who presse to be speedily dispatched. I should have bene glad that your excellency from that side had advised what would have bene fitt to have bene here insisted on for the king's service, and the peace and security of that kingdome.

I have advertisement from forraigne partes, that both France and Spaine are laboring who shall gayne most vpon Ireland. It must be your excellencie's care and industry to prevent them both in their designes, for whatsoever interest or engagement either of these kings may have, the king our master will loose by it.

My privat opinion is, that if the king shall giue leaue to either of those kings to leuy men in Ireland, that it were much better that such leaue were graunted to the French then to the Spaniard; and if there were 5000 of the catholiques of Ireland lent to the French king, it would, I believe, secure that kingdome.

I shall not now add more, but that which my actions shall make good, that I am really,

My lord, your excellencie's most humble servaunt,

Oxon, 25° Martii, 1644.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCLIV.—Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond and 265 council of Ireland.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS;

ON the 20th instant I received your lordships letters, dated at Dublin the 26th of February last; by the which his majestie

hath seene your lordships carefulnes to observe the catholicks setting forward towards court. Yesterday they arrived heere, having landed in Cornwall. The protestant gentlemen as yet are not come; but good order hath been taken for convenient accomodation for them in this citty, when they shall arrive, as suitable to their qualities and imployment as this place can afford. The allowances by the day agreed vpon at the board there for them, his majestie doth very well like and approve, and wishes the meanes to satisfy the same were as ready at hand.

His majestie is well pleased with your lordships directions sent to sir William Stewart to come hither, if it may stand with his health; and seing your ioynt desires for sir Paul Davis his stay in his necessary attendance vpon the board there, is well contented to give way thervnto.

Of those severall letters which your lordships mention to have been directed to me, and desire to know the receipt, I can find noe more but these, viz. of the 17th of November, of the 8, 11, and 19 of Dec.; those of the 8, 9, 18 of Nou. and of the 13th of December are missing.

On the same 20th instant I also received your lordships letter of the first of March current, with an inclosed copie of an order of that board 22° April last concerning hydes of one Barnwell and others. Vpon perusall of which letter and order, his majestie commands me to make this answer, that he cannot but approve the carefull proceedings of the lords justices and councell then in that matter, and of the lord lieutenant and councell now in order to the preservation of that his kingdom, recommending it to your lordships to take a fitting course for the petitioners satisfaction soe soone as there shall be meanes for it.

Our last advertisements from my lord Newcastle are, that the Scots had made shift with the losse of many men to passe the Tyne; but were glad to betake themselves to a narrow quarter at Sunderland; which his excellency soe besetts as I heare they write most earnestly to London for releefe by sea, (that being the only way yet left them to receive it,) least they be else suddenly reduced to the last extremitys.

His majestie's garrison in Newark (commanded by sir Richard Byron) hath stoutly endured divers weekes hard seige laid to it by a great force of the rebels, who haue lost (as 'tis credibly affirmed) one thousand men already before it, and among them some eminent persons, the lord Willoughby of Parham, sir Richard Hubert, and others.

His highnes, prince Rupert, marched to the releefe of it divers dayes since, and wee expect that this weeke will prove a busy one, both thereabouts and in these parts; for although the earle of Essex his army is not yet recrewted, yet sir William Waller's, Balfoor's, and other of the rebels forces begin to move in Hampshire; and my lord Hopton from Winchester towards them, my lord generall Forth being also at hand with a good strength to ioyne with his lordship, and wee conceive them both together to exceed the rebels numbers.

They are at London busy with propositions for peace; but what they are like to prove, your lordships may imagine by what is past, and by this declaration adioyning, which his majestie 266 desires your lordships to order to be reprinted and published in the churches in Ireland. I am really,

My lords, your lordshipps most humble servant,

Oxon, 25° Martii, 1644.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCLV .- Arthur Trevor to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXELLENCE;

TO giue mee leaue to giue you a generall acquitance, confessing my selfe satisfyed to a letter, soe fully, soe euenly haue yow cleared with mee, and without correcting my bill, as if yow had a meaning to change your chapman but were loath to anger hym at partinge. I am affrayd yow will remember the story of the lawyer that had wrapp'd his elyent in a longe suite, and at length tould hym hee was outlaw'd. Mary, sayd the clyent, I am glad on't, and I promise yow I will not come into the law as longe as I liue againe. But bee it as it happens, your exellence is soe fayre a reckoner and soe rare a paymaster, (qualityes that are not alwayes of the whole blood in noblemen of your yeares,) that I cannot but giue yow credit for all the ware in my shopp, though yow take six and six, the two stages of the staple for payment.

From henceforth I will beginne to conceaue my selfe made happy by being writt downe by your noble hand amongst your servants to doe your commands, and shall therefore humbly acquaint your excellence, that I shall euer marke my letters with figures, making this my first, to the end your excllence may bee assured of miscarriage where yow find the numbers broken. I shall keepe by mee a note of the hand, the tyme and way, by which I send vnder that number; soe that, vpon advice from your exellence, I may retreive the letter, or leave the fayler where it ought to be charged.

The affayre of the earl of Antrim and Daniel O'Neile is now vnderstood, and that mystery riddled to bee a bragge. My lord Muskerry hath soe satisfyed lord Jermyn, whom I haue made very much his servant for your exellence's sake. And now I am vpon lord Jermyn, I shall finish with hym, as a peece that is very intirely your owne to a thridd. I shew'd hym a part of your letter, which I pricked to his hand; with which hee was infinitely well pleased, and reckon'd it as a very blessing reserved to bee conferred seasonably. The busines of the garter he vndertak's.

I find now by the transaction of prince Rupert's busines, that he is suspected by lord Jermyn, and relyeth on an odd one, the queen, (for whose sake the king writs to mee in euery letter he sendeth,) and would else go to into France. But I now find where the game lyes, and I cannot wish it in a better hand to serve my freinds, both in temper and honor.

I am very well satisfyed by somethinge that is allready begunne in the busines the of honour: your exellence will receaue good and speedy satesfaction in that particular.

I have a free passage to lord Jermyn's letters, and find in those of Daniel O'Neile to him that hee desyres hym to trust to hym to make him a freeholder in Ireland. This is putt on in good earnest there and somewhere else; but the complement is entertained for a well-meaning message. I find his and his general friends fallen two shillings in the pound since the Irish agents arrived.

The earl of Leicester tould the bishop of York that you were the beginner of the Monroe rebellion, and may well finish with them. I will speake with Muskerry what is best to bee done vntill I receaue your pleasure.

Bryan O'Neile makes very great suite to bee admitted agent 267 for the new Scots in Ireland, but I beleiue will not pravaile. Lord Dillon tells mee that by his perswasion hee writ for him.

To morrow the lord of Muskery, and the gentlemen that came with hym out of Ireland, are to bee heard what they can say for themselves in the defence of the actions in Ireland since the rebellion there. What likelyhood there wil bee of a setlement of a firme peace there, I shall not fayle to lett your exellence know by the very first winde.

Sir George Radcliffe and Bathe are very violent, which makes the Irish swagger very seuerely.

The prince is march'd towards Newarke with a stronge army, and wee heare this evening by my lord of Northampton's brother, that all the force that lay houering about Newarke are drawne after hym. Prince Rupert writes to the queen, that he hath but twelve barrels of powder, and that he shall be ruined.

The queen designes for Exeter to lye in. Daniel O'Neile hath written a longe letter to invite her for Ireland, (this was to lord Jermyn,) and therein the vndertaking in a monthly allowance of 4000*l*. Hereby you see what a new gamester may do, if he will be brisk.

I saw your letter to that purpose, but it could not be expected so punctuall for one of soe small interest as you.

Sir Edward Hyde and sir John Colepepper are suspected to bee something rigide in the busines of the Irish. This from lord primate, who is yett well.

Windsor-castle was the last weeke to have beene returned to the right owner, but the designe was discover'd (as it is privately sayd) by Mrs. Murray, who went from her husband here to London, from whence this intelligence comes, as they say here.

I doe not perceaue they have any swelling force about London to teare vs vp by the roots here, as they threaten. Waller and Essex are againe at great odds. My lord Hopton lyes out towards Winchester, and hath a smart strength, and is placed in a kindly soyle, where his army receaueth nowrishment and growth.

All our eyes looke northward after the earl of Newcastle, who hath an army soe braue, that nothing but a generall judgement can hinder to be victorious. He is much lost here since the Scots passed the river.

For what concernes my selfe in your noble care of mee, in manu tua sum. Dispose of mee as yow please; knowing therin yow order or setle hym that in all things on this syde idolatry hath intirely devoted hymself and all the facultyes of his soule to serve yow, who are the piller of your country and the buckler of the Brittish nation. I am

Your excellence's most obedient servant,

ART. TREUOR.

CCLVI.—The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

VPON the 17th, after my dispatch to your lordship, my lord of Antrim was pleased to bestow a visit vpon me, and did acquaint me with his majestie's commission for his command of 10,000 men; and that notwithstanding his forward complyance with the confederat party, by taking their oathes of association and that of a supreame counsellor, he was delayed, if not deluded, by them, both for his being lieutenant generall of their forces here, and his imployment into England, to the greate prejudice of his majestie's affaires, the advancement of which did very much depend vpon the sodaines of his expedition; and desired that I would vse my best indeuoires, by all wayes I could worke, to farther those ends he had proposed for the king's seruice; which indeed, my lord, was a request came very 268 sodainly, and much vnexpected vpon me, though most forward to serue his majestie, and willing to appeare respective to his lordship.

My lord was pleased to oblige me farther by stayeng with me, vntill he might receaue a returne from those he sent to Gallway; and vpon the 20th went with me to Loghreagh, where the next day ariued my lord of Castlehauen, my lord Taafe, and sir James Dillon. And then the debate grew hott betweene the two generalls, espetially concerning the lieutenant generallship; and I conceiue the conclusion was, that Antrim should quitt that claime, and Castlehauen to further and expedite his other imployment into England.

Some here, I am very confident, most affectionat to his majestie's service, carefull of the preservation of this kingdome, and not forgetfull of the perticuler interests of some persons of quality therin, have, according to their best abilityes, consider'd of the present state of affaires; and for any thing yet appearing to them, doe conceive it necessary that Antrim should be speedily dispatched with those forces, and that command he desires; it being observed by them, that his lordship intends to cary few with him, but those of Vlster, some of the old Irish in other partes of the kingdome, and the discontented officers that have bin disbanded of their party; and that if some other person, ether in present or future, should be imployed by his

majestie, they would hardly take the command of such vpon them; and to cary others, and leave them here in discontent, would be of dangerous consequence. And withall I conceive it is not out of your lordship's knowledge, and is confidently beleeved by me, that in most partes of the kingdome designes are layd to raise a new and violent distemper, and want but a person of quality to be their head, and, for any thing I know, vpon such a pretence of distast, it may be represented ouer as a service, this nation appearing backward to comply with his majestie's desires. But if the kingdome be thus cleer'd, and the warre continue in England, all will be secured here without difficulty, and his majestie afterwards served there with more considerable and orderly forces from hence.

These, my lord, are the apprehentions of some well-affected persons, and will, I believe, be pursued to give present satisfaction, but nothing to be concluded, vntill a more cleere and right vnderstanding be obtained. And I must confess my owne thoughts at this time, though not altogether free from some privat resentments, doth incline that way, there being but one difficulty that yet appeares to me, which is my being doubtfull that my lord of Antrim's entering into their association in soe high a degree, and carveng such with him, as may perhaps stand charged with the foulest actions committed here, may somwhat reflect vpon the king in England, and lessen his party in that kingdome; there being those that will make vse of the least shaddowes to put a preiudice vpon his gouernment and proceedings. But his lordship coming imediatly from his majestie, and with such full power and command, it obliges me to beleeue that those impediments are soe well prouided for, as that I am to suppress those weake conceptions of mine; though it be the discourse of the time in these partes, that it doth euidently appeare I have taken a wrong course; and some not of the meanest quality doe not sticke to reporte, that your lordship hath commission to punish all those that doe not enter into the associa-

My lord, I doe humbly and earnestly propose and desire, that your lordship will be pleased to send speedily hether my coussen John Barry, with such instructions as your lordship shall find necessary, my self and others having much to say that may be intrusted to him, and not to be venturde by this way of convayance. And I doe presume there are now very many that

only want a right information to dirrect their proceedings for his majestie's seruice, and the firme setlement of his gouernment and authority in this kingdome. My owne intentions of waiting vpon your lordship being enterupted by the ariuall into this 269 county of 800 Scotch Irish commanded by Collakitagh's son, for whom I am at this instant preparing ether to destroy or turne them ouer to the discretion of some of the neighbouring countyes. And withall, my lord of Castlehauen comes through these partes with his army very sodainly, and it will concerne me to take care of the presaruing of my quarters; and I hope your lordship will pardon me, though I doe againe second my former request for my coussen Barrye's repaire hether.

I left Antrim sicke at Loghreagh, some occasions calling me hether; but I am informed he went yesterday from thence towards Gallway, and goes after to the countyes of Mayo and Sligo, and soe to the north. Taafe went from hence this day to Gallway, and Castlehauen and James Dillon ouer the Shanon to their army. And if your lordship find any taint in my expres_ sions, they are guilty of it, and your seruant at Waterford a powerfull asistant therin.

Your lordship's dispatch of the 18th I received the 22th, and, inclosed therin, a most gratious letter from his majestie; and as he vouchsafes to beleeue, soe I shall euer be found a most faithfull and loyall subject and seruant, and will shortly take the presumption vpon me to returne my most humble acknowledgments by an imediat adres vnto him. In present I must not omitt to express my self very sencible of the greate obligations your lordship hath put vpon me, finding that honor and hapines I have received to proceede from your lordship's noble and fauerable representations, suplying my disabilityes, and gaining me such vnmerrited fauers.

And by this time I hope your lordship hath received your dispatches with some comfortable aditions to the former good successes of his majestie's forces: and though peace ought to be the end and aime of all good men's indeuoires, yet it may well be doubted, it will not proue much to the aduantage of the king's affaires, vntill his rebellous subjects be reduced to a lower condition then they yet appeare in. I will now ad nothing more, but to repeate my constant being

Your lordship's most humble faithfull seruant, Portumna, the 25th of CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS. March, 1644. [I doe I doe not find that your lordship's letter concerning the pretended indulgence hath bin yet deliuerd to those to whom it was dirrected.

CCLVII.—Lord Muskery to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

WEE haue this afternoone presented our demaunds to his majestie, which wee studied to make soe moderate and reasonable, as wee know not how it may be hoped that the nation may subsist in the condition of free subjects if our deseyres be not granted. Neyther is the heighest of them such a rock, but that the king may finde a way to satisfie his people in that kingdome without prejudice to his partie heare. And the reall aduantage of the assurance of our kingdome, and of a nation soe faithfully affected to his seruice, is much more considerable then the feares and jealousies to discontent a partie.

My lord, I beliue a coppie of our demaunds are now sent you, and you may be soe farr intrusted by his majestie therein, as itt may ley in your way either there, or by your aduise hither, to giue verey great furtherance to the present settlement of the affaires of that kingdome. I doe not hope to perswade you to this, not by aney good that may redounde to your selfe, posteritie, kindred, or nation; for I know in the place you hould, you regard not theise: but as you know the state of that kingdome, and the strong disease that raignes heare, specially in the commons generally ouer all the kingdome, you shall finde the peace of that kingdome to be of extreame great consequence to 270 his majestie's seruice. All which I submitt to your lordship's better consideration, and remaine

Your lordship's most affectionate brother and most humble seruant,

Oxford, the 29th of March, 1644.

Muskerye.

P. S. My lord, to compley with the king's necessities, wee haue falen to the very lowest that wee could deuise, and there is noe hopes wee shall decleyne aney thinge of what wee haue given in.

CCLVIII.—The supreme council to the marquis of Ormond.

OUR VERY GOOD LORD,

WEE doe not conceive that wee may discharge the trust reposed in vs by the confederat catholickes, if, besides confirmeing the people of our party in their loyalty and good affections to his majestie's service, wee did not advertise your lordship how great our feares are, and how just the grounds of them, that many who pretend to serve the king of your party, and have places of high trust and consequence in their commaund, have hollow heartes, and may, to his majestie's vnspeakeable disservice, and the ruin of this kingdome, receive the rebbells, now in armes against his majesty in England, vnto the marittim townes and fortes which they have in their hands.

In the first place, wee do pray your lordship to have a care of the forte of Duncannon, where the lord Esmond, whom wee suspect to be ready to adheare to the malignant party of the parlyament in England, commaunds, and two or three Roundheads, who are gratious with him, are in office.

To confirme this, wee haue heard that in discourse with a gentleman, who said it was reported your lordship had his majestie's letter to appoint him a successor, he said, that must not be, vntill hee were paid of all his arreares.

Concearneing Youghall, wee are given to vnderstand that vpon reporte of that parte of the parlyament's fleete, which is vnder the commaund of the lord Lill and Grinville, their being in Milfordhaven, the towne is devided, som ready to defend it for his majesty, others to receive the forces prepared for an invasion; and in what condition the young earle's affections to his majestie's service do stand, your lordship best knowes; but wee allway suspected the father and the sonn to be well-wishers to those rebbells in England.

Corck was, in the absence of the lord of Insequin, putt into the hands of sir Hardres Waller, who most men doe beleeue to be a Roundhead; and the government of that parte of the province which lyes within your quarters was intrusted with sir William Fenton, one of the same cutt. And now the lord of Insequin is retourned, wee feare the power of Corck and Kinsale may be in a worse hand, for it is reported hee came discontented from courte. Wee do beseech your lordship to reflect vpon the

importance of the places, and to prevent a mischiefe which may be fatall to this kingdome.

Wee vnderstand further, that letters have beene procured out of England, by which one of the Creaghes is appointed collector of the customes within the porte of Lymerick, and that som other (they say the lord of Brochill) is nomynated governour of the castle there.

It appears, by the articles of cessation, that the citty of Lymerick and the county of it are within our quarters; and therefore wee pray your lordship, that way be given to noe act which 271 may violatt the cessation. Thus, with our heartye wishes, wee rest

Your lordshipp's humble servants,

Daniell Obryan. Lucas Dillon.	Torl. O'Neill. Thomas Cashill.	Netterville. G. Preston.
Rob. Lynch. Gallway, the 29th of March, 1644.	Malachias Tuamen.	Geo.Commyn.

CCLIX.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

I have received your excellence's twoe letters of the 8th and of the 13th of March, by this bearer, leiutenant collonell Trafford. In returne wherevnto, I have not much to say by way of directions from his majestie, since he is resolved to leave the finall determination of all thinges concerninge that kingdome vnto your excellence's judgement vpon the place; and for matter of discourse and opinion, I have delivered it allreadye vpon most of the subjects of these letters in former dispatches. Notwithstandinge, vpon occasion of some advertisements from O'Neale and others, I must att this time inlarge vnto your excellence with freedome concerning the publike, when I shall first have ridd my handes of some particular businesses, that I may have both you and my selfe more free in the important part.

In the first place, your excellence is desired to expresse to my lord Taaffe and to Jack Barrey the particular notice which the kinge takes of both their affections and industrye in his service; as some testimonye whereof for the present, his majestie is pleased to conferr vpon them and Dick Power, accordinge to the inclosed letters, one third part of such Londiners or other rebells

debts of this kingdome, as they shall discover in that for the raisinge of three regiments of foote for his service, over and above another third part due of course to the discoverer. And it is his majestie's further pleasure, that the remayning third part of the debts in this inclosed paper, whereof they have made discoverye, be imployed for the arminge, mainteyninge, and transportinge of the said regiments.

My second private businesse is to recommend vnto you the interest of my worthye freind sir George Hamilton in the sute which his majestie hath graunted him: for I am afeared that his neare relations to your excellence may be likelye rather to hinder then advance him with you, in that which might be of any ill example for the kinge to graunt; but I hope this is not att all of that nature.

In the third place, your excellence is desired to thinke of and to propose some way of obleidginge the earle of Clenericarde, whoes greate meritt in the kinge's service hath beene severall wayes represented to his majestie.

Fourthlye, your excellence's approbation is inquired after to the makeinge the earle of Corke treasurer of Ireland, as his father was before him. Wee are well parswaded heere of his affection to his majestie's service, but nothinge shall be done of this nature without your excellence's concurrent favour and opinion.

The next sort of businesse I have to write of is of things, though relatinge to persons, yett of a more publike nature.

First, concerninge sir William Parsons and the other three privye counsellours, whoes baylinge latelye is represented heere as a very odious thinge to that kingedome, and threatned to be of greate disservice to his majestie: if that be your excellence's opinion, you cannot want pretence to make them fast againe; and it is his majestie's pleasure that you should doe soe. The 272 rebells heere have avowed them for theirs, and shew how deare they are to them, by offering in exchange for them fower of the cheifest commanders that they have prisoners att London. Vnto this point, I send your lordshipp heere inclosed the coppy of a letter from my lord Castlehauen.

Secondlye, concerninge the presidentshipp of Munster, the engagement to my lord of Portland was too farr gone to be recalled or stayed: he had it vnder the kinge's hand before my tyme, and his pattent is past the seale; but if your excellence should

apprehend any greate inconvenience by it to the kinge's affayres there, all possible industrye shall be vsed to make him relinquish it, by satisfyinge him with somewhat else.

Your excellence is pleased to take notice of the straight proportion of provisions which you heare are provided to bee sent over into Ireland. Trulye, my lord, as the case standes with our necessityes, wee thought wee had done wonders in procuringe soe much; but all further meanes possible shall be vsed to enlarge the supplye. In the meane time, God send that which is readye well over; for the shipps which are to carrye it have beene twice chased back by the rebells.

As for the fort of Duncannon, soe particularly recommended by your excellence, there hath beene newly sent over thither a part, over and about the rest, three hundred poundes worth of provisions by a servaunt of my lord Esmond's, sent over to mee of purpose to sollicite the releife of that important place; the mention whereof gives mee occasion a little to complaine of your excellence, that you doe not thinke mee worthye of your commaunds in such services as concerne your selfe; which, how inconsiderable soever, I cannot but envye that they should passe by any other handes.

This bearer, leiutenant colonell Trafford, will acquaint your excellence more att large with the resolutions heere for the securinge of Beaumaurice and the adiacent strengths of Wales, soe necessarye to our communication with Ireland; which, in short, concludes in this: in case prince Rupert approve of it, whereof Trafford will certifye you, that your excellence would be pleased to send over to Beaumaurice three hundred men well armed, and such a commaunder with them as may be a discreet and active man, fitt to take the whole charge, as colonell or maior generall of Anglisey, Canarvan, and Merioneth.

I believe this bearer hath inclination enough to the thinge, but vpon soe small acquaintance I cannot judge of his fittnesse.

I was very much ioyed to finde O'Neill in his last letter soe resigned vp to your excellence in his owne person and opinions, and soe well satisfyed of your favour to the earl of Antrim. For though, perhaps even with it, his lordship cannot doe much good, hee will goe on cheerefullye, without mutinye and discontent; and soe consequentlye rather contribute then doe hurt to those greate and solid services to his majestie, which are solely expected from you.

I doe not thinke your excellence believes that I could easily swallowe a conceipt of the earle of Antrim's bringing ouer at this time into England ten thousand men, or halfe the number; since if hee were able to raise and arme them, it can signifie noething without provisions for them, which can neuer be obtained there, but by a peace and perfect setlement with the Irish. And in that case, your excellence should litle neede his help to a worke which, I suppose, would then be easie to your excellence. My lord, I guesse att Antrim's power, and I know indifferent well his person, the later of which may assure you that I never could expect miracles from him. But perhapps your excellence, whoe knowes him better, may thinke that if I expected any thing from him, it must be miracles, where naturall causes faile.

Twoe thinges there are, which indeede I dispaired not but that lord may bee vsefull in; the one, in case of a rupture with the Irish, to raise a partie for the king among themselues; vnto which, as I wrote vnto you formerly, I finde that really he hath 273 engaged that way some leadinge persons amonge them. For the parforminge of which service, it was thought necessarye to graunt him the creditt and authoritye of a commission to command those men that he should raise. The other is, in the matter of the islands and highlands, vpon agreement with the earl of Montrosse and other lords of the king's partie in Scotland. And this trulye is the only service that wee expect from him with any confidence, in case the Irish will performe their promis of lending armes and prouisions by the last of Aprill. But I must confesse to your excellence, that even before I received your excellence's queeres concerninge the puting a fort or twoe of those which you possess into their hands, their very demaundes of it vpon that ocation suggested vnto mee very strong suspitions of some ill-designe in it; for they lending to the king such a quantitie of armes and prouisions for a service of a seuered nature from the business of Ireland; and consequentlye it beinge his majestie's interest, not theirs, to take care that they be rightlye imployed, I cannot see vnder what coulor or pretence they should expect vpon this occasion to have a fort put into their hands, vnlesse it were by way of caution and securitie for the loane of those armes, and then surely the pawne is much too greate and dangerous to be allowed. My ielousye in this poinct is much heightened by those intimations which your excellence received from the north, especially findeinge, both by the earl of

Antrim and by Daniell O'Neill, that Carlingford and Greenecastle are the places aimed at. It is true, as I tell your excellence, that I believe there is some by designe in this vncolerable demaund of theirs; but yet, since I vnderstand that Baggnall hath some kinde of pretence to Carlingford or Greencastle, or both and that Bagnall is the man named in those demands to haue those fortes put into his hands, I am inclinable to thinke there may bee more of private designe in it then of publike ill intent. In which I am the rather confirmed, in regard that at the earl of Antrim's being here, wee have beene and are still very much prest, that the sayd Bagnall may be made gouernor of the Neury; vnto which place, as I am informed, hee hath also the like pre-His majestie hath beene and is soe earnestlye sollicited in this particuler, that your excellence is desired to let O'Neill know that Baggnall hath bene recomended vnto you from hence for that gouernment; for you cannot want pretences there to keepe it; and should it directly be refused heere, it might make Bagnall reuolt from his resolutions, which I have seene vnder his hand, (but this your excellence will be pleased to keepe very secrett,) that hee would bee for the king with all his power in case of a rupture with the Irish; divers other principall persons haueing made engagement in the same kinde.

In Daniell O'Neill's last dispach there were twoe requests renued in the earl of Antrim's behaulfe; the one, that hee might haue the gouernement of Colerane and Londonderry; the other, that hee haue your leaue and assistance to the iniooying his owne estate in the north. The latter of which, his majestie doth willinglye condecend vnto, and doth earnestlye recommend it to your excellence to give him therein what furthereance you can. In the other, concerninge the gouernments, your excellence is desired to giue him what faire and smooth contentment you can, without preindice to his majestie's seruice in essentials.

Vpon this occasion of these demaunds relatinge to privates interests, I must needes acquaint your excellence with my greatest iealousie in what concernes lord Antrim's vndertakeing, and which I must recommend vnto your excellence to have a carefull eye vpon, that is, least Antrim's friends and dependants of Vlster should, vpon the pretence of seruing the king vnder his comand, carry along designes of re-establishing themselves in the teritorys of their auntient septs forfeited by their predicessors; and that when they had got a power together, vnder

coulor of seruing his majestie's interest, they should aply it to serue their owne. If this should be, it would ruine all the affayres of that kingdome, and the hopes of all benefits to this 274 from thence. This is soe dangerous a poinct, especially with all those whoe haueing beene of those great and powerfull famillys, have now nothing left, that if it were possible for mee in any kinde to suspect a bias in my deare [friend] Daniell O'Neill, it could bee only in this particular. But really I doe not, onlye it may serve as a testimonye to your excellence, how in all thinges I proceed with you, without any manner of reserve, that I mention him to you vpon this ocation. In case your excellence concurr with mee in the apprehention of this danger, I shall not need discourse to you of the probablist preventives; your excellence vpon the place will judge soe cleerely, as to need noe suggestions from hence. This onlye I conceive, att all events it will be requisite now that the new Scots are gone, or vpon goeing, to confirme to you by all meanes possible all the remaines, both Scots and English in Vlster, where the principall sceane of this danger lyes. And in case that the earl of Antrim should be able to raise any considerable power for the kinge, that you endeavour to preuent his drawing it into Vlster; but that hee imbarke it in some other parte of the kingdome.

Thus farr I had written twoe dayes since, but have deferrd the sendinge till I could withall send you these inclosed propositions of the agents, of whoes promisst and expected good temper and faire intentions I grow to bee lesse confident. But I comfort my selfe with this consideration, that in this treatye wee shall either reape the benefitts of a happy accommodation, or the advantage of a verye populer rupture with them. If the first be likelye, wee ought then to hasten a conclusion by all meanes possible, that wee may have a timely taste of the fruiets of it; if the later, I conceaue that then our part is heere to protract and drawe out the treaty to length, and in the meane tyme to suply your excellency and all the fortes there with necessary prouisions; with which, and perhaps, if God blesse vs here but as hee hath done of late, with beter aides, wee shall bee able to suply you before the end of the cessation, which they will not dare breake as long as their agents are heere. In case wee succeed with the agents, our first endeuour must bee to procure the vse of some of their frigatts; if not, wee haue taken the [best] order wee can to be suplyed from Dunkerk. In the meane time, wee

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

are sending twoe or three men of warr more from Bristoll to that coast; and your excellencie is desired, and my lord Byron alsoe on this side, to hyer all the barkes that may be got to transport the earl of Antrim's men ouer into the islands, in case you finde that hee is likely to goe thorough with the designe, which is the part of his vndertakeing, wherin I haue the greatest beliefe, and truely of great importance in relation to other designes layd allready in Scotland; in regard of which, I only feare the returne of the Scots out of Ireland thither: but if they will, as your excellencye seemes to hope, mutiny lustily for pay, they will then doe more good then hurt; for wee shall have meanes there of applyinge further temptations to them.

When I shall have againe sollicited your excellence, that all expedition may be vsed in procuringe and sendinge over armes and amunition to any of the kinge's ports, (where they shall be taken of with readye monye or equivalent commodityes,) I conceive I have touched every poinct that I can thinke of in relation to the businesse of that kingdome; and that there remaynes onlye to begg your pardon for this tedious trouble given you by,

My lord,

Your excellence's most faithfull humble servaunt,
Oxford, March the 29th,
1644. GEORGE DIGBYE.

My lord, I had forgott three thinges: the one, to recommend vnto you with much earnestnesse the care of Dick Power; the other, to assure you that particular care shall bee had of sir Philip Persivall; and the last, to tell you, that I send you heere withall a coppye of our letters of mart and articles, vpon which 275 some Dunkerke friggats have beene hired; and your excellence cannot doe a better service then to engage as many and as speedilye as you can vpon the same or what other conditions you shall thinke fitt.

CCLX .- Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

THIS bearer, the lord Ranelaugh, hath ever since his returne from those whoe formerly misled him, exprest himselfe, both in the assembly heere att Oxford and otherwise, very heartye and affectionate to his majestie's service; which concurringe with his alliance and relations to persons whom I doe very much

respect, I could not withhold from him this testimonye and recommendation of him to your excellence's favour; which if he shall deserve there, your excellence will much obleedge mee in lettinge him vnderstand that he receives some advantage with you by this addresse from,

My lord,

Your excellence's most faithfull humble servaunt, Oxford, Aprill 1st, George Digbye.

CCLXI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

TO your dispatch lately brought me by my seruant Summers, I shall very shortly give your lordship accompt by an express; and doe hereby answere only the particulars of your later letters 21st last moneth newly delivered me by major Dillon.

I need not tell your lordship how ready I shall bee to give all possible assistance to this gentleman; the recommendations your lordship hath giuen him, my lord, may assure you sufficiently of soe much. Howbeit, either for the charges in furnishing, or the safety in transporting his troope here to be raysed, I cannot, I dare not be accomptable; both in regard of the great difficultyes we are here put to for want of moneys, (the Irish pay in the moneyes due from them to his majesty very slowly, and are in great arreare,) wherewith fittingly and sufficiently to prouide and furnish such forces as otherwise wee might supply his majesty hence withall; as all soe thorough the great hazard they will run in their transportation, whilest the shipps imployed by the parliament, as it were, block vp these coasts, some now rideing (as I heare) vpon the point of Aire neare Mosson, betwixt Beaumauris and Chester. The same lately tooke away seauen barques, with much scandall and insolency, out of the very port of Hollyhead, they being bound hither with provisions for the releefe of this place: soe as if some seasonable course be not taken from that syde for clearing of these coasts, his majesty's subjects here shall neither have traffique or livelyhood from that side, nor his ministers the meanes to send but their very dispatches safely from hence. And these are the two maine difficultyes why the armes and ammunition, mentioned by my selfe and sir Geo. Hamilton, cannot in present be speeded hence as your lordship

directs. For we not only want money to fetch them from the marchants, owners therof, but safety of transportation for them at after, vntill these common spoylers be remoued from these coasts; which I beseech you humbly to represent to his sacred majesty, whose affaires, as well as the mutuall assistances of his subjects of both kingdomes, are in noe small degree concerned herin.

Touching Carlingford and Greencastle, I shall be sure to have a very particular care of them; and soe, my lord, I remaine

Your lordship's most affectionate

and most humble seruant,

His majesty's castle of Dub.
1 Aprill, 1644.

Ormonde.

276

CCLXII.—Sir George Radcliffe to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY 1T PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

THE comissioners from the supreme councill have bene here ever since Saturday 23th of March. They have attended the king with propositions, which this afternoone are to be read at the counsell boarde. What they are, I know not; for I have not seene them. Sir Brian O'Neill did mee the courtesie to persuade Muskerry and the rest to move that sir G. Radcliffe might not be admitted to advise in their busines. Lord Digby telleth Radcliffe, that the propositions were first high and scandalous, at which lord Digby stormed notably; and then my gentlemen came downe notably. There is nothinge that is scandalous now, nor dishonorable for the king to treate on. I heare by another hande, not so good, I confesse, yet reasonable good, that wee shall have peace, and that they will submit much to the king.

My lord Rannelagh bringes some recommendation to your lordship about a counsellor's place in Irelande, as a badge of his majestye's fauour, and an argument that he is well accepted here. All I am to say in it is, that your lordship had much respect on all sides; neither would it be granted, without first consultinge your lordship; nor would my lord Rannelagh haue it, but by your lordship's fauour.

A wise man said here on another subject, that the king had fools enough of his priuy councell allready; and that, I belieue, your lordship findes true. This motion came from lord Dillon of Costellogh in fauour of his cousin.

Prince Rupert had very great successe in relieuinge Newarke; and since, all Lincolneshire (except Boston) is reduced to the kinge's obedience. He gott at Newarke, Lincolne, and other little garrisons therabouts, 30 pieces of ordnance, and 8000 fire armes. The Scots are at Sunderland, besett by 4 garrisons of my lord Newcastle's, Hartlepoole, Durham, Lumley-castle, and Newcastle. They want horse-meat very much, and haue no store of man's-meat. They beginne to be sicke. Wee tooke 6 ships at Scarbrough laden with victuals from London.

My lord Hopton fought with Waller on Fryday near Alseford: our men had the better all the fore part of the day, but towards even wee gott a shrewd brush: we say that wee haue not lost aboue 400 men. Wee brought off all our coulours, bagge, baggage, ammunition, and great gunnes. Waller is since gone to Winchester, and then to Salisbury; and it is thought he will goe on westwarde. Wee are sendinge after him all the strength that can be spared, and I hope it wil be a very gallant army. I heare to day that the kinge himselfe will take the field. If God send vs good successe now, I shall hope for a speedy peace.

My lord, I am exceedingly your debtor for sundry civilityes and reall courtesies to my lord of Strafford; that which I heard last on, was your fauours about the officers of his troope. I hope he will one day be able to pay your lordship with better respects then these poore acknowledgements from

Your excellence's most obliged servant,

2 Apr. 1644.

GEO. RADCLIFFE.

CCLXIII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

277

My Lord,

IN my last dispatch vnto your excellence by leiutenant colonell Trafford, I sent you a coppy of the Irish agents first propositions, which trulye were so unreasonable as to drive us rather to thoughts of breaking with them the most popularly we could, than of giveing them any satisfaction; only it was resolved to make first a tryall, whether privately they could be induced to withdraw those propositions, and to make such as might be treated on without scandall; and in the meane time to suppresse the former, wherein we have found them beyond expectation councellable; and they have this day, insteade of the former,

presented these inclosed, which though in many things unreasonable for the king to grant, yet are not very scandalous for them to aske. Soe that your excellence is humblye desired to keepe the former propositions as secret as you can, whilst we worke upon these, with some confidence now of good successe. I shall from time to time give your excellence notice of all that passes; but for the present this is all your trouble from,

My lord,

Your excellence's most humble faithfull servant,

Oxford, 2nd Aprill,
1644.

George Digbye.

CCLXIV.—The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

THIS inclosed I have newly received from my lord of Antrim, being the 8th of this month vpon his departure into the north from Loghglin, sir Luccas Dillon's house in the county of Roscomon. And if I be not much mistaken in his lordship's shorte way of writing, I am desired to present it to your lordship for a safe convayance into England.

This occasion of sending doth refresh my memory, not yet well setled, to informe your lordship of a particular omitted in my last dispatch, and though no apt schollar, I shall adventure vpon the lesson I lately received from your lordship.

Lord Antrim hath lately sent dispatches to court by a frier, called Crelley, and, as I conceive, he is an abbot in the north, active in mind and body, questioned for keeping lord Antrim's cousin, if not excommunicated; I leave it to you to make advantage of it.

Young sir George Hamilton was with me last night, and went early this morning to Gallway: if your lordship can read my character, you may be assured it is true, but not strange, being like the rest. Having allready begged my pardon for this weeke, I shall briefly, but most surely, yowe my selfe

Your lordship's most humble and faithfull servant,

Portumna, the 11th of CLANRICARDE and St. Albans.

Aprill, 1644.

CCLXV.—Arthur Trevor to the marguis of Ormond. My Lord.

THE king is gone to the army, and is marching after Waller to Winchester, with 6600 foote and 3000 horse. The queen stayes to looke youn the success; if it hit, she is for Bristol, if not, for Chester; and then have at Ireland for one boute, wherein, I must confesse, I cannot tell my owne wish.

Prince Rupert is mightily in loue with the Irish, and counts 278 the losse of the army that came thence into England a mayme. Hee is now 5000 foote and 3000 horse, and expects only orders for his march. Legg is gone with the design to the queen and lord Jermyn, vpon whom prince Rupert wins, and willingly receives orders from none else. Hee hymselfe inclines much towards Norfolk, and if left to hymself, that course he will hould; but I have before mention'd the moment whervpon depends his eternity. Lord Digby, with whom prince Rupert hath no present kindnesse, writt yesterday vnto hym about the relief of Latham; but the paper, which was not an order, but would fayne haue disputed itselfe into authority, was soe ill receaued, that I am afrayed my worke of reconciliation is at an end. Prince Rupert comands me to tell you to look to the earl of Antrim and Daniel O'Neile. There are great apprehensions: how they arise, I know not: when I doe, your exellence shall. Legg and Daniel O'Neile are enemies.

When I tooke horse, the king assured me of them in Ireland, and soe did lord Jermyn. Lord Muskery beares hymselfe very well, and indeed soe doe some more. If you will please to haue sir Robert Poyntz ouer, to putt on your private cares and weare them for you, lett me receaue your exellence's commands. I will perswade with hym to come ouer to your exellence; hee is a prudent, and hath thrown vpon his owne game, yett may bee invited by a line or two to play yours. I am

Your excellence's most humble and obedient servant for euer, Shrewsbury, 13°

Aprilis, 1644.

ART. TREUOR.

CCLXVI.—Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

ALBEIT the persons appointed by the king to com over from Ireland to assist the king's ministers heere in the treaty are not yett com over, wee are heere entered into the treaty with the agents for the Roman catholiques of Ireland; wherein I much doubt wee shall, for want of their assistance, faile of doeing the king that service which wee desire. And therefore I pray your excellency to hasten them away hether with all possible dilligence, and to cause them to bring with them the printed statutes of Ireland, which heere wee cannot meet with.

And because divers of the said catholiques propositions here concearne many things conteyned in their bills of grace and the articles agreed vppon in the yeeare 1641, att the councell table at London, with the agents then attending the king from the two howses of parliament in Ireland, secretary Nicholas prayes your lordship to be pleased to procure to be sent hether coppys of the said bills of graces and articles, that vppon pervsall of what hath been [by] his mercy don therein, wee may know the better how to proceed in those particulers for his majestie's service. The three things that wee find most vnreasonable in these agents propositions are, the libertyes of religion desired by them, which is very vnreasonable; but they say they will therein be more moderate. And the next is, to have a new parliament called, in regard that the present parliament, as they say, is not legall, by reason of the death of master Wandesford, as your excellency hath heard. And the third, that Poynings law may be suspended, which, though it hath been once done, yett, it is conceaued, may now be of very great inconvenience to the king's affaires on that side.

There are great preparations makeing at London and other partes by the rebells to draw hether against the king, who is gathering together all his strength, soe as it is very probable that within a moneth or 5 weeks at farthest there will be a battaile fought.

God blesse his majestie with a sucesse answearable to the 279 righteousness of his cause; soe prayeth,

My lord, your excellency's most humble servant,

Oxon, 15° April,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCLXVII.—Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

I HEARE my lord Lowther and the rest of the protestant gentlemen are now appoaching towards court, and wil be here on

Wednesday, which for my part I am glad of; for without them wee cannot well proceed with the others, who have been heere some weekes. I wish they had come sooner, for the time of action is farr advanced, and the rebels preparations soe vigorous, as I doubt wee shall not have much leisure for consultation.

I had this day certain advise from London, that they are there strongly providing of all necessaries for the field, meaning to bring forth a greate army from thence and the eastern counties. To which purpose the earle of Manchester drawes this way all his forces, and the earle of Essex is to bring out what he can from the rebellious citty of London, which is made to beleeue that this is the last time their assistance in this kind shal be required. In effect, they are resolved to play all at this cast, and to put a desperate cause (as theirs is) to a desperate issue. His majestie's preparations are therefore hastened accordingly, both for the secureing of this place and Reading, (which are the rebels chiefe aymes to begin withall,) and for the assembling of as great a force as can be made.

My lord generall Forth, my lord Wilmot, and my lord Hopton haue at Marlborough a very faire army of about 9000 horse and foote; to whom prince Maurice (who is attempting Lyme) wil be ready to ioyne another gallant body, and yet leaue garrisons secur'd. Wareham in Dorsetshire wee haue lately taken by assault, as, in some weekes before, many other castles and garrisons which the rebels held, whereof your excellence will find exact relation in the mercuries adioyned.

Wee found in Wareham 200 muskets, 40 case of pistols, 13 peeces of ordnance, and a good quantity of powder and munition. Lieutenant colonell Obryan is appointed gouernour of it, his regiment having done you service.

Prince Rupert is assembling all his forces, and wil be in fewe dayes able to march vp to his majestie with a strong army, if need be.

Here is sad newes come from the north concerning a defeate given by Fairfax to colonell Bellasys (gouernour of York) at Selby: but wee hope the losse on our side is not such as the rebels giue out, for wee haue yet noe particulars thereof by any expresse. My lord Newcastle, notwithstanding, holds the Scotts hard to it, being in very good condition with his army about Durham. And it is certain there are some disorders in Scotland, my lord marques Huntley having seiz'd vpon Aberdein with

the forces which he hath rays'd; for whose countenance my lord Newcastle hath given to the Scots lords who went hence of late 300 horse and 50 officers of that nation to make their way into Scotland by Carlile, which is to supply them with some more forces.

The queene purposing to lye in at Bristoll or Exeter, intends to begin her iourney thither to morrow, if her health serve.

The members of both houses of parliament here assembled, having with great affection and vnanimity attended the dispatch of necessary affaires, are to recede this weeke to their severall 280 charges, (the time for action being now come,) leaving a committee of both houses for intervenient occasions. I am most affectionately,

My lord, your excellencie's most humble servaunt,

Oxon. 16° April,
1044.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

I have now gotten the statutes of Ireland.

CCLXVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to prince Rupert.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE;

ACCORDING and in obedience to your comand in your letter of the 5th of this moneth, and in pursuance of like comands sent mee from his majestie by coll. Trafford, I am now prepareing three companies well armed and comanded to be sent to North-Wales, where, God willing, they will be by the end of the next weeke, or very soone after, to receive your highness's pleasure.

The good affections I have allways observed in coll. Trafford to the king's service, and my beleefe that his knowledge of and interest in those partes will make him vsefull to the service of both kingdomes, gives mee boldnesse humbly to recomend him to your highnesse for the comand of the men he shall transport, and of the places wherein those men shall be placed.

In things within my power, your highness's pleasure shall noe sooner be vnderstood then obey'd by mee; and I trust my performances shall at least correspond with my vndertakings; but in things depending vppon the abilityes or inclinations of others, though I shall very rarely be positive in them, yett I may sometymes be mistaken in the promises of others, when I see probability for it. Of this nature weare your highness's comands

touching the procuring of armes and amunition from his majestie's Roman catholick subjects of this kingdome, whereof though, as I remember, I gaue your highness no full assurance, yett I confess I was, when I writt, in greater hope of prevaileing then now I am; nor are they very much to be blamed, the Scotts being vett heere in great numbers. And fresh reports coming dayly, that they will not only begin the warr afresh with them, but endeayour to impose the taking of their covenant vppon vs by force of armes; yett if your highnesse shall comand shipping and provision hether, I hope I shall be able to send 800 or 1000 good men reasonably well armed; but without shipping and provision be sent, our wants are such, that I shall be able to doe little towards the recruiting the army vnder your highness's comand. I most humbly beceech your highness's pardon for the plainesse of this letter, and the trouble it gives you, and to be pleased to dispose intirely of

Your highness's most faithfull and obedient servant,

His majestie's castle of Dublin,
18° April, 1644.

ORMONDE.

I most humbly and earnestly beceech your highness to make vse of your power towards the release of those galant men that weare sent hence, and are now prisoners. Your highness's favors to mee gives mee boldnesse to lett you know I cannot be more obleedged in the person of any man then in that of coll. Warren.

CCLXIX.—The marquis of Ormond to Daniel O'Neil. 281 Sir,

THE inclosed letters to your selfe and me from captain Power and your factors will lett you see how fortunatly that squire was sent, and that shipping to transport the men will be had, if the [supream] councell will do theire parts: wherever I have provoked them, by sending the originall of the inclosed copy to Fennell and Belling. That of the marquis of Huntley and Aberdeen is certaine; and Argile's goeing to suppress him is probably reported. Now or never is the tyme to compleat the distraction of that fatall kingdom, and to return into their bosome their owne mischeefe.

I heare nothing of the armes, amunition, or provision; without all which, all the fat is in the fire. Nor would I advise the men should be drawen together till those things be redy, least if they disband for want, they be neuer gotten together againe: besides, it will be a very hurtfull declareing of and disgrace to the designe. If the men be gotten, and all things needfull, you must take speciall care that they be brought on Carlingford side, for feare the Scotts of Claneboys should fall on them, and there to keep them in good order. It must be your care alsoe to keep the Irish from desireing a port, which will be odious to the English, may do hurt, and is not needfull, since they may receaue their armes aboard, or by the shipps sides: to take away all pretence of exception, aboard weare best. Last of all, I must tell you, I feare the person to comand these men was not seasonably nor sufficiently thought of: it is a design of high importance, and would be governed by a provident, dilligent, and discreet man. Sir, I am

Your faithfull servant,

Dub. Castle, 22nd April, 1644.

ORMONDE.

My humble service to my lord Antrim. Once more, be sure of all necessaries before you draw your men together. Many weighty reasons are for this advice.

CCLXX.—The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

VPON the 18th I receaued a hott alarum from my lord Taaffe, that sir Frederick was come to Mannor-Hamilton with 2000 foote and some horse; and Monroe marching after with 8000 more, with a resolution to destroy man, woman, and child within this prouince. And very much disturbed he was, that your lordship had nether declared them enimyes nor dirrected any other way of preuention for this generall danger. At the same time I receiued the like aduertisment from my lord of Castlehauen out of the county of Mayo, with adition, that he was confident most of the English garrisons in Connaght, Munster, and Leinster would readily open their gates, if not inuite the Scotts vnto them; and withall, was certainly informed, that powerfull forces from the parlement were at sea to inuade this kingdome. All which was soe strongly apprehended by him, that Tern Begge was in a greate rage, thinking your lordship did much

neglect the safety of the kingdome; and my self, as your humble seruant, had a large share of his displeasure. But soone after I receiued a very handsome recantation of his former earnest expressions; and indeed, if I bee not much mistaken, his lordship hath very faire intentions, and is most ambitious of your lordship's fauer and good opinion.

The greate counsell at Gallway were highly disturbed with this 282 sodaine allarum. My lord Neteruile in a sweating agony, and others more dangerously sick, and some, I beleeue, contriuing the best wayes of making an escape, and not sory that some Dunkirk frigotts were in the harbour. My asistance was earnestly importun'd, and posts sent vp and downe the contrey to putt them all into confusion, and this dreadfull inuasion is newly discouerd to be sir Frederick's coming home with a conuoy of forty horse and as many foote, and his returne againe vpon Tusday last.

But, my lord, least this comedy of errours should herafter turne to a more tragicall story, giue me leaue humbly to desire your lordship's instructions and commission for to guide and warrent my proceedings. For though the Scotts doe not yet aduance this way, yet I am informed they still keepe in a body; and it is confidently reported, that Craford is ariued in the north with 5000 Scotts, which if true, I must begge leaue to ioyne with others in mouing, that your lordship will soe settle a course, as wee may not be indangered by to much security or trust in their proceedings. And I now humbly offer some few inclosed propositions to your lordship's consideration for my owne perticuler dirrection.

The garrisons of Castle Coote and therabouts doe still commit infinite spoiles, and most spitfully doe destroy all my tenants, and poore justice Donelaine's in a small proportion he hath there. And indeed, my lord, I am sory that those I haue indeuird to presarue I can speake no better of, then that I believe they are as violent and malitious rebells as any in the three kingdomes. I now send your lordship a copy of a letter of my lord Taafe's, dirrected to your lordship, he being doubtfull that his letters might be intercepted by the vnruly garrisons.

My lord, I must constantly auerre, that I euer had a high ambition to serue the king both faithfully and effectually; and if from that foundation any indeuoires of mine haue appeared like seruice to his majestie, the reward and recompense did euer

accompany the act, by discharging some parte of that duty I was soe much oblig'd vnto; but if it be his majestie's gratious intention, by some publicke marke of fauer, to infuse ability to the zeale and feruor inherent in me, I esteeme it my parte with all humility to receiue, and not with curiosity to dispute his royall bounty.

I did not vntill this present imagine that your lordship could soe contriue your commands as that I should stoppe in the payeng of ready obedience to them; and I humbly craue your pardon for my now omitting to make perticuler mention of what your lordship was pleased to require: but I have had discourse with my coussen Barry vpon that subject, and to his relation and your lordship's noble fauer I submitt and refferr all things wherin I am any wayes concernd. And I protest vnfainedly, your Jordship canot oblige me more then to keepe back from me all things that may in the least circumstance reflect with preiudice vpon the king, or divert any former ingadgments of your lordships, or your desire to pleasure some other friends, who perhaps will not be see firme vnto you, without looking somwhat into their owne privat interests. For my parte, my lord, I know nothing of ambition but how to serue the king, and be true to my friend; and God grant me ability to mantaine what I now inioy.

I am now vpon remouall of my famely to Loghreagh, and there, like a frugall husband, I must spend some time to make May with my tenants; and soone after I hope to waite vpon your lordship, and, I feare, in the company of my lord Taaffe, who now, vpon the returne of sir Fredericke the fierce, is applying himself to the like good husbandry; and if my confederat neighboures will be perswaded to make the wayes passable for a coach, I find an ambitious desire in my wife to kiss my lady marquess hands, 283 whose most humble seruant I am, and

Your lordship's with all faithfull affection,

Portumna, the 22d of Aprill, 1644.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

Castlehauen hath the same agility of taking castles as when your lordships was at Sigginstowne; and I doubt my coussen's pollicy will not preuaile against him.

It is now neere a forthnight since I writt to your lordships, and sent inclosed a letter from the here stiled marquess of

Antrim to the dutches, and have not yet heard any thing of my messinger.

CCLXXI.—The earl of Clanricard to colonel Barry.

Noble Coussen,

BEING but newly deliuerd from the feare and danger of sir Frederick's dreadfull inuasion, and, as I conceiued, in a setled security, a much more sodaine, distructiue, and vnexpected enimy did most violently oppress me. Hauing a litle before dinner finish't my letters to my lord lieutenant in my closset, I went to my chamber for your dispatch, and there I might behold an outragious monky of James Saule's, newly presented to my wife, burning and tearing all the letters, and nothing remaining but those few broaken peices I now send you, the rest totally destroyed by fire and teeth. And least your memory might not fully serue to giue my lord an accompt of the whole busines, I imediatly dispatched to Mr. Bealing to acquaint him with this sad accident; and that if he held it necessary to write new dispatches, I would conuay them safly to my lord lieutenant.

I should have bin much disturbed, but that somthing of mirth did appeare in the midst of the disaster. There was another large packett written by most of the women in the house to their servants and sweethartes in England, and this merciles creature brought them to the same distruction. There was plainly to be seene a graue supreame counsellor, all burnt and torne, and the scatered limbs of a martired louer lyeng by him; but some soe defaced, that the beloued could not tell ouer whom to lament: some were so presarued as to make some discoueryes of handsome harmless mirth. And now you have the story as farre as I can goe. It may herafter be supplyed by Mr. Bealing, when time hath mitigated his present discontents. My dispatches to my lord lieutenant being sealed vp, I must referre it to you to satisfie his lordship for this disaster; and it may be fitt for James Saule to be questiond, whether it were not done vpon design; and if you forgiue me, who will have a large share of trouble in the busines, I shall then with much comforte remaine

Portumna, the 22th of Aprill, 1644. Your truly affectionat coussen, CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS. CCLXXII.—Propositions humbly presented to the lord marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland.

WHEN any invasion shall be made vpon this province during the cessation by a Scotch army, I humbly desire the signification of your pleasure, whether with my forces I may asist those of the confederate party, and whether such forces of covenanters 284 are not to be esteemed and declared as enimyes to his majestie, by breach of the cessation, and other diversions of his service.

If any of the English garrisons shall declare and ioine with them, or deliuer any forts or eastles into their hands, whether they are not likwise to be esteemed as enimyes to his majestie, and by what rule to proceede against them.

If it be granted that in such case I am to asist the confederat party, whether I am to doe it in all partes of this prouince, or only for the defence of this county; or if in other partes, whether I may goe my self in person, and leave this government, or send forces to their asistance.

If I goe my self, vnder what title or command, or what power to make inferiour officers, &c.

If any of the gentlemen or captaines of the confederate party in this prouince shall desire to serue vnder my command, whether I may entertaine them or not.

What kind of correspondency I am to keepe with the counsells and chief commanders of the confederat party, and a cleere rule sett downe to guide my proceedings therin.

Your lordship's farther instruction in all other necessary perticulers is humbly desired by

Your lordship's most humble seruant,

22th of Aprill, 1644.

CLANRICARDE and St. Albans.

CCLXXIII.—Daniel O'Neil to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

THE Scotsman that was lett out att the wrong end has noething trusted to him that can prejudice our persons or designe. Gone he is with a letter and message to Munroe that, ass your lordship aduises, presses him to bee possitiue in his

answere. Much this man promesses, and my lord of Antrim expects; butt I have noe faith vntle I see his workes. The uoyd place in the warrant to press a ship att Carlingford I fill'd with the name off captaine John Gordon, least Mac Donell should give offence, and sent the man rather to Dundalke to captaine Tounsly, then wher the warrant was directed; because Tounsly tould me, that the garrisons left by young Treuor att Carlingford and Greenecastle were not obedient to your lord-ship's commands; and withall, I was vnwilling your warrants should receaue such vsage nere home, ass your lordship will find by these 2 letters off sir Ro. Stewart's and his maior's, some off yours have att Derry. The comeing off the man with the heathen name to Carlingford I have prevented.

My lord off Antrym, least the putting off any off his majestie's forts into the hands off the Irish should draw a scandall vppon your lordship, or any inconveniency vppon his majestie, he has writt to the supreame counsell, that hee will take the armes and the other prouisiones, which they give for his Scots iurny, att Waterford or Wexford, and give them noe further trouble then to deliuer them there; and that hee has given order to hyre a shipp that will goe directly with them to Mull or Mula, which is his rendeuous in the iles. The counsell's agreeing to this he is confident. All our feares are wante of shipping, and that the rebbells shipps will way lave him. My lord's frinds in the iles incourage him much to atempt something ther, whyle those parts are disgusted with the present gouerment of ther country. I hope your lordship's fortune will answere your industry and affectione to this designe, as itt has to many others of yours for the setling of his majestie.

My unkle has according to your lordship's directiones giuen 285 assignations vppon the seuerall countyes vnder his power to those whoe by your orders should receaue the cowes due vppon this prouince. He assures mee that he has taken such a course, that very speedily ther shall not bee many cowes vnpayed, and then he hopes your lordship will doe him iustice against those off Derry, for keepeing his nephew and the rest of the prissoners, contrary to the articles of the cessatione, and against sir William Cole and the Scots of Dunegall, whoe att seuerall tymes haue taken 1500 cowes from the Irish since the cessation. With sir William Cole he would make euen long since, iff he did not feare to disgust your lordship; and yet hee has the same rodd ouer

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

him, which is an offer of one of his captaines to betraye Iniskellen vnto him: but hee desires mee to aquaint your lordships, that he will neither atempt that, nor any thing of that nature, without first knoweing from you the conveniences or the inconvenyencies they bring with them to his majestie or your lordship, off whose honor and saftie I can vppon my creaditt assure your lordship he has especiall care.

My lord, iff you att all doubt sir William Cole's ioyning with the Scots, or that by some other way that command could not bee got from him, I thinke itt were necessary this designe off my unkle's should bee wynked att. The place is very considerable, and 'tis the best pass out off this prouince into Conaught. Iff your lordship had this place secured, and Derry in Meruin's hands, the Scots might easily be dealt with: though I heare much off the deuices of the ould Scots off the Clanneboys; yett, least they should bee noe newer, nor of more consequence then what you receaue from your frend Cambell in Scotland, i'le bee sylent, more then to saye, that from the lord to the jockie I beeleeue them all false-loones. These easterly wynds, I hope, haue brought your lordships good newes. I am,

My lord, your lordship's most faithfull friend

and most humble seruant,

Charlemont, this 23 Aprill, 1644.

DANIELL O'NEILLE.

CCLXXIV.—The marquis of Ormond to sir Philip Percival.
Sir,

LONG afore now I hope you are gotten into the lists: wee here howerly expect the issue. For my part, I am still at the old ward. My freind Daniell Hutchenson and I are euery weeke's end at our witt's end. A few dayes since there came in nere 1000l. from the country, which I have quartered out to be payd, not where ther is most reasen, in relation to antiquity of debts, but wher it is most probable to get vs more credit.

I know from other hands you heare our brethren in the north haue a care of our soules, and promise to teach vs the way to kirke; if they attempt it, I am not out of hope to send some of them to a worse or better place; but to that let them looke.

You will allsoe heare how my kinsman sir Arthur Loftus has vsed me: I doe not know what the deuill should make him

meddle with mee before he gott into England, where such stuffe would very well haue seconded that learned author Crafford.

We are told here, that the way to Chester from Oxon is much clearer by the takeing Wem: if soe, you may please to send my ware, if any you can gett for mee, that way, where Tom Trafford will take a care to send them in a frigott that noe parliament shipp can blow wind in the tayle of.

The obstruction of the northren roade is such, that it may be news to you that Aberdene is taken by the marquis Huntley, a great party declared for the king; and in fine, the cloudes gathering fast for a storme in that country. This may keep our 286 brethren mannerly, though from Whitehauen wee heare they are aduanced beyond Durham.

Sir, this is to fill vp my letter, not to informe you, who are at the well's head, and will participate to

Your faithfull freind,

Dublin-Castle, 27 Aprill, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCLXXV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My LORD,

TO proceed in answeare of your lordship's of the 29 of March, which I was not able to finish and send by your servant Shirley, your lordship may be pleased to cause the enclosed coppys of letters to be discyphered; wherein will appeare what hopes there are of the designe vppon the Islands, and where it now rests. From the first tyme I heard of that designe, I haue vsed all my power and skill to advaunce it, as a service for the earle of Antrim of all others most proper and feasible; and to the king as availeable as any soe many Irish can doe him. But since I vnderstand that his majestie's party hath appeared in Scottland, I haue doubled my endeavours, and left noe way vnattempted my witt could suggest to mee probable to hasten it.

By the inclosed coppys of letters from the collonells in the north, your lordshipp will perceaue how the supplys sent in charity out of the Low-contrys to the poore protestants of this kingdom in generall, is by interpretation and orders from London, applyable only to the army; and therein only to such as shall oppose his majestie's authority in breach of the cessation, and in takeing the covenant, as may be collected by the letter,

though the collonells forgott to send the coppy mentioned in itt, which I have sent for to be transmitted by the next. I am informed the Dutch Skippers are much displeased att the distribution of those provisions, as not suiteing with the intention of the givers. How farr his majestie will please to take notice of this to the States, or of what vse it may be to lett them know this delusion and misapplying of their charrity, I am not able to advise, being ignorant in what condition of amity his majestie stands with them; but I hould it my duty to advertise this. Your lordship will also find by these letters how farr these provisions (ioyned with the people's inclinations, who are for the most part Scotts) are like to make way for the covenant; and in what a streight the few English in the north are, thorough want, by this temptation and the threats of the Scotts, who give out that there are orders comeing from the lords and commons att Westminster, to prosecute the refusers of the covenant as enemys. Belfast, (where coll. Chichester hath a garrison entirely English,) if it weare well victualled, might interupt and disappoint the advaunceing of the Scotts toward vs; which they threaten to doe, and teach vs the way to kirk. I doubt there are among vs that would be content to learne of them: therefore I humbly desire that provisions may be speedyly sent thither, if possibly may bee, from Whitehauen, or some port in Cumberland where things are cheape, and means of transportation more frequent and safe then from Bristoll: and if your lordship think fitt to avoyd soe many sharers of what I doubt will not be much, it may be sent particularly to coll. Chichester, as at his owne chardge, and by your lordship's care of him. And I humbly offer whether it may not be fitt, by some such oath or protestation as is taken by his majestie's English and Scottish subjects in England, to make tryall of the affections of those heere. In case this be held fitt, it will be needfull to have those oathes or protestations sent, with a letter to mee and the councell, authorishing vs to issue comissions to fitt persons to tender those 287 oathes; but with liberty to make vse of, or deferr the execution, as shall be thought best for the king's service.

There is transmitted to Mr. secretary Nicholas a petition from the lords and commons of this parliament to his majestie. Vppon pervsall of itt, your lordship may perhapps find some vse to be made of itt, there being noe papist in either of the howses, except one in the lords howse. When it was ordered to be sent, tow other things they had in agitation; the one, a declaration against the covenant in pursuance of letters from the speakers of both howses, to Monroe and the collonels of his majestie's army in the north; the other, a declaration that lawes made in England bind not the subjects of this kingdom, vnlesse such lawes pass the parliament heere. In the former, I conceive they may be encouraged; but the other, being perhapps in treaty there, and a thing of high importance, I shall expect direction in it.

Since the writeing of my last by your lordship's servant, I receaued his majestie's letters for Mr. Spencer's haueing the reversion of the vice-treasuror's place, and a letter from Mr. Spencer himselfe, to whom I returned in answeare the original of the inclosed coppy.

His majestie's comands touching Mr. Felton, your lordship's servant, shall be forthwith obeyed; but I must humbly desire that his majestie will be graciously pleased for the tyme to come to suffer mee to dispose of such places, as the only means I have to reward those that doe him service, and to whom I am particularly ingaged. This is not at all intended to, however it falls to be written vppon this occasion; and that it is not soe taken, I desire to bee assured by receiving your lordship's comands for any you favour, and whose condition may be bettered by mee.

I vnderstand that collonell Crawfurd, who runne away from hence, is in some eminent comand with the rebells. To my knowledge hee is a very worthlesse shallow fellow, and, if I be not mistaken, vaine and avaritious. What vse may be made of such a thing, I leave to your lordship to consider.

The coming abroad of soe many of the rebells shipps encreases the danger, and consequently the rates of conveying armes into any port of England or Ireland. And I find the Irish merchants are restrayned from selling the armes they have by their councell, who yett have been perswaded by collonell Barry to contract with forraigne merchants for five thousand armes and 500 barrells of powder. The contract for their honnor is made by them, and I am engaged to take of with redy mony or equivalent comodityes, what they shall not, which will be all, if peace be concluded, or the treaty continued without disgust to them till the armes arrive; but I must be enhabled from thence to performe.

As I had written thus farr, I received the inclosed proposi-

tions from the earle of Clanricard. I am not able to giue full answeares to them till I bee directed and authorished by his majestie, which I humbly desire to be with all speed, and with all possible honnor and content to the earle of Clanricard, whose power to serve the king dayly encreases. Your lordship may very safely comunicate them with justice Donelain, a very honest man, knowing in Connagh, where the earle of Clanricard's interest is.

I humbly thank your lordship for sir Philipp Percivall. Dick Power shall find advantage in your recomendations, and in the assurance I have that hee is, as I am,

Your lordshipp's most faithfull humble servant, $(\it 27\,April, \it 1644.)$

CCLXXVI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

288

My Lord,

THE enclosed are coppyes of letters come to my hands since I made vp my dispatch from the collonells in the north: wherupon your lordship will easyly make this judgment, that our condition, and the condition of his majestie's interest in this kingdome is in hazard, and that it is needfull wee be supplyed one way or other. If your lordship please to compare their former letters with these now sent, I thinke it will appeare to you that the orders from hence haue rather discouered who were ready to sell their faith for meale, then giuen cause for the takeing of the couenant. I am very farr from soe much as pointing at collonell Chichester, or at any other collonell in this.

I send your lordship herewith a coppy of my lord of Muskrye's letter to mee, and of the answere I now send him, to be given him or burnt, as your lordship shall iudge best for the king's seruice.

I have been soe often forced to press barques for the transport of men without paying the owners, that now, after a long easterly wind, the harbour is empty; soe that I cannot send collonell Trafford with the 300 men for Anglesey for want of shipping. Armes I have gotten for him, and provisions I shall make a hard shift for; but the prices of both are taken out of what should feed the army here: therfore when I am able to make certaine the summe, I shall humbly move that it may be payd back againe in money, or money worth.

I heare nothing of the 3 shipps mentioned in one of your lord-ship's letters. They, and meanes to make provisions, will be needfull here, especially if more men be expected hence.

I heare captain Bartlet the elder is arrived here iust now; but I heare of noe dispatch hee or any body els brings. He shall shortly convey ouer the men for North-Wales. I am

Your lordship's most faithfull humble seruant,

Dublin-Castle, 29 April, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCLXXVII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Muskery.

My Lord,

I am very glad to hear from you that you tooke paines to make your propositions moderate, but they weare given soe lately before my dispatches came, that I know not whether they be soe esteemed by his majestie or noe; soe that I can say nothing of them, saue that, if they be not, I wish you would make them soe.

I aprehend very well what advantage it may be to his majestie to make an honorable and just peace with his subjects; and I am confident, if there weare no other, the saueing of a kingdom from desolation, and many inocent people (who must fall with the guilty in a war) from distruction, are motiues sufficient to incline his royall hart to receaue the humble submissions of his people. My labour therefore on that part is needlesse; but if I had confidence that my advice had any esteeme with you, who are imployed from your party in this kingdome, and must give a strict accoumpt of every drop of blood that shall be shed, in case a breach insue the vnreasonableness of your demands; I say, if I weare perswaded my words bore waight with you, I should advise you to preferr (like those good subjects you say you are) his majestie's honor and safety, much wounded and threatened by false rumors rays'd of him touching the business of Ireland, be-280 fore the present satisfaction of such of your desires, as may perhaps in themselves be soe iust, that his majestie may heereafter with more safety grant, then he can yett heere them propounded.

For my part, I shall give all the furtherance I can to the just setlement of this broaken kingdom; wherein few haue more

interest, and in the growing vpp whereof noe man shall more reioyce, then

Your lordship's affectionate brother and servant,

Dub. Castle, 29° April, 1644.

Ormond.

CCLXXVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to the archbishop of York.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE;

I doe most humbly and thankfully acknowledge the soundness and favour of your advise in the last letter I receaued from your grace, and I hope to make vse of them as shall enable and secure mee in the wayes of his majestie's service.

My frend Mr. Trevor acquainted mee with some words spoaken to your grace tending very much to my danger and dishonor. The vterer of them could not have indevoured to blast my reputation with any body whose good opinion I more covett then I doe your grace's. The vntruth of the suggestion and the broacher's malice, I think, I could evidence: but I forbeare moveing in it till I receaue your grace's leaue, to whome I owe soe much, that I chose to lye vnder that callumency, rather then draw the least inconveniency vppon you by my vindication.

I expect your grace's pleasure and direction in this particuler with much impatience, resolveing to guide my self by it, as haueing received proofe that you have care of

Your grace's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Castle, 29° April, 1644.

Ormonde.

CCLXXIX.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

I shall at this only answere your lordship's of the 29 of March in parte, many particulars requireing none, exept a reiteration of the satisfaction I receive by all your dispaches in all things that have relation to my particular interest or contentment.

I have by leters to the lord Taafe and Jack Barry let them know how graciously his majestic receiues and bountifully rewards their endeuours in his seruice, wherin with them sir George Hamillton is now imployed; and therefore your lordship will bee pleasd to receive my humble thankes for them all, and for the last, not only in regard of what his majestie hath, at your lordship's instance, bin pleasd to doe for him, (the particular whereof I yet know not,) but in respect alsoe of the obligation layd vpon mee in the maner of it.

The earle of Clanricard's merits and abillities are such, that I cannot readily aduise of any proportionable reward and incouragement for them; but it shall bee my worke, and a hard one it will bee, (his modesty and the tymes considered,) to finde out what will best fitt and please him.

My lord of Corkes hath my humble opinion for him in the particular hee desires, and should have my most ernest recomendation, if it were needefull; such is my affection to his per-290 son, and confidence in his inclinations to serve the king.

The only doubt is, whether the earle of Clanricarde may not bee satisfied with that place, which, in case his majestic shall bee necessitated soe far to condesend to the Irish as to admit any recusant into his councells, and to places of eminency, may bee given him with more advantage to his service, satisfaction to the protestant and best of the Irish parties, then to any man of his profession. In this I would bee vnderstood rather to show how such a thing may best bee done, in case of high necessitie, then to advise it should bee done.

I conceaue the bayling of the 4 councellors may have done some hurt in ministring cause of jelousy to the Irish, of incouragement to the disaffected protestants, and of meanes to doe mischief to the persons themselves; but his majestie's publick leters haveing come first for their imprisonment, then for their bayling, I doubt, as the case now stands, the returning of them to prison, without new cause shewen, may breede more disturbance then I am in case to supresse. The copy of the leter touching this, mention'd in your lordship's to bee enclosed, is wanting, and the persons name, from whome it was sent to court, certainly misciphered, being thus, the earle of Castlehauen; soe that, if it bee held fit to doe any more, I desire leters may bee directed to the councell and mee, with grounds for the doeing of it, and libertie left mee to take the fitest tyme for it, or leave it vndone, as vpon the place shall bee found best for the king's service.

Those prouisions, designed for this place and Duncanon, are not yet come, and when they shall, will bee but small in relation to our wants, or indeed to what hath bin heare spent for the transportation and fiting of men for his majestie's seruice in England. Yett, as small as it is, it would give vs some help; therefore I must againe moove they may bee sent, and what more can bee had vpon the first safe opertunitie.

Here I must begg your pardon for an omission proceeding from my respect and vnwillingnesse to ouerburden you with things in themselues easy, and soe not worth your trouble; but I am now instructed by and exceedingly thankefull for soe noble and friendly an expostulation.

The 300 men desired for the securitie of Bewmaris, and other maretime places thereabouts, shall bee sent vnder the conduct of lieutenant coll. Trafford, whoes affections to his majestie's seruice, and interests in that country, hath incouraged mee to recomend him to his highnesse prince Rupert for the comand of them.

How the designe for the isles goes forward, your lordship hath a full accumpt from Mr. O'Neill. My lord of Antrim is confident the men, armes, and prouision will bee ready at the porte; but I doubt the later, soe well I am aquainted with the improvidence of the Irish. However, the designe is like to bee frustrated for want of ships of our owne, and may bee by haueing to many of the rebells vpon these coasts.

To suply the first, I have sent to Wexford and other seas tounes to hyer vesells, and with ofer to deduct their wages out of the monys due to his majestie; which is all that can bee done on this side. I know noe need that a porte should bee put into their hands for this worke, since the armes may bee deliuered to the men out of the ships sides, nor neede their provisions bee vnloaded; and your lordship's suspition was certainly well grounded, and reasons vnanswerable, at least as to Bagnall's private, whoe of all men is most vnfit to have it; and I should bee very sory to bee comanded to act any part in his comeing into that place, vnder countenance of his majestie's authoritie, to the injury of a third person. Yet Bagnall is my cosin-jermin, a person I love as well as any in his condition, and fit to bee incouraged in those good inclinations hee proffesses; and there may bee much sayd 291 (at least thought) for his right in that particular. Any man

that knowes Ireland, and hath knowen sir Arthur Teringham, his lady, and hir former husband, can vnridell this; but this is from the present purpose.

My lord, here I am taken short, and must aske your pardon till the next weeke: by then, I shall give you more particular answers to your lordship's, and notice of our condition. In the meane tyme, I hould it fit to send you this from,

Post. This bearer hath bin stayed by mee in hope of a beter accompt of what hee was sent about then hee can carry with him; yet I have not given over that businesse. Your lordship's of the 2 instant, and the enclosed propositions, I am yet able to say noething to. Mr. O'Neill gives your lordship satisfaction in his businesse.

(Dublin · Castle, 30 April, 1644.)

CCLXXX.—The marquis of Ormond to Mr. Belling, secretary to the council of Kilkenny.

SIR,

I believe you have heard how an outragious munkey defaced a dispatch directed to mee from those you obey. I am not yet fully informed in the businesse of those letters; when I am, I shall returne a befitting answeare. In the meane tyme, I am to lett you know of a like mishap occasioned by the curiosity of one heere, and by the negligence of Mr. Chr. Bryan. The story is thus tould mee:

Vppon Munday last at night, Mr. Bryan being in companie with halfe a dozen (I beleeve) good fellowes, hauing occasion to withdraw himself to some other roome, left som pacquetts, where one of the companie came at this inclosed, and with the help of a hot knife, opened the seale, and tooke coppys of the severall letters vnder the cover, and made vpp the letter againe as you see, (for since the seale hath not been touched,) with intent to convey it againe into its place. But Mr. Bryan returning sooner then hee looked for him, he was prevented. On the morrow he acquainted a gentleman that hath relation to mee with this passadge, and by him sent mee in first the inclosed coppy, and after, vppon my demand, the pacquett, affirming that all he found was in it, and that no other coppy, then this now sent you, was taken. Whether that be true or noe, I cannot say;

this I can, that since they came to my hands, they have not att all been altered. I must confesse I have read the coppy, with aprobation of the dexterity of your agents, who can alredy give you accoumpt of my dispatches to the lord Digby. And though their intelligencer should give them truth for their mony, I shall yett hould on my way, and that the best I can light on, to bring this kingdom to his majestie's perfect obedience, and soe to the blessings of peace and plenty. These are the principall ends of all my endevoires. Sir, I rest

Your affectionate cousin,

Dublin-Castle, 2 May, 1644.

ORMONDE.

292

CCLXXXI.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My LORD,

THIS bearer was sent over from the carl of Antrim to lett vs know heere that his vndertakinge for the isles was ripe for execution on his part, soe that hee were not disappoynted of ships to transporte his men, which hee confidentlye affirmes are in readinesse to the number of three thousand: but the agents heere are not willinge to believe that hee hath any shuch force leueyed. Nothwithstandinge, I have prevailed with them to write to the supreame councell to procure two or three frigats, if it bee possible, both to transporte the armes and prouisions, which they have sent vnto the earl of Antrim, to what porte hee shall assigne, as alsoe to help waft over his men.

I have alsoe sent orders to captain Bartlet to hasten ouer to Dublin, there to obey your lordship's commaunds. If the earl of Antrim hath really such a force on foote, it were greate pittye that important service should fayle, now that the kinge hath soe good a partye allready appearinge in Scottland to ioyne with them. I am sure I shall not need to recommend any more this businesse to your excellence, if you see probabilityes in it, beinge sure that you will acomodate the earl of Antrim with all your assistance and necessarye accommodation in the most convenient imbarkeing places vnder your comaund.

I shall not add to your excellence's trouble att present, beinge to send an expresse vnto you within a day or two att furthest; and havinge received att this instant your dispatch of the 29th, but have not leasure before this bearer's goinge to discypher more then your owne letter, wherein I see with much contentment how much you lay to heart this businesse of the island. I am,

My lord, your excellence's most faithfull and most affectionate humble servaunt,

Oxford, May the 4th, 1644.

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCLXXXII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond. My Lorde,

HAUING begunne a large dispatch vnto your exellence concerning all the particulars of your letter by my servant Shirley, and of yours of the 27th April, as also of the state of our treaty here with the Irish agents; and being hinderd by multitude of other pressing buisnesse from finishing it soe soone as I intended, and this bearer being able to stay noe longer, I have thought fitt only to sende your lordship by him the inclosed propositions from the protestant agents, and the advertisements of the Irish catholique agents concerning some things wherein they seeme to bee much concern'd in zeale, as they pretende, to his majestie's service. In the first your excellence will perceive either the madnesse or the malice of those men; (for wee cannot vnderstande 'em to haue proceeded from lesse then a high degree of one of these;) the first, if propos'd with the thought that peace could bee procurd upon conditions of anie affinitie with those; and if they did beleeve in the presenting 'em, that they could haue noe effect towards peace, then certainly wee must conclude that the effect they aim'd at was only scandal upon the king and his ministers, in case they should conclude a peace upon conditions (as needs must bee, if there bee anie concluded) soe remote from those which they present in the name of the protestants of Irelande. This I write to your excellence, not as my sense only, but as the opinion of all prudent men here that have considered the matter; and I thinke it verry well worth your excellence's care to enquire how farre forth these propositions 293 doe agree with the generall sense of the protestants there in order to their present condition. I am sure they are not at all suitable to their instructions.

The advertisements of the Irish agents here inclos'd I desire your excellence to consider of, and to returne mee your opinion

as soone as may bee. This is all I shall trouble your excellence with at this time, more then to tell your excellence, that in the generall the king does approue of all those propositions made by my lord St. Albanes, whereof your excellence sent mee the copy, and would have your excellence give him order to proceede accordingly in them all. As for the commande which his lordship should have out of his owne county in the west of Conagh, his majestie desires it should bee full as may bee of honour and satisfaction to him; but can give noe particular directions in itt till my lorde Willmott and my lord Dillon bee consulted with, how farre forth it may bee done without prejudice to them as presidents of Conagh. But of this I shall give your excellence a particular account in my next. In the meane time, your excellence will bee pleasd to take care that that noble lorde may receive all incouragement by the assurance of the greate valew the king has of him and his eminent meritt in his service. I rest

Your excellence's most faithfull and humble servant,

Oxford, May 6th,

(1644.)

GEORGE DIGBYE.

The king is very willing that your excellence knight your sone.

CCLXXXIII.—Advertisements of the Irish Roman catholic agents concerning Ireland.

- 1. THE citie of Corke, commaunded by sir Hards Waller, cousin-german to sir William Waller, and alwayes devoted and affected to the parliament.
- 2. The fort of Corke, commaunded by captaine Muschamp, a man of noe estate, and whose father, brother, and friends are in actuall service of the parliament, with whome he keepeth correspondence, and is himselfe totally affected to that partye.
- 3. The fort of Duncannon, commaunded by the lord Esmond, extreamly decayed with age, very ill affected to your majestic since the earle of Strafford's time, much favoured and obleidged by the parliament duringe these warres, and most of his officers and soldiers sent thither by the parliament, and whoe hath lately broaken the cessation.
 - 4. The fort of Kinsale, commaunded by captaine William

Brockett, by the apointment of the parliament in the place of captaine Ketellby, whoe was displac't and imprissoned for his loyalty to your Majestie; which Brokett might surprize sixteene of your majestie's royall ships in the service of the parliament, as was designd by the marquis of Ormond; but instead of soe doinge, feasted the captaines, and warned them of the danger; and soe all scaped.

- 5. The castle comanding the harbour of Baltemore, beinge a place of greate consequence and well planted with ordnance, is in the handes and vnder the commaund of Tho. Benet, a man appointed by the parliament, of noe estate in England or Ireland, and one that received seven months provisions of late since the cessation from the parliament, and withall one that (knowing Forbesse proclaimed for traytor by your majestie) enterteyned and feasted him for twoe or three dayes together.
- 6. The castle of Castlehauen, a place of greate consequence, well planted with ordnance, commaunding that harbour, is in the handes of Robert Salman, a man havinge not a foote of estate in 294 England or Ireland, and whoe (by his owne confession) was att London since the cessation, and severall times duringe the commotion; which argueth the greater feare of suspition, it beinge to be feared his repaire soe often to the parliament was in assureance of these forementioned harbours, and withall to be suspected. He was imployed as agent from the rest to assure their fidelitye to them and their cause; and this the rather, because that hee and the rest receaued the prouisions aforesaid, procured by this man's sollicitation.
- 7. The residence of the lord Kerry at London, and the report of his acceptance there, breeds a feare that being in ellection to bee imployed in Forbesse his place the last voyage, he will be now imployed; and this the rather, for that his eldest sonne, being at schoole at Bristoll, was by him sent for to London; which giveth more cause of suspition, it being feared his father, being an Irish peer, may faile trust vnto them, and therefore, for assureance of his fidelity to the parliament, hee should have his eldest sonne and heire with them as a pledge or hostage of his fidelitye towards them.
- 8. The ariual of Daniell Maccarthy, sonne and heire of Florence Maccarthy, whoe was committed in the Tower, and there continued vpwards of forty years, and a man that sustained sundry other crosses by the king, (as he conceives,) and being a

powerfull man in alliance, and dependance in the contrys of Kerye and Corke, and a man havinge a claime to the earledome of Desmond and Valentia, and very intimate with the lord of Kerye by alliance, and otherwise, and withall matched to a neere cousin to the marquis of Hamilton, may be suspected and feared; and this the rather, because it is not full three monthes sithence he left London, havinge his passe from the parliament; wherefore marquis Hamilton [being] taken, and Kerye in London, and hee heere, and a fleet, as they say, in preparation for that kingdome, and these forts and castles in the hands of such suspected persons, speedy preuention is to bee vsed.

- 9. Rosscomon, Boyle, Elphin, Tulsk, Castle-Coote, and James-Towne, garrisons of the county of Rosscomon belonging to sir Charles Coote, sir Robert King, and the lord Ranellagh, at this time commaunded by their seruants and officers, doe dayly committ acts of hostilitye, and obey no commaund of your majestie's officers, either the lord leiutenant or the governour of Athlone, and att this present by the meanes of sir Fred. Hamilton and sir William Cole, with whome they are ioyned in an assotiation to draw the Scots to the prouince of Conaght.
- 10. These informations received by vs from Ireland wee humbly present out of the duty wee owe to your majestie's service, that by putting these commands into faithfull hands for your majestie's use, the places may bee secured, and the designes of your enemies preuented.
- 11. Wee have beene written vnto by those from whome wee are entrusted hither, that they are informed that severall men, whoe would engratiate themselves to your majestie, and magnifye themselves in your esteeme, endeavour to perswade your majestie that they have that power, either by their allyance or dependance, that they are able to bring you men. Wee desire that your majestie may be informed how vaine those suggestions are, and how vnsafe it will be to graunt any designe vpon such expectations. Those entrusted by the confederate catholikes to manage their affayres are only able to performe what such men doe promisse; though to draw men to their desires, they promise treble pay to that which they are to expect; which may prove inconvenient to your majestie's service; and therefore wee desire such particular applycations be not listened vnto.

It is come to vs likewise from thence, that your majestie hath lately since the cessation appointed a governour of the castle of Limmerick, and a collector of the customes in that citty, the same beinge within our quarters, wee hope that therein, and in all other places within the quarters of the confederate catholikes, vntill a settlement, your majestie will please to continue 295 the same as now they are, and not disable your selfe by such graunts to conferr the places of trust or proffitt accordinge to our desires in the propositions presented, with indifferency on your subjects of that kingdome; and that if any letters or other engagements be graunted to that purpose, they may be stopt and recal'd.

CCLXXXIV.—The archbishop of York to the marquis of Ormond.

MAYE IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCYE;

AS I could not have heard with any pacience, see cannot I justifie with any true averment, that those wordes, reported vnto me by my good freynd Mr. Arthur Trevor, were ever spoken by any person in my heareinge. I did converse at dinner and supper onelye with a great personage, not soe well satisfied, peradventure, with your excellencye as I and others are. There somme discourses passed to and fro concerninge your lordshipp; as, that your lordshipp lost nothinge or verye little by this rebellion; that you brought but small forces of your owne to represse it, &c. But beside that they were spoken at the table, where a good memorye is not see comendable as in other places, they were see fullye aunswered and replied vpon by somme of the companye, especiallye by one Mr. Brane (a servaunt of his majestye) then present, that your excellencye lost nothinge by that discourse. nor haue any neede to examyn it any further. But in those late disorders of Ireland rerum cognoscere causas Felix qui potuit.

I have heard (in varietye of discourse) somme laye the source vpon the Irish Jesuits, somme vpon the puritans in that kingedom, somme vpon the parliament of England, somme fewe vpon the justices and privye counsayle of Ireland, but never any man that dash't vpon your excellencye in that kinde. Mr. Lutterel is a verye honest gentleman, and I doe verilye beleeve he will not make me the author of any such relation. And if any such matter hadd bene vttered vnto me, without a profession of meri-

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

ment, by waye of table discourse, none should have bene more resentinge thereof then

Your excellencyes most humble and affectionat servaunt,

Worcester, this sixt of Maye, 1644. Jo. Eborae'.

CCLXXXV.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

I WROTE vnto your excellence vesterday, and sent you inclosed in that letter the propositions of the protestant agents, as they call themselves, and some advertisements from the Irish agents; concerninge which, I desire to receive your excellence's opinion as soone as may bee. I signifyed to your excellence alsoe att the same time his majestie's approbation of the earle of Clenerickard's propositions, in all which hee would have your excellence give such directions as shall be necessarye to the best effeetinge of them. Vnto which there is noe more to be added but this, that for the poinct of commaund, which it is fitt my lord Clenerickard should have for the enablinge him in those services, my lord Willmott and my lord Dillon are very well content that lord Clanricarde should be made by your excellence commaunder in cheife of all the forces in Conaugh in the absence of the president, with what title you thinke fitt to give him. And my lord Dillon, by whome I believe this letter will be sent, is see sencible of lord Clanricarde his power to serve the kinge in that province better then any other man whatsoever, that hee will willinglye submitt to your excellence's commaunds to stay 296 att Dublin or att the castle of Allone, and to leave the command of all the forces of that province vnto lord Clanricarde.

I shall now apply my selfe in the first place to give an answere vnto the particulars of your excellence's several letters received by my servaunt Sherley, and since of the 27th of Aprill; and then I shall acquaint you with the state, and my judgement of the treaty with the Irish agents.

In the businesse concerninge the treasurer's place, your excellence expresseth ioyntlye your greate favour and civilitye to my lord of Corke, and your greate consideration of the king's service in all thinges, by that which you propose touchinge lord Clanricarde's satisfaction, in case it should be fitt for his majestie to admitt any of his religion to those honours. For the present, his majestie hath thought fitt to obleedge my lord of Corke with a promise of the place, and a letter to your excellence concerninge it; but withall hath forbid him as yett to make vse of or declare it, his majestie conceivinge it most for his service not to dispose as yett of places there, as beinge parhapps the best meanes by the hopes of some of them to lure in the Irish vnto good conditions. And in case that, vpon the conclusion of that treaty, it shall be iudged expedient for the king's service to obleedge the earl of Clanricard, and in him those of the religion with the place, I make noe doubt but I shall be able to perswade my lord of Corke by arguments of the king's service, and of his owne interest in another particular heere, wherevpon his heart is much sett, willinglye to consent to it.

Concerninge the vice-treasurer's place, I must applye to that alsoe the same resolution of the kinge not to dispose as yett of places there; however departed vnawarrs from it, without my knowledge, in the letter sent in Mr. Spencer's behalfe, a person very worthy and of much meritt in his majestie's service. And your excellence will give mee leave to repeate to you youn this occasion that which I have formerly told you by his majestie's commaund, that what graunt soever within that kingedome the necessitye of his majestie's complyinge with persons whoe have deserved much of him, may force him to yeald vnto, the libertye is still left vnto your excellence to demurr and to replye, till your judgement, advises, and inclinations be fully vnderstood. It is true, my lord, it may bringe a greate inconvenience vpon your noble nature, in makinge you the disappointer of many men in their hopes; but your excellence must consider that in these times one of the best services wee can doe our master, is to ease him of the burden and prejudice of givinge negatives vnto well meritinge persons.

As for my dear friend Daniel O'Neile's pretentions to that place, 'tis true, that in relation to him I wrote vnto your excellence that you would be pleased to suspend the engageinge your selfe for it; but that was att a time when I doubted wheither wee should prevaile soe farr for him as to place him in the king's bed-chamber: but beinge now there, and yet scarce warm in his place, I thinke it very imprudently done of him, in order to his owne interests, to sett afoote as yett any other pretentions.

He cannot fayle there of makinge a fortune, even without the helpe of his freindes, vnlesse hee preiudice his reputation by appearinge too hasty in it, and overwedded to his owne interests. I have writt to him very roundly and freelye vpon the subject, as becomes a freind, by another conveyance, and I beseech your excellence, if this concurr with your judgement, contribute your advises also to rectifye his reason in this poinct.

I humblye thanke your excellence for your favour to my servaunt Felton, which I doe not consent to his accepting of; he shall resigne vpp his pretentions to that place, for which the kinge wrote in his behalfe, vnto whome soever your excellence shall thinke to give it. Nor is that enough to make mee forgive him the engageinge mee ignorantlye in that which might robb any servaunt of yours of a proper reward; although I assure your excellence the kinge graunted it him, without relation to mee, for services and sufferings of his before he had any domestick dependance vpon mee.

O'Neale writes to mee that your excellence wonders much at 297 the graunts of a pention and other thinges obteyned heere by sir John Reade. They were thinges past, but not obteyned by mee; hee is a person conceived to have suffered much for the kinge, and in that consideration, in the number of those formerly mentioned to whome the kinge was vnwillinge to give a negative in a pretention that were not very vnreasonable. I should be very glad to receive from your excellence your opinion of the man, for there is a very good opinion of him att court; and I am apt enough to have it too, but vpon very smal acquaintance.

Concerninge the four councellors, their enlargement hath certainly had a very ill effect, both vpon the agents heere and on the Irish in generall. Certainelye they are persons very disaffected to the king, and it were much to bee wish't that their persons could be again fairely restrained; and the rather, to make them labour the exchange, which the kinge hath given leave to be proffered for Earnle, Warren, Muncke, and Gibson. I conceive there hath beene letters, or will be sent by my brother secretary from the kinge concerninge their recommitment, through whoes handes that businesse past: otherwise I conceive your excellence can doe nothinge further in it with any decorum.

The letter from noble man in Ireland concerninge them was left out of my packett by my secretarye; but the name was not

wrong cyphered, for it was from my lord Castlehaven to the earle of Dorsett, but it is little materiall.

Concerninge the provisions for Duncannon fort, I have received letters from my lord of Esmond of the receipt of them, and I hope the rest are allsoe arived; at the small proportion of which we are much grieved; and the streights and necessities we are in here are not more sensible to us in any poinct, than that they disable us from giving you considerable reliefs; but what possibly can be done shall.

I conceive your excellence hath made a very good choise in leiutenant colonell Trafford to commaund at Beaumaris. I make noe doubt but the prince will well approve of it.

Thus much to your excellence's former letter, and to such parts of that of the 27th of Aprill as concernes the same subject. To the rest be pleased to accept of this answere.

Concerninge the earl of Antrim's undertaking for the islands, the kinge hath commaunded mee to give your excellence thankes for your forwardnesse to assist him in it; it beinge, as you say, the onlye proper part for that lord to play, and wherein I can allow my selfe to expect somewhat from him, especially concurringe with the earl of Montross's and marquess of Huntley's present enterprises and successes there. I hope your excellence will succeed in your negotiation for ships for that service, I havinge procured letters from the Irish agents here unto the supream council to that purpose, and captain Bartlett I hope is by this time with his ships to receive your commands at Dublin.

The letters out of the north, whereof your excellence sent mee the coppyes, give us much sadness here, both as the infection of the covenant appeares in them likely to spread, and consequently to fortify the rebels party of England; and as it may probably bee an impediment to the Irish to furnish us those supplyes which are promised by them in case of agreement. In order to this of the north, your excellence advises two very fittinge thinges; the one, that the Hollanders may be made sencible how their charityes have beene abused, whereby perhapps they may be more diverted from affordinge any more supplyes, then if the kinge should resent it in another way. The other is, that I should endeavour the supplying my brother Chichester at Belfast with provisions. I have sent my servaunt Sherley on purpose into Cumberland to trye what may bee done there, and

I desire your excellence to give my brother and sister notice of it, and to encourage them: if those of Cumberland faile, wee will doe our best to gett releefe from Bristol, if they can but 298 holde out time enough for provisions to bee made in and transported.

Touchinge the oath or counter-covenant which your excellence proposes, it is thought a most necessary antidote against the spreadinge venome, especially in pursuance of the late proceedinges of the parliament, wherein there have beene very good avant-cours to it. A form shall bee sent your excellence by the next, with that libertye which is left vnto you in all thinges to governe your selfe accordinge to your judgment vpon the place.

Touchinge the declaration there, that lawes made in England binde not the subjects of that kingedome, vnlesse past in that parliament alsoe. It is one of the agents propositions in effect, but such a one, as that I conceive the thinge fitter to rise there by way of declaration of right, as it seemes it does, that the parliaments of Ireland are independent vpon the parliament of England, then either to be graunted by the kinge as an article, or to bee advised in by any councellour of England.

I shall enquire after that transitory corruptable thinge which your excellence writes of colonel Crafford, and if any good may bee generated out of his corruption, it shall bee tryed and made vse of.

It is a most vncomfortable thinge vnto vs in all relations the dominion which the rebells have gotten of those seas: it hazards our best hopes, but it is our dayly studye how to encourage all men to sett to sea. And wee shall shortlye, I trust, have considerable fleetes abroade, especially of Dunkirk frigats, the properest for those seas and service.

I am glad to heare of the contract made by your excellence for 5000 arms and 500 barrells of powder; it is that which wee must not misse, and your excellence must bee enabled to performe your agreement, though wee were to sell our shirtes for it. And I shall not need assure your excellence of my greatest industrye to procure your excellence all possible enablements, both in this and other particulars necessary to those gallant and noble vndertakings in your master's service.

Thus much in answere to your excellence's letters: if I have omitted any thinge, I beseech you to attribute it to oppression

of businesse at this time, a principall part of which is the treatye with the Irish agents, vnto the cheife of whome, I meane my lord Muskerry, I delivered your excellence's most prudent and seasonable letter. My lord, wee are now come thus farr in that treatye, as that a committee appointed for that negotiation havinge with much leisure and patience heard all sides, (the protestant agents in their wise propositions which I sent you formerlye, and the assistants sent for out of Ireland vnto all particulars of the Irish agents propositions, and vpon the inclosed queeries and answeres,) is now readye to make their report vnto the whole matter; of which my judgement is, that although the Irish agents should be moderate and reasonable, it is soe nice and dangerous a businesse, that it will hardlye bee in the kinge's power at present to give them, with any approbation of his counsell, any such conditions as wise men can accept and answere to those that trusted them. The danger of scandal for his majestie to grant them almost any thinge more then private promises, which I conceiue hee will allso bee chary to doe, is likelye to be much improv'd by the wilde and extravagant propositions of those that call themselves the protestant agents. The truth of the case is thus: every body that is faithfull to the kinge's interests apprehendes the necessitye of a peace, both for the preservation of the protestants in Ireland, and the support of our affayres heere; but every body alsoe is seekinge, as the ape did, to pull the chesnutt out of the fire with the puppye's foote, and to cast of the councell of graunting the Irish any thinge at all to his neighbour: which is the reason why I doe not wonder at all (though I know your excellence bee of a franck and avowed nature in all thinges prudent and reasonable) that in none of your letters I have ever received any opinion 299 from you concerninge this matter. Onlye in one thinge I shall presume to provoke your advise, and that is, how you thinke it may agree with his majestie's interests there, and the safety of the protestant subjects condition. For to tell you freely my aprehension, I doe not thinke the mater likely to proceede to further termes of accomodation than so; not but that every body desires a beter setlement in relation to Ireland; but every body is restrained in councell by apprehensions of the ill effects which any concession to the Irish catholicks at this time may haue vpon the affections of the people heere. I beseech your excellence to vouchsafe mee your opinion, without engageinge in

an advise to be made vse of, but onlye to confirme or rectifye the vnderstandinge of,

My lord, your excellence's most affectionate and most obleedged humble servaunt,

Oxford, this 9th of May, 1644.

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCLXXXVI.—The marquis of Ormond to the archbishop of York.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE;

THIS bearer, captaine Cadowgan, hath served his majestie in his army in this kingdome sithence the begining of the rebellion, and hath not only dureing that tyme expressed much vallor and industry, but alsoe great affections to his majestie's service, which he doth now more amply manifest in his resolutions to forward the service on that side, whether he is now repaireing with his companie. And therefore I may not, in justice to his merrits, but recomend him very effectually to your grace's favour, assureing you that vppon any occasion he will rather magnify then deminish this caracter given him by,

My lord, your grace's most humble faithfull servant,

Dublin-Castle, 110 May, 1644. ORMONDE.

CCLXXXVII.—Sir George Radcliffe to the marquis of Ormond.

My noble Lord,

I have forborne to write to your excellence, hopinge to have met with somethinge worth your knowledge, especially in this treaty with the Roman catholique agents: but in trueth I can as yet giue no manner of account thereof. I was till of late persuaded that wee should have had peace: I now begin somewhat to doubt of it. It is almost impossible to satisfy the protestant agents that they can have any security. Indeed their demandes for security are very high, and such as cannot be hoped for to be gotten by treaty; as, namely, exemplary punishment, and plantations, &c., which make some here jealous that they are sett on to breake the peace expected. Very few here dare give the kinge any counsell in this mater; a very hard condition he is in, not able either to maintain a warre, or justify the makinge peace, so farre as to say he did it by advise of his counsell.

But I belieue your lordship heares more fully of this busines from sir Ph. Percival, and especially from my lord Digby.

Though I have little to say in any thinge else, yet I have a very great acknowledgment to make for a great many of your noble favours now lately received: my owne busines in parlement, your goodnes to Dr. Greaues, to ensigne Skipworth, and aboue all to Mr. Carpenter; (in whose imprisonment his late lord's honor suffered;) all these, though they farre exceed any thinge that I can deserve, yet they are very proportionable to your 300 owne innate gentile disposition, which cannot but do thinges freely and gallantly, that is, like your selfe. I am loth to trouble your lordship with onely wordes; I know you are not delighted therein: if there be any thinge in my power that is worth your commandinge it, I am suer it is my duety and ambition to present my selfe,

My lord, your excellence's most humble servant,
Oxon, 16 May, 1644.

GEO. RADCLIFFE.

CCLXXXVIII.—The earl of Antrim to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

I have these three mounths mayntained by my credit with my frends at least 2000 men, which in thes times [is] noe small charge. There are manie that suffers much by the waight of that burden, and some particuler persons have sent complaints to the supream counsell, to enforme them that the countrie cannot longer subsist vnder that burden. I beleeue noe man will doubt but that I have done what lay in my power, and I should still have done the same, if my desire or interest might longer preuaile. I shall humblie desire your lordship to aduise me of a way how the soldiers may be releeued till the armes and prouision be at the port, whither I feare they will not passe so soone as was expected, whyas the parlement shipps are so thick vpon this cost. I will give noe orders to disband the men till I vnderstand your lordship's opinion, which I expect speedilie, because of my former reasons, and that I am shortlie to goe to Killkenie. I must discharge Alex. Mc Colle to goe looke after his one wayes, wherby he may releeue his soldiers, and Raghlin he must be forced to abandon, without some course be taken by your lordship to vitle it. I beleeue I shall be able to give the kinge an account of my indeuours to performe all that was expected of

my part, wherof I am confident I shall haue your lordship's approbation; by which I will esteeme my self obliged to acknowledge my self

Your lordship's most faithfull seruant,

16 May, [1644.]

ANTRIM.

This bearer will enforme you of the state of this countrie.

CCLXXXIX.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Antrim. My Lord,

I conceaue that very soone after your lordship dispatched this gentleman, you receaued from Mr. O'Neill advertisment of the arrivall of parliament shipps in this harbour, with advice what was next to be don. The shipps are certainely redy, and taken on for three moneths, which in the end will be a great charge to his majestie; and till he be able to pay it, the burden will be heavy on mee, and some privatt frends of mine, who at my instance have vndertaken to secure the fraight of three shipps.

I am by noe meanes able to advise your lordship how to provide for the men you writte of, and much lesse am I able to assist you in it, otherwise then Mr. O'Neile hath and will write vnto you, to whome I haue given my best advise. Touching Alexander M'Colle, Mr. O'Neile will informe your lordship what he hath don.

In the last place, as I shall be still confident that your lordship hath and will doe all your endeavour to performe your vndertakeings, soe, I conceaue, it is visible that there hath been noe failer on the part of

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Dublin · Castle, 17 May, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCXC.—The marquis of Ormond to Mr. Belling.

301

SIR,

IN my last letter I acquainted you with the straights and exigences wee are put vnto by reason of the parliament shipps which haue blocked vpp this harbour. And now I thought fitt to lett you know further, that vppon Tewsday last Munroe with 2000 men surprised Bellfast, and the same tyme sent 2000 more

to Lisnegarvy, whereof the souldiers now in garrison there having some notice, betooke themselves to their armes, and kept them out. But they lye still before the towne, with a resolution to take it by force, if they cannot otherwise prevaile. It is said that Owen Roe O'Neile hath been sent vnto by the lord Blany, who is within the towne, to come to their releefe, and that he is prepareing to goe to raise the seege: but whether this be soe or noe, is more then I can assure you. It is rather thought that such an opertunity (if offered) is more like to bee neglected then layd hould on; for it is observed that much tyme is lost and little done by some whome it doth concearne to be most active.

And now it behoveth mee to lett you know how much it concearneth his majestie's service, my owne honor—dearer to mee then my life, and the preservation of the kingdome, that I be forthwith suplyed with meanes, according to the agreement vppon articles of cessation, to keepe those men I haue heere in a posture to oppose the Scotts, who certainely will advaunce into the bowells of the kingdome if some stopp be not given them. The wants of the comon souldiers at Bellfast was the cause of the loss of that place, and I may as well feare the like or worse, (theere being the same cause,) if that I be not tymely supplyed by you, from whome only I can now expect it; wherein if you faile mee, the loss may be more then is fitt for mee to express. Which I pray you to make knowen to those who haue the manageing of your affaires; wherein if they be careless, lett the blame fale vppon them: I am free thereof: and soe I rest

Your loveing frend,

Dublin-Castle, 17° May, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCXCI.—The archbishop of York to the marquis of Ormond.

MAYE IT PLEASE YOUR EXELLENCYE;

HAVEINGE the oportunitye of this noble lord, I have noe more at this time wherewithall to trouble your excellencye then to lett your excellencye vnderstand that I am once more come into these partes, where I wold I were as capable as I am readye to serve your excellencye; that alsoe I have written by Arthur Trevor vnto your excellencye from Worcester to disavowe my ever heareinge of your predecessour that shold have beene, to make your excellencye the aucthor of soe horrid an

effect as Mr Trevor hadd informed your excellencye. What others have heard from him I knowe not, because I knowe him sufficientlye disaffected to your excellencye. Howbeit he never lett fall ought where I was, which received not soe full an answer as needes noe rehersall or repetition.

I expected somme provision of powder by c[aptain] Thomas Bartlet, which, by my repayre to the court, is gon to Chester, and I humblye desire by your excellencye's favoure I maye be supplied ten or 8 barrels with the next opportunitye.

This noble lord can acquaint your excellencye that prince Rupert (the onelye hope of this miserable estate) is goinge to Yorke to feight one battle for the kingedom of England; for the consequence is noe lesse.

If your excellencye hadd any imployment for a secretarye, or 302 such a creature of knowne abilityes and æquall honestye, well verst in the affayres of this kingdom, and those others wherewith we have ought to doe, (as haveinge beene much abroade,) such a gentleman, Mr. Sct. Albanes by name, beinge at Oxford vnimployed, desir'd me to present his service vnto your excellencye: he was bread in the universitye somme 5 yeares, then followed the lord Goringe at court som 3 yeares, thence recommended by the duke of Buckingham to me: he was my secretarye (beinge then lord keeper) for 6 yeares. After that, he travailed abroade for certayne yeares, was a customer vnder his majestye for 5 or 6 years; then, vpon my recommendations, secretarye to the earl of Essex as lord chamberlavne, whom he guitted vpon his desertion from his majestye, and is nowe without imployment, though verve capable of anye, both by reason of his extraordinarye partes, as alsoe his great experience, pietye, and devotion; which makes me thus bold to present him and his desires vnto vour excellencye, whom I beseech God Almightye to preserve in all happines and prosperitye; which shall be the prayers of

Your excellencye's most humble servaunt,

[Conwaye,] this 19th of
May, 1644.

Jo. archbishopp of Yorke.

CCXCII.—Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

WEE have here bene very busy in the treaty with the agents of the confederate chatholiques of Ireland, and which is now

growne to some maturity; but I forbeare to write of it, because order is taken that acount of it shal be given you by lord Digbye. I wishe the successe of that treaty may answer expectation, and be for the settling of a good peace on that side. There hath bene very good assistaunce given by the gentlemen whoe were sent ouer hither to attend the king about that treaty, they being very able and knowing men.

I confesse I have noe faith in what I heare the earle of Antrim hath vndertaken, nor am I apt to beleeue in any peece of a Scot.

The letter from the privy councell of Ireland touching sir Arth. Loftus, brought strange news to his majestie, whoe gives noe creddit to any parte of it. Your excellency will by a coppy inclosed see his majestie's sence of it, and his order in it.

I am sorry the passage to and from Ireland is by the Englishe rebells shipping on that coast rendred soe difficult. There is noe possibillity for the king suddainly to set forth and mainteine such a gard vpon the Irishe coast as to suppresse their force by sea: but I have advertisement from London that their ships are like every day to diminishe for want of meanes to victuall and pay their seamen, soe as I hope the passinge wil be every day more open and free then other.

Other very great and importaunt occasions have kept prince Rupert out of Lancashire, and vntill the Scotts shal be repelled he will not possibly have any tyme to fall into Lancashire, thoughe his highnes sayes he intends to vissitt some parte of that county in his march towards Yorke, which he beganne the 16th of this moneth. God prosper him with good successe.

The queene is att Exiter, where she hath bene very much indisposed in her health, being neere her tyme; but since her midwife is come to her, she is much amended, soe as it is hoped she will overcome this, as she hath other fitts of the like nature.

I have heard noe more concerning the proceedings against the fower councellors, since the letter I sent your excellency for bayling of them.

His majestic hath given order for sir Geo. Wentworth's pat-303 tent to be vice-admirall of Leinster to be renewed to him, and it is here in hand.

The king acknowledgeth sir Ma[urice] Eustace's deserts, and saith he wil be reddy to recompense him, but the example of abating that his yearely revenue, by diminishing of his fee farme

rents, is of soe ill consequence, as he forbeares in that particular to satisfy sir Maurice. And his majestic conceaves it noe lesse vnseasonable att present to increase the fee of Baron Hilton, when he is not able to pay his ministers the old ordinary fees belonging to them.

I have receaved a complaint from sir Jo. Pennington, that Dr. Cooke (judge of the admiralty in Ireland) hath made stay of a vessell called the George of Leverpoole, which was left there by capt. Wake, and hath caused her to be appraised att such rate as he pleaseth, and disposed of her for his owne privat benefitt; which vessell sir Jo. Penington writes would have yeelded about 100l., with her ordnance and furniture. I beseech your excellency to cause her to be enquired after, that his majestie may have an account of her. Sir Jo. Penington alsoe writes, that he hath about 3 weekes since sent away for Dublin the last parte of the 500l., worth of provisions ordered for that place, which I hope is safely arrived there before this. For the present the king is not able to send further supplies into that kingdome.

I shall now trouble your lordshipp noe further till the next opportunity, resting ever,

My lord, your excellencies most excellent servaunt,

Oxon, 20 May,
1644.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

His majestie's affaires here are now in such a condition, as (I hope) within 6 weekes your excellency will hear good newes from England, if it shall please God to blesse the enterprizes in hand. The rebells att London are full of wants and dissentions.

CCXCIII.—The king to the marquis of Ormond and council of Ireland.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and entirely beloved cousin and councellor, and right trusty and wel-beloved cousins and councellors, wee greete you well. Your letters of the 18th of Aprill last to secretary Nicholas wee haue seene, and for your diligence and care vsed, by the proclamation therein mentioned, and by your letters to Montroe and others to keepe our souldiery and other our good subjects in Vlster from being ensnared in the rebels

covenant, wee much commend and thanck you. God wee hope will shortly enable vs, as well to releeue the great wants our good people doe suffer, as wee are truly sensible of, and sorry for their sufferings. Which, besides your often solicitous representations, wee find earnestly vrged in the humble petition of the lords and commons there assembled in parliament, transmitted and recommended vnto vs by you our lieutenant generall in the said dispatch to secretary Nicholas.

Wee haue lately sent over some supplies, and shall leaue noe meanes vnattempted to provide and send more, so soone as God shall enable vs, whereby to help the necessitys of that our kingdom: and glad wee shal be of any expedient that may be found out to further the same. In the meane time, wee must incourage you to make yet what shifts may be, till it shall please God to dispose our affaires here to some better passe, whereof by his divine blessing we haue very good hopes. And soe wee bid you most heartily farewell. Given at our court at Oxford, the 20th day of May, 1644.

By his majestie's command,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCXCIV.—The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond. 304
My Lord.

THE information I receaued from Mr. George Lane, that your lordship would send an express into these partes hath eased your lordship of much trouble by keeping me in a long silence.

The spoile and almost ruine of the county of Mayo, and much of this county by my lord of Castlehauen's army, and the sending of my lord of Mayo prisoner to Kilkenny after the ransaking of his estate, and taking many castles in that county, is, I am sure, long since come to your lordship's knowledge; but the strangest newes is, that after much wrangling, and many greate disputes, my quarters are now setled soe much to my present satisfaction, as the times are, that I am in hope to receive some considerable proportion of rent this yeare.

The last weeke about 500 Scotts advanced into the countyes of Letrim and Sligo, and after taking some preyes, returned back. Their coming gaue almost as hott an alarum as the first, and proves soe troublesome to me by the expectation and im-

portunityes of the confederat party to haue my asistance, as it inuites me to renue my former request for [your] lordship's comands and instructions therin; it being conceiued that the publicke safty and my perticuler reputation are somwhat neglected, and the insolencyes of some garisons there permitted to grow dangerous; besides the dayly spoiles committed by them to my infinit prejudice, who haue allready had a large proportion of suffring in both kingdomes.

I am informed there are some dispatches come from the Irish agents to Kilkenny, but what they importe is not published. Nether haue I heard any certainty of the affaires of England this long time; only some flyeng rumors, which I am not willing to giue creditt to, and doe much wonder what is become of my old friend Mr. justice Donelaine, that his pen is not stirring with some intelligence.

The bearer, ensigne Scott, a very honest and able soldier, having bin long imployed in that command vnder me, and formerly served many yeares vnder the king of Sweden, I shall humbly recomend him to your lordship's fauer, that he may be releeved and freed from the oppressions of some at Dublin that have taken advantage of the times and his absence from thence; and that, vpon all just occasions, there may be notice taken of him as one that hath venturde farre and sufferd much for the releefe of the forte by Gallway, as long as it could be presarved. His perticuler desires I have sent vnto Mr. Lane, recomending it to his care to put your lordship in mind of him. I will now trouble your lordship no farther, then briefly, but constantly and faithfully, to profess my self

Your lordship's most humble and affectionat seruant,

Loghreagh, the 21th of CLANRICARDE and St. Albans.

May, 1644.

CCXCV.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.

305

My Lord,

I DOUBT not but longe since you have concluded that, with your messenger, all manners are lost and forgotten here. I must aske your pardon, and hope to finde it the rather, because you will finde in this dispatch a more authenticke resolution to your propositions then you could have had from mee; though in the

answere to them your lordship may see they were writt amidst the distractions and interposition of other busines. However, the best is to bee made of it, till more punctuall may bee had; and in case of those necessities proposed, I shall make noe scruple at the authority.

I send your lordship, with the coppy of my lord Digbye's letter and a pacquett directed to your selfe, the coppy of two and twenty propositions given in by sir Charles and his bretheren. His lordship's sense of them and the proposers is cleerely myne. They are not publique here, and perhaps your lordship will not thinke them fitt to bee made knowne amongst the fiery spiritts there. Your lordship will alsoe receaue from George Lane an accompt of the Scotts proceedings heere—I meane in Vlster—and all other newes nowe stirring.

I shall prepare things fitt for you, in case of the Scotts coming into Conaught. I have nowe hardly tyme to eate or sleepe. Your lordship will therefore pardon these breefe vnhandsome expressions of

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

ORMONDE.

A letter from my lord Byron I caused to bee coppyed, it conteyning the last motions of prince Rupert's motion towards the Scotts.

D[ublin] C[astle,] 22° May, 16++.

CCXCVI.—Sir Philip Percival to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP:

I made bold to trouble your lordship with late letters hence by Mr. Phil. Roch, by Mr. Tho. Dungan's sonne, by another gentleman, and by a minister. That I wrote noe oftner, I hope your lordship will conceiue was occasioned partly for want of tyme, partly by reason of the often changes (as seemed to mee) of what I should have written.

At our first comeing, wee kissed the king's handes and received noble vsage, as I formerly wrote. After a while, wee were putt three queres by sir [John] Culpepper, earle of Bristoll, earl of Portland, lord Digby, Mr. secretary Nicholas, and [sir Edward] Hide, vpon the propositions of the Irish. The vn-vsuallnesse and dangerousnesse wherof, the strickt injunction of secresy, (while others tooke liberty to discourse the particulars

in question, and to shew the reasonablenesse of their side to divers of both sexes,) together with some strong reports, (which I forbeare this tyme to mention,) gaue vs iust cause to be the more wary in our written answere, conceiuing (not alltogether without ground) that wee should in due tyme haue been acquainted with what the Irish most insisted on, and what they waived, and what they inclined to grant, that wee might come to closer fight. Wee attended, but heard noe more of it in that way.

On Saturday last we heard that the Irish were dispatched, and two of them gone to Exeter. On Tuesday the rest went away vnknowen to any of vs. The agents of the protestants observed the Irish high, and courted by divers, and themselves, 306 even by their acquaintance, as they thought, neglected, and vs soe reserved towards them, that they seemed not to take things well of vs or others. Afterwards they tooke councell, such as they could find here, and made propositions more disliked, yet warranted (as they say) by their instructions, approved by the board, and by most of the lords, conceived to be in themselves more just then the others, if the tymes were seasonable. The copyes of all, I am confident, are sent to your lordship.

The king seeing that at this tyme hee could not make a peace with any security, and without granting such things as scarce any of his counsell durst aduise, hee resolued to continew the cessation, as lest of danger, and was pleased to let mee know soe much. At which tyme hee did tell mee too, how abundantly hee was satisfied with your lordship; and I made bold to acquaint his majesty what extraordinary burthens you have borne for his service; wherof hee did protest hee was very sensible.

On Weddensday this was appround by allmost enery one of the counsell, consented to by the lord Muskery, (as the king did tell mee,) and ordered to be the debate of the next day.

The next day his majesty was aduised to goe to Reading, and at the same tyme the same party did (as I doubt) aduise to cast part of the burthen of this busynesse on your lordship. I confesse I did express a greater sense of it in your lordship's behalfe then perhapps became mee, and did let them that rule most know how much easyer it would be for them to giue the Irish content here then for your lordship there; how you had for his majestie's seruice allready gained the envy of the Scottish nation and of the parliament, and that they would putt you into

the same danger with the rest of the nation of England, and with the Irish too, who probably will demand or doe something that your goodnesse could not brooke.

They scarcely euer conferred with the agents from Ireland's protestant party, or vs, to see how things might be moderated; but were gladd (as some say) of any occasion to putt the burthen (which is dangerouse) on others. And yet they seeme to have granted the things most opposed.

I am told 'tis one that labours to be commanded thither, and hopes to rule all there, did further this; yet, without wronging

him, I cannot say any such thing.

If I have failed to give your lordship soe full or particular an accompt of our proceedings as you might expect, I hope your lordship in your goodnesse will impute it to my weakenesse and want of knowledge in these affaires. And if any other representation be made vnto you of mee, be pleased to doe mee the honour to acquaint mee with the particulars, and I will give your lordship an honest accompt of that, assureing your lordship that there is not any man living that intends more really, or loves or honours you and yours more then I doe, who am

Your lordship's most affectionate

23 May, 1644. humble and obliged seruant,

My lord, as soone as [I] could find Mr. Carleton, I questioned him about that busynesse. Hee told mee that hee had payd 500l. only to Mr. Loftus and to the earle of Leic[ester], and promised weekely to be goeing, vntill the forces of the parliament prevayled therabouts; soe as now hee cannot come, as his brother sayes, who would faine gett him the sight of the answeres to the Irish; but hee (and I) are wholly strangers to it in euery particular.

Coll. Power is prepareing that busynesse which I payd for; but how to send it I knowe not.

The pacquet, I am told, is goeing.

CCXCVII.—The earl of Claricard to the marquis of Ormond. 307
My Lord,

YOUR lordship's from the councell boord of the 24th of Aprill I received the first of this present; and in obedience to those comands I did foorthwith cause the proclaimation to be

published in all the markett townes within those quarters that remayne obedient to this government, which requireth the bringing in of all ticketts and accompts for mony, cloathes, or victuall deliuered formerly to the vse of his majestie's army, for soe much as I disbursed for the supply of his majestie's forte by Gallway, or procured vppon my security. The accompt was deliuered in to Mr. Bryan Jones, and all of it, as I conceiue, was accknowledged at Dublin vnder captaine Willoughbye's hand. Some other ticketts are nowe sent vpp for prouisions taken by him, and many more, I believe, would be, but that the towne of Gallway being in present out of my iurisdiction, I had noe authority to publish the proclaimation in that place; and, as I am informed, beseides the natiues of the towne, there are many English nowe there, who serued in the forte, and complaine of wanting their entertainement, and of some thinges disbursed by them for supply of the saide forte; and many that by letters were promised ticketts, by reason of their absence at the time the forte was surrendered, or some other accidents, could neuer obtaine those ticketts from captain Willoughby; soe that I shall humbly deseire to receive your lordship's farther pleasure and dirrection what course shall be taken for theire releefe and satisfaction.

The ould standing company vnder my commande, who were reinforced to one hundreed the first of January, 1641, by dirrection of the lords justices and councell, haue bin constantly payde out of my owne purse, both longe before and euer since these late troubles, without any supply from the contry, who were not able to maintaine seuerall other companyes raised by me for his majestie's seruice, without adition of many large summes disbursed out of my owne private revenue; and they not being listed as parte of his majestie's army, and soe, as I conceive, not included in this proclaimation, I humbly leave it to your lord-ship's faverable consideration to dirrect some course for my satisfaction, and in what way such accompts shall be ordered and made vpp, the burthen haveing beene very greate vppon me, and most of the mony taken vp by me at interest, and still soe remayneing.

My estate in the county of Roscoman, and particularly my manor of Athleage, the garrisons of that county, and most espetially Castle-Coote, haue taken away the whole subsistance of all my tenants there; for which sir Charles Coote by letters

promised ticketts, but none could be obtained. And by a booke of perticulers delivered in to me by captaine John Kelly, intrusted by me for that parte of my estate, it doeth amount to aboue 1000l., beseides the charge of keeping a stronge warde in that castle, who by my command did neuer give any interuption to them; but at all times admitted them to take what they thought fitt out of that maner, and my selfe leaving it to sir Charles Coote's owne discretion and disposeall. haueing bin some changes of officers in those garrisons, those nowe there, to defraude me, pretend ignorance to what was formerly taken by them; soe that I must be an humble suiter to your lordship for to grant a commission to examin and take the proofes of that accompt, and likewise your lordship's commandes to presarue my estate there (ready to fall totally wast) from the insolent proceedings and demandes of Ormsby and the garrison of Castle-Coote.

I send your lordship herewith a petition deliuered me by my 308 tenant Mr. John Morgan, customer of the porte of Gallway, who very stoutly presarued a castle of myne of very great importance on the sea side not far from Gallway dureing all these commotions. Those of whome he complaines doe aleage, as I am informed, that what they did was by order and command of those who assume the title of the supreame councell then resident at Gallway; and being nowe remoued to Kilkeny, I doe not find any thinge within my power to be don therein, more then thus to informe your lordship of my knowledge in the busines, vntill I receive your lordship's farther pleasure and command, which shall be readily obayed by

> Your lordship's most humble seruant, CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

Portumna, the 24th of May, 1644.

CCXCVIII.—Daniel O'Neil to the marguis of Ormond.

My LORD,

THIS more learned then wyse counsell haue, after much debate, given way the men for the iles shall march through these countryes to Passage and Ballehack, and ther bee shipped. The 6th of June they are to bee ther: the ship thatt is att Wexford must come thether. I cannot tell whether Mr. Archer will send hir about without your lordship's order.

This letter off Torlagh O'Neile's will informe howe Trafford's men may bee transported, iff your lordships lyke the barkes: 'tis butt sending hether, and they shall have order to meet your men att Wexford.

Att Watterford they will not give way they should bee shipped. I was thinkeing off sending boats from Wexford to Arkloe, butt they tell mee that ther iss none other that iss capable off receaueing 30 men with itts one. I ame earnestly solissiting for your mony: by some I am tould that ther is little due, iff the accounts were made; for though by the agreement in writting your lordships was to receaue 30,000l., yett to ther agents or commissioners, that treated with you, your lordships ingaged your honour 15,000l. should make satisfactione.

The corne and amunitione they have agreed to give mee for Raughlin. Alexander Mac'Call goes with itt in captaine Stafford's frigatt presently.

Don Antonioe's frigatt iss returned with a good prize. I haue moued the counsell to offer him, thatt iff he would send hir to wayt vppon this seruice hee should have whatt he gott, without shareinge with them; and iff that would not take, that iff he agreed his frigatt should wayt 2 moenths he should have a sum off mony, the half off which I vndertooke your lordship should allowe vppon your accounts. Before I made this offer, I confer'd with your friend Archer, whoe beeleues Don Antonio will take less then 2001. I have yett noe resolution. I shall desire your lordships to press them to procure this ship; the having hir will secure our jurny through the Channell, and leave the ilanders without any excuse; for shipping was that which they most prest his majestie for. The sooner your lordship sends, the better; for Mr. Archer sayes that the dayes run on; thatt the vessell is not tallowed nor victualled, and that she must come about to Passag; and all this, he sayes, requires tyme. He aduises many more things, which I beleeue he troubles your lordships with in his one letter.

Here are simtomes off great distractiones in this most irregular commonwealth. They gaue my lord off Antrym an absolute command of all ther forces; vnto my lord Castlehaue they gaue another, independent of any butt themselues: the one desires the benefitt off his commissione, which the counsell will not giue him; the other indeauours to preserue his possessione.

This folly iss growen to such a hygh, thatt iff itt bee not pre-309

uented by your lordships, euidently the country will be distroyed. The supream council passionatly maintain Castlehauen; the other cleerely can draw the army from him and them.

By good fortune I came hither before my lord off Antrym, and from the bishop of Doune vnderstood much off the intentions off both; which prepared mee to giue him such reasones ass yett keepes him quiet; butt I plainly find noe reason will hould him long soe, without your lordships yeald to receaue the army, iff offerd you. And truely, my lord, I can heare noe reason yett thatt drawes mee to that oppinion that some haue off this matter. I am very much opposit to itt; for I conceaue itt the onely way you haue to your one safty, and to preserue this kingdome in vnity and obedience to his majestie. My lord, my zeale for the good off this kingdome, the king's seruice, and your one persone, obleeges mee to trouble your lordships thus often with this oppinion.

I beeseech God direct your lordship.

I shall the morrow for Watterford, with Mr. Archer, to see all things fitted in the ships. Within a few dayes after, I'le wayt vppon your lordships. I am

Your lordship's most humble seruant,

Kilkenny, this 24 off May,

DANIELL O'NEILLE.

Mr. Archer sayes that the shipp that iss att Wexford has order to come about to Passage.

CCXCIX.—The lords Clanricard, Taafe, and Ranelagh to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

ALTHOUGH wee beleeue it hath beene already made knowen to your excellence how much this poore prouince in many partes of it hath suffered by the destructive and vnwarrantable proceedinges of divers of the English garisons, and that the commanders of them were persons malitiously avers to any possability of peace, as hath beene cleerely evidenced in severall particulers, and their dayly violation of the articles of cessation; yet wee being such as are immediatly concerned to enterpose for the present and future security of this province, hould our selves necessarily obliged to accquaint your excellence that wee have

very iust ground to conclude this prouince to be in a very vnsecure condition soe longe as the Cootes and Ormsbyes, nowe resident there, shall continue in any command ouer soe many needles, and by them made disaffected, soldiers; and that vnless your excellence be pleased to command away these men to some other parte of the kingdome, wee can expect noe other but that this prouince will be in apparent danger to be destroyed, should the Scotts aduance with any considerable forces into it; and by many pregnant circumstances wee are induced to beleeue that they doe not want an inuitation, nor would not fayle of the assistance of those garrisons. The relation whereof, and of all other perticulers concerning the iustnes and necessity of these our deseires, your excellence will be speedily informed by some one of our selues who have ioyned in this application, and doe offer it as our humble aduice and earnest deseire to your excellence, that those persons should be commanded away, and only such a number left as may secure the castles, and those commanded by such as your excellence may have confidence in. All which we humbly submitt to your excellence's better iudgement, and shall still remayne

> Your excellence's most humble seruants, Clanricarde and St. Albans,

The 27th of May, 1644.

Taaffe. Ranelagh.

CCC.—The marquis of Ormond to sir John Mennes.

310

SIR

I haue lately received yours of the 11th of this instant, wherby you have been pleased to recompt vnto mee your proceedings in those parts, since his higness prince Rupert sent you downe vpon your imployment thither; which have been, I conceive, very discreet and juditious, in dealeing soe civilly with the inhabitants, and acquireing the eastles and holds into your owne power there. And for the request you make that (for the better lineing of those places with such a strength of foote as is necessary) I would hasten the sending over of the 300 men, which, you have vnderstood from my lord Biron, are ready to be transported hence; it is very true the men are ready, and shall be dispatched (as indeed they had been before this tyme, if the shipps imployed by the parliament now lyeing vpon those coasts

had not hindered) soe soone as possibly their passage may be safe; for I would be loath to expose them desperatly to their mercys, who shewed soe little Christianity of late to a many of those that went with collonell Willoughby, which soldiers they cast ouer board, because Irish, allthough the most of them had faithfully served the king against their owne countrymen all the tyme of these troubles. Which must likewise be the iust excuse for the present stay here of the Griffin frigot till the coast be more cleare, whose returne to you shall not be longer delayed then in the regard aforesaid, of mere necessity and in all good discretion, must and ought to be. Howbeit then Bartlet cannot be spared hence, here being no other barque of countenance for the security of this harbour.

And since you are pleased to desire it, I shall with obligation to you, and contentment to my selfe, by all conveniences, as occasion shall serue, and his majestye's seruice require, hold strickt intelligence with you; and for the more secure freedome therin, you may doe well to send me your cyphre.

When the passage is open for these men to goe ouer, they shall carry along with them such a competence of ammunition as may supply them for occasionall seruice, if need bee.

And let me know the quantityes of ammunition you desire should be sent hence for supply and furnishing of your vse and store there, and accordingly it shall be effected. But then you must withall first send ouer the commodityes you intend to haue it in truck for, and according to the rates of the marketts here you shall be sure to haue sent you proportionable ammunition in exchange therof; otherwayes the marchants, in whose hands it lyes, will be loath to part with it vpon expectancys, and the whilest to haue the aduenture of sea and other casualtyes to lie on them. And on like termes I conceiue you may haue tymber hence, (for I must buy that allsoe,) if such as beares fourteen inch square may serue your occasions. Lardger in present I cannot learne of (for any good proportion) to be had from hence; which I doubt will be too slender for plankes, though it may be vsefull for beames, rafters, and other occasions.

When captain Jesson comes to me, I shall give all the furthrance I can for rayseing his company here, as is desired. So I rest

Your very affectionate seruant,

Dub. Castle, 29 May, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCI.—The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond. 311

My Lord,

YOU have soe highly recompensed the shorte time I was held in suspence, that I want languadge to express my gratfull acknowledgments for such vnmerited fauers.

The 22 propositions deliuerd by sir Charles Coote and his companions doth certainly desarue no other construction then what both your lordships doth afford them; and in my poore opinion, they have a neere affinity, if not in effect the same with the Scotch Couenant and parlement Declaration. For though extirpation both of nation and religion be not named, yet I conceiue it is contriued almost in every proposition, and the consideration therof confirmes me in a full beleefe of the malitious practises of the Cootes and Ormsbyes in the county of Roscomon, and hath inuited me to ioine with my lords Taaffe and Ranelagh in a letter to your excellence for their removall, as persons dangerous, or rather distructive, to the whole province.

The intelligence of the Irish agents, if I may presume to deliuer my opinion, may desarue your excellence's serious consideration; for I doe aprehend the bussnes to be more dangerous, in reguard it comes informed to me that the Hollanders lends the parlement large sommes of mony for the reduceing of this kingdome; and it is probable they will expect some important cautionary townes or fortes.

By my lord Digbye's letter, and the expressions of your excellence thereupon, I find that I am permitted to give asistance to the confederate party, in case of a Scotch inuasion vpon this prouince; but the command I am to haue, or the correspondence I am to keepe, is not yet imparted to me. I shall prouide to send them the best forces I can make, when any such danger appeares, according to the farther instructions I shall receaue. But now that my lord Dillon is declared president, it is farre from my thoughts to make any increachment upon his lordship's gouernment; and I doe presume your excellence will not thinke fitt to impose any personall commands vpon me, any farther into Connaght then this county, being hopefull that my lord president will see speedily repaire to his charge, or prouide otherwise for the safty of it, that there will be noe cause for me to hasard a publicke discouery of my owne imperfections, which otherwise my zeale to the king's seruice would have inuited me to vpon any conditions.

My earnest desire to waite vpon your excellence drew a promis from me to my lord Taafe to repaire to Dublin this next weeke; but if your excellence please to dispence with me, and that there be no vrgent occasion, it will be more convenient for me to deferre my iorny vntill Whitson weeke. But what commands socuer I receive, they shall be speedily and punctually obayed by

Your excellence's most humble faithfull seruant,

Portumna, the 29th of May, 1644.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

CCCII.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Antrim.

312

My Lord,

THIS day I receaued a letter from my lord Mountgaret and other noblemen and gentlemen assembled at Kilkeny; wherein they say, that your lordship, vppon some distaste, was pleased to declare you would desert the imployment of the isles, and that your men should not goe. Which expressions, your lordship will be pleased to giue mee leaue to believe, proceeded rather from some present passion or recentment, then from any setled resolution you haue taken vppon any provocation to decline that service soe highly conduceing to his majestie's advauntage, soe redyly vndertaken by your lordship, and now soe neere to be put in execution, at his majestie's very great and irrecoverable charge, if the designe fall to ground.

My lord, in confidence that these motiues, ioyned to that sence I know you have of your honnor, will prevaile with you to proceed in that designe, layd with soe much judgement and reason by your selfe, I have heere inclosed sent direction to Patrick Archer, that the shipps taken on for his majestie's service, should receive and punctually obey your lordship's orders; and I humbly beseech your lordship, that you will lay asside all things that may distract this businesse; and that you would believe mee (for it is a real truth) to bee

Your lordship's very faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cas. 1 June, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCIII.— The lord lieutenant and council to Mr. secretary
Nicholas

SIR

ON the 17th of May, I, the lievtenant, received letters of the 15th from lievtenant collonell Edmund Mathewes, lievtenant collonell of the regiment comanded by collonell Arthur Chichester, advertising mee that generall major Monroe, in his owne person, with about two thousand men, marched on Tuisday the 14th of May into the towne of Belfast, a towne belonging to collonell Chichester, and where his regiment was guarrisond; that with those forces generall major Monroe possessed himselfe of that towne and his majestie's ordnance there, and displaced collonell Chichester's regiment; that hee sent as many more towards Lisnegarvy, a towne belonging to the lord Conway, to attempt the like on that towne alsoe.

Vppon receipt of those letters, I, the lievtenant, imediatly assembled the councell, and the said letters beeing read, and serjeant major Chichester, who brought vs those letters, heard, and the matter fully debated at this board, wee vppon deliberat consultation therof, adjudged it fitt to direct letters from this board to generall major Monroe, requiring the rendring vpp of that towne and of his majestie's armes, amunition, and ordnance therin, and his removall with his forces from thence, as you will more fully vnderstand by the inclosed coppie of the said leters to him, dated the same day the intelligence came to our hands. Which letters wee then instantly caused to bee drawne, and signed them before our rising from councell, and then imediatly sent them away. What returne wee had, you may perceive by the inclosed coppy of generall major Monroe's leters, in answer of our said letters to him.

The maner of this taking Belfast appeares fully in a relation therof in writing given to mee the lievtenant by collonel Chichester, who with his wife and some of his troope are now removed 313 hether; a coppy of which relation wee send you heere inclosed.

If this begining of disorder (threatning further and more generall distempers in this allredy too much distempeed body) had been attempted on any other places then his majestie's owne guarrisons, and on any other persons then Englishe and protestants, and those alsoe such as (even to the knowledge of the surprisers) have borne a great part in the comon calamitie in theis vnhappy times fallen vppon this kingdome, and contributed (with the hazard of their persons and lives, and the consumption of the remnant of their estates and fortunes) towards vindicating his majestie's honor and rights heere, and the preservation of the remnant of his Brittish and protestant subjects in this kingdome, then perhapps there might have been some cullor for an indulgent interpretation to bee made of those publicque hostile attempts, though even in that case allsoe the act were vnanswerable, considering the present cessation of armes setled in this kingdome by his majestie's royall aucthoritie. But this hostilitie beeing raised against those whose sufferings and meritts in the publicque were abundantly knowne to those that have thus risen against them, doth soe farr aggravat those actions in all circumstances, as there is noe place left for any reasonable excuse wherwith to cullor them. However, matters standing heere as now they doe, wee humbly move for his majestie's princely direction therin, that wee may bee thereby guided how to proceede, and for such supply to bee ordeined for vs by his gracious majestie, as in his high wisdome hee shall adjudge fitt. Wherin wee forbeare to descend to particulars, partly for that wee have in severall former letters given you some intimation of our condition, and partly in regard wee are doubtfull, whether or noe theis our letters can gett safely to your hands, considering that theis coasts and harbors are besett with the shipping imployed by the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster, and that those shipps lye, and have don theis sixteene daies past, even in our viewe, at the mouth of this harbor, and others of them all along theis coasts, and have taken divers vessells and goods, some of great value bound hether with provisions, and give out that they and others will still continue on theis coasts to hinder all reliefe from beeing imported hether, and to interrupt all passage betweene England and this place.

And heere wee crave leave to observe to his majestie, that during all the time of the rebellion heere before the cessation, this board did very often, with all possible importunitie, move, that the parliament would send shipping hether to guard theis coasts, and soe hinder the importation of armes, amunition, and other provisions for the rebells. Yet all those motions wrought not the effect wee desired, but the coasts were left open to the spoile and depredation of the enemie; and those that then promised to supply vs are now very diligent and watchfull to guard theis coasts, as well heere as at Corck, Kinsale, and Yoghall, to

the annoyance of his majestie's good subjects, and are soe intent therevppon, as while wee are thus surrounded by them, the coasts and harbors of Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, Gallway, and other places possessed by the Irishe, have noe such prejudice putt vppon them as wee indure; but they may and doe import and export what they please, and those of Wexford have lately taken and brought into their harbor some English and Dutch shipps, and much goods, and to great values.

And albeeit, notwithstanding those courses held against vs by those shipps, wee are not in present in that want of all things which perhapps they thinck wee are, as you may finde by our severall letters to you of the third of February, the 18 and 20th of Aprill, and 8th of May; yet wee doe not soe abound, but that fresh supplies of all things would add much strength and comfort to vs, and begett the greater disappointment to those that may attempt any thing against vs.

In the meane time, as the duty wee owe to his majestie, and 314 to the trust of his affaires heere, hath mooved vs thus humbly to represent to his majestie theis particulars, which relate in a high degree to his services and interests heere, soe the same duty calls vppon vs (wherin wee will not bee wanting) to make all needfull preparation heere, soe farr as wee may, to meete with, and (if it bee possible) to prevent the further growth or increase of those great and generall mischiefs which such beginings as theis doe apparantly threaten to this his majestie's kingdome, and to guide and governe his affaires heere the best wee may in all things by our councells and actions for his majestie's honor and advantage. And soe wee remaine from his majestie's castle at Dublin, 4 Junii 1644,

Your very assured loving frends,

	Ormonde.	Roscomon.
Ri. Bolton, Cane'.	La. Dublin.	Cha. Lambert.
Edw. Brabazon.	Ant. Midensis.	Fr. Willoughby.
Geo. Shurley.	Ja. Ware.	G. Wentworth.
Tho. Lucas.		

CCCIV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

SINCE the writeing of the greater part of my letter, dated the 13th of this moneth, Belfast was surprised, and Lisnegarvy attempted by the Scotts; the manner of both, and the present condition of those parts of Vlster, will best appeare to your lord-ship by the inclosed relations and coppyes of letters sent me from the officers commanding there in cheefe.

My inability to releeue their wants, or protect them from the violence intended against them, cannot be vnknowen to your lordship, who haue by you some letters of mine vpon that subject.

On the other side the, Scots are plentifully provided with victuall, and promised a monthly supply of 8000l.; which temptation, joined to their power and severity, have prevailed with the most, and many of the best affected of the officers, soldiers, and inhabitants, to an unjustifiable complyance with them. The plaine truth is, the hatred they have contracted (upon intollerable provocation) against the Irish, will not suffer the best affected of them to consider how far his majestie is concearned in the present quiet of this kingdom. Vnder the warrantable profession of this hatred, those here that affect not the king's cause do so cunningly prepare this army and people to resist all accommodation with the Irish, that they cannot be punished, but it will appeare to ordinary vnderstandings to be in justification of the Irish, and in countenance to their religion. am in hope that if a just and secure peace shall be concluded, and the army in any good measure prouided for, the greater part here will embrace it, and the malicious will not dare to oppose it: but if provision be not made for the army, and that at the instant of publishing the peace, I doubt some very great disorder will arise.

I send your lordship inclosed a coppy of our letter from the board to generall major Monroe, and of his answere; the civility wherof, I am told, (by those that know him,) is a probable signe that hee hath some dessigne vpon vs; and it is publikely spoken by the common soldier and some of his officers, that this place shall be shortly attempted; but whether he will advance towards us by Lisnegarvy to the Newry and Dundalk, or by sir William Cole and sir Frederick Hamilton's garrisons (by whom and their soldiers the covenant is taken) into Connaght, where through want and hatred to the Irish they expect, and I doubt will find, almost all his majestie's garrisons ready to receive and join with them, I know not; for though in all probability their 3 15 work will be most easy in Connaght, and their attempt there

less scandalous, as against Irish and papists, and for the releefe of English and protestants; yet, whether they may not hope for a party here, and find it, and propose to themselves an end of the greatest part of their work, if they be masters of Dublin, and attempt it, is a danger worth the doubting, (threatening no less than the loss of this, and the perpetuall annoyance of that kingdom,) in preuention of so great a mischief.

I have vpon my owne credit furnished the Newry, Carlingford, Greencastle, and Dundalke, with money and provisions, and have placed in them such officers and men as I am confident will give a good accompt of those places; but my credit, like my meanes of payment, being at the bottom, it was very little I could do.

I have with much earnestnesse pressed the Irish for some considerable payments of their arrear by Daniel O'Neile and colonel Barry; but their preparations for their own defence, and the poverty of the kingdom, wasted and exhausted by war, makes me doubt their supply will be slow and small.

The surpriseing of Belfast by Monroe, in part by the trechery of some in the guarrison, gaue occasion for the enclosed declaration and oath, which by this councell are held fitt to be published and tendred to all that liue within our quarters, and shall forthwith be put in execution; our present condition not admitting the losse of soe much tyme as to expect his majestie's pleasure.

When I have added that now I humbly informe his majestie by your lordship of the desperate condition of this his kingdom, all is done that for the present lies in my power towards the preservation of it.

By some of these papers, your lordship will judge that I haue little reason to thinke of relieving any garrisons beyond the Newry, if it were in my power; yet I intend not to let those I most suspect find that I have laid the thought of them aside; for I conceiue it more safe to let them spend time in ordering their busynesse, and let them believe they do it handsomely, than by discouering that they are found out, to thrust them into open and violent joining against us, before we are in some better case to oppose them.

The enclosed coppyes of examinations, taken vpon the oathes of persons without exception, doe sufficiently euidence, that neither religion nor zeale to justice doe gouerne the councells or actions of those that in the north of this kingdome haue promoted the couenant; for they are content to imploy in their army here, and haue sent into Scottland, either to doe them seruice there, or to recruit their army in England, many of the northren Irish, who haue had their handes so deeply and foulely in English blood, that those assumeing authority among the Irish haue long since disclaymed in many of them, and professed an earnest desire they might be brought to justice.

Touching the earl of Antrim's design upon the islands, I must

referr your lordship to Daniel O'Neile.

By what I haue written in this and my letter of the 13 of May, your lordship will finde that the aduertisements giuen there by the Irish agents touching Munster and Connaght were not altogether groundlesse, wherin I am confirmed dayly by concurrent circumstances. The most probable remedy I can propose is, the speedy sending over of the earl of Portland, and the placeing of the military power in Connaght in the earl of Clanricarde, who is euidently the only man fit for it, as the times now are; but this latter to be done with the free and full consent and satisfaction of the lord Willmot, for lord Dillon certainly, if he consider the danger that province (where the maine of his fortune lies) is in, he will for a time lay aside his pretensions, or give them up, in consideration of his majestie's seruice and the safety of the kingdome.

It is very hard to know how farr the propositions of those 316 called the protestant agents agree with the generall sense of the protestants here, in relation to their present condition, there being noe such body of them together here as can reasonably pretend to the declareing of any sence binding to the whole. But if the question be, whether the protestants estated and interested in this kingdome would choose a warr rather then peace, without they might have all those propositions assented vnto as they are proposed, I am able to say that all I euer spoke with concerning them (which were the councell, together and apart, and all others of any consideration for fortune or judgment that I could find) answere negatively; and some are of opinion that if wee were as absolute conquerours of the Irish as any people can be imagined to be ouer another, it would hardly be fitt (and perhapps not wisdome, the present state of England weighed) to impose vpon them what by those propositions (takeing them alltogether) is desired. It is therfore with great reason

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

that the proposers of such conditions to the acceptance of a people possessed of good townes, store of armes and ammunition, are esteemed vnwilling to have any peace, or very vnknowing how to propose for it.

The parliament hath indeed once sate since I received those propositions from your lordship, but it would have taken vp more tyme by debate there to have severed the fitt from the vnfitt, the reasonable from the vnreasonable parts of those propositions, then could consist with his majestie's other affaires to suffer them to sitt.

It is true allsoe that there are here certaine persons that take vpon them to receive accompts from those agents of their proceeding, and perhapps to send them aduises for it: these haue been asked how farr those propositions agreed with their sence; wherunto they give noe cleare answere; being, I thinke, vnwilling to disavow vnder their handes those imployed by them; but I haue spoken apart with one of the ablest of them, who is of opinion with those others I formerly mentioned to haue spoken with.

This letter has been in writing by snatches, and as I received fresh intelligence, since the latter end of May. It answers more then one of your lordship's: you will be pleased therfore to pardon the incoherence and disorder of it. I rest

Your lordship's most faithfull humble and oblieged seruant,

Ormonde.

Dublin-Castle, the 8
June, 1644.

CCCV.—Sir George Radcliffe to the marquis of Ormond.

My NOBLE LORDE,

MY last, if it came to your handes, will sufficiently let you see how much a stranger I haue bene to the secrets of the late treaty with the Irish Roman catholick agents. The best information I could gett (and that as a secret too) was, that there was no hope of peace. I am very confident that most of the lords of the councell thought not fit to advise the kinge to doe that, which in their private opinions they thought he must doe for the necessity of his affaires. A great prejudice to the king to doe that which his counsell durst not avow. I hope it is not intended

that your excellence shall take the thorne out of his majestye's foote, and put it in his [your] owne. Sir William Stewart and [lord chief] justice Lowther haue played the fooles notably, (as wee thinke here,) opposinge papists more then there was any hope to prevaile, fearinge to offend the parliament, and indeed seeminge very averse from peace vpon such termes as it might be hoped for.

Sir Philip Perciuall agreed with them in all thinges, and had gone here for a Roundhead, if your excellence had not recomended him as he did: but this is vnder the rose.

Your lordship will know better then wee how prince Rupert 317 has relieved Latham, taken Stopford and Bolton: he is now joyned with marques Newcastle; they are aboue 20,000 foote and nere 10,000 horse, as wee here doe recon them. Hull will not admitte any Scots to come into their towne. If this designe succeed, wee may yet see the kinge in his full authority.

Wee hoped (I may say rather then feared) that Oxford would have bene besieged. Essex and Waller, with all there strength (20,000 horse and foote), came nere it, and made account that all was theires. The kinge thought it not honorable to be besieged, and therefore with 3000 horse and as many foote went through the enimies quarters (safely) towardes Worcester, where he is now recreutinge. Waller goes after the kinge: Essex is gone into the west. This towne is so victualled and fortifyed, as it is not in danger of a siege.

Your lordship hath many friendes here at court, but I desire to adde one to the number, Mr. Jo. Asburneham of the bedchamber. Wee had no Englishman in the bed-chamber before, but onely Mr. Endimion Porter: (who, I thinke, is an honest man, and loves your lordship:) Mr. Ashburneham is a gentleman as well descended as any, a witty man, a great lover of the church in the right protestant way, in very great credit with our maister, and, I believe, a very honest man. If your lordship giue me leaue, I will make the bargain to haue you vnderstand one another.

I would faine doe somethinge for your excellence about Tiperary. The king was first engaged to your excellence for a quarter; if you can deale with viscount Muskery to leaue it out of the act which is to passe there, it would doe many feates to the advantage of your excellence, lord Inchiquin, and many more. Thinke on it, I beseech you, and let me know your pleasure about it.

All honor and happines attend your lordship. God send vs. peace.

Your excellencie's most humble servant,

Oxon, 11 Junij, 1644.

GEO. RADCLIFFE.

CCCVI.—Lord Inchiquin to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP;

THOSE examinations which I sent to lett you see the mayor of Cork's behaviour should have had better forme, but that I supposed they should have bein noe further vsefull then to have prevented the agents imployed by this cittie of theyr desires, vntill such tyme as your lordship had sent directions from thence for the examination of wittnesses. But if your lordship thinke it fitt to be proceeded in any farther, I doubt not to manifest theyr intentions in this cittie to be worse then I have yett declared them.

I had sent an express with what I received forth of Eingland, but this bearer being able to say all that I have heard with better satisfaction then I can write, I shall onely mention poore Briggs his greate defeate, his whole troope being runn away to the parliament, leaveing him noe other imployment but to studdie how to couzin the merchants by the help of theyr wives in Bristoll.

My lord of Muskry with his bretheren are com downe to Padstow, where my friggett is to take them in, and bring them into Ireland: his lordship has toulde his majestie such a storie of mee, as proues exceedingly prejudiciall to mee, haueing some shaddow of trueth in itt, and my tale being vnheard. I will not now trouble your lordship with the business, it being very tedious, and I desirous to hasten the bearer; but the substance is, that what means I used to frustrate a greate designe of theyrs, and preserve the Einglish people with our quarters, is represented to his majestie as a plott of myne to lett the Irish take my lord of Cork's townes; whereunto I confess I seemed to 318 my lord of Muskry to consent: but your lordship shall see (and I hope be satisfied) that his publishing of this matter will not att all advance the esteeme of his lordship's policie, nor fasten any prejudice on mee, when I am heard, and alsoe that this injurie is offerred to one who was noe more his enemie then dutie bounde

him too: and I am sorry I should be thus disoblieged to serue any man of soe neare relation to your lordship, (who of all men liveing I profess to honour most,) espetially att such a tyme as I expect that all publick occasions of enmitie may be taken away, and he restored to your lordship's former favour; which yett I am confident will noe way prejudice mee, being warranted thereof by the many and greate principles of honor and justice that allwayes direct your lordship's actions, even to your enemies.

Butt to mee, my lord, you have bein pleased to extend a greate measure of favour, which I hope I shall never forfett; and truely I shall think it vnworthyness in my selfe if I may nott justly be deemed,

My lord,

Your lordship's most faithfull and humblest servant,

*Corke, 13° Junii,
1044.

INCHIQUINE.

CCCVII.—The marquis of Ormond to Lord Digby.
My Lord.

BETWEENE Mr. O'Neile and Mr. Trevor, your lordship will be soe fully informed of all things needfull for your knowledge, that I shall add nothing to what is conteyned in my late dispatches. The question your lordship propounds to mee, in yours of the 9th of May, being, as I conceiue, now vselesse to be answeared, the Irish comissioners being, as wee are informed, come from court; and the other dispatches, both publick and privatt, expressing soe cleerely the state of this kingdome, that it will be easy on that side to make such conclusions, and giue such directions vppon the whole matter, as may suite best with the maine of his majestie's interests in both kingdomes.

I may not omitt to assure your lordship that Mr. O'Neile hath with much dilligence and iudgement wrought in what he was imployed; the successe remaines yet disputable.

Mr. Trevor hath some things to deliuer his majestic from mee, wherewith hee will acquaint your lordship, and from mee desire your assistance. Some off them are of that consequence, that I durst not venture them in paper, wanting tyme to write in cypher. I rest

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dublin-Castle, 20° Junii, 1644.

Ormonde.

The enclosed paper was given mee in the nature of a proposition.

CCCVIII.—The earl of Antrim to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

I HAUE been euer so busie since my comeinge from Killkenie, that I could not give your lordship anie certaine account of my troublesome imployment. The men were shipped thes three dayes, who could not sett forth, the wind beinge contrarie, out of the riuer. It is not possible to beleeue what delayes and crosses they were driven [to] for want of provision and other necessaries. I could obtaine noe more arms then is mentioned in this enclosed note; but I sent as manie men as the shipps could conuenientlie hould, beinge hard vpon 1600, who are compleatlie 319 armed by my one shifts, besides 1500 pikes. I discharged 7 or 800 men for want of shippinge; they are gon to sea by nine a clocke this morninge, and I commanded them to goe which side the wind first serued. I have directed the three shipps with ordinance to attend the service till towards Hallontide; the other to returne to give notice of ther landinge, and to waite your lordship's further pleasure in Dublin or in the next secure port. I shall desire your lordship to joyne with me to procure the remaine of the armes promised me, that I may send my brother with a second supplie, who shall goe thether with more men, if those armes be had, which I wish were made vp a 1000. I must acknowledge your lordship's fauours and furtherance of this expedition; and I believe the worke would not proue anie way difficult, if such as are supposed your frends were neer as willinge to forward the seruice as your self; which makes me conceaue that they are not your lordship's frends beinge I doe not find them correspondent to the professions you made me.

Daniel O'Neile did tell me that your lordship would doe my good weoman the favour to lett hir haue your house at Carricke if she chance to come hether; which I shortlie expect: I shall desire your pleasure hearein, and the honor to beleeue I am

Your lordships faithfull humble seruant,

Passadge, 27 June, 1644.

Antrim.

CCCIX.—Arthur Trevor to the marquis of Ormond.

MY LORD MARQUIS ORMOND,

I AM now arrived at Chester, and am in some feare I shall not be able to goe farther northward; prince Rupert being, by all

computation, at York this night: within a day or tow I shall be satisfyed of that scruple, and then the marquis Ormond may remember I am for Oxford.

I find noe man heere confident of the condition of the king. Essex putt hym vnto much extreamity; but now at last hee is returned to Oxford; though, by the way, I must tell you, hee broke more bridges then 10,000 pound will repayre.

Prince Rupert, by letter from court, vnderstands that the king growes dayly more and more iealous of him and his army; and that it is the common discourse (at the openest places where men can discover themselves) of the lord Digbye, lord Percy, sir John Culpeper, and Willmot, that it is indifferent whither the parliament or prince Rupert doth prevayle; which did so highlye jesuite prince Rupert, that he was once resolved to send the king his comission and gett to France.

This fury interupted the march ten dayes; but at length tyme and a frend, the best coolers of the blood, spent the humour of travayle in him, though not that of revenge; to which purpose hee hath sent his letter to the king for the removeall of them from his councell; and if this be not done, hee will leaue this warr and sit doune.

I heare that Cottington hath been free of his oppinion concearning the danger, and must be conquested likewise. What the issue will bee, I cannot giue any oppinion, but must leaue theise premisses, (which I beseech your exellence receaue as sufficiently proved,) and then conclude with your owne reason vppon them. I find they at court giue the king advise not to fight, to preserve his army, though not his honnor; which soe stomachs the other, that he could without difficulty bite a stone.

This quarrell hath a strong reserve, and I am fearefull that a little ill successe will send my new master home vnto Holland. I perceaue the tyde's strong against him, and that nothing will bring to port but that wind which is called *contra gentes*.

The king is at Oxford in a very good condition. Essex is 320 gone towards the west; some think to Bath, for the head-ach; Waller and he parted without much ceremony, and he lyeth now about Tewxbury; and 'tis thought hee and his fowre thousand dragoonders will continue there vntill buckhunting come in, and then they will into the forest. All the king's quarters are in very good condition; noe munition; and if the marquis Ormond

send none, wee may run for it; all will be naught: all expectation of supply is from that hand. Gloucestershire is lost totally.

The seig at Lym raysed with disadvantage. Liuerpoole cost 100 barrells of munition, which makes prince Rupert march ill provided. Prince Rupert hath giuen away Dan. O'Neile's place and troope, who will giue him occasion to conquest him to shortly. As yett, the winde is faire; if wee can bless vs from a strong north winde, that may driue vs against the Scotts costs; if wee misse those rocks, it will prove a hopefull worke in the end, when it shall be disputed face to face.

Poor sir Charles Blount was pistolled by one Langston the last day in the king's presence; which I take to be an ill augury that my lady will have no lands on this side the water. Your excellence shall every day receive the humblest service of

Your excellence's &c.

Chester, June 29, 1644.

ART. TREVOR.

Sir Mich. Earnely is now exchanged, and swears he is your excellence's humble servant. Poor Warren and Monke are at Hull.

CCCX.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Antrim.

My Lord,

I AM very glad that your lordship, for soe much, is come to an end of your businesse. I wonder how your armes fell short, vnless it weare that those that promised them vnderstood that the shipps would carry noe more men then they had alredy armed.

I hope they will make vpp the compleate number to you against the tyme your lordship shall be able to transport more men; wherein you shall have all possible assistance I can give.

I thank your lordship for doeing mee right in your beleefe, that, acording to his majestie's comands, I have endeavoured to advaunce this designe. The same iustice will induce your lordship not to put the failers or crossings of others, though suposed my frends, vppon my accoumpt, who desire not to answeare for any man's actions, that gives not full obedience to his majestie's authority.

Mr. O'Neile was in the right when he tould your lordship I

should be glad my lady duchesse would make vse of my howse; if it weare in my absolute power, I could vndertake shee should haue it: as it is, I can but professe that I should receive great satisfaction that any thing which ought to be mine may serve her. I rest

Your lordships most humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 1 July, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCXI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

321

My Lord,

THE 23th of June the comissioners imployed from the Irish to attend his majestie arrived at Waterford; by whome or some other conveyance, I hoped to have received some knowledge of what had there passed or bin concluded, and direction how to governe my selfe in the most desperate and heartles condition, wherein, with mee, his majestie's affaires now are. But to the increase of many astonishing distractions—as the being neere eaten vpp of want; almost hopelesse of releefe, bloct vpp at sea, encompassed with powerfull armyes, Scotts and Irish (the end of whoes contention in all probability will be the ruine of his majestie's best subjects and the subvertion of his government); strengthened against all those with a very smal, indigent, vnsatisfyed army; vnfortified townes; vnfaithfull inhabitants for the most part; and vppon the matter empty magazins and stores;— I say, in adition to all these miseryes, I am totaly in the darke as to his majestie's pleasure, (which is the sight I have proposed to guide all my actions by,) except that the inclosed tickett is by chaunce come to my hands, being given out by the comissioners to satisfye the inquisitiue of their party, till that at their generall assembly, which is to bee on the 20th of this moneth, they giue a full accoumpt of their negotiation. What credit to giue this tickett, what it signifies, or what comission can come hether to effect what is mentioned in it, I know not: and therefore I will not presume to preiudge what I beleeve is with great wisdome determined there; though to my infinite misfortune I be ignorant of it; for I know it hath beene considered that it will be hard to find comissioners heere, that will take vppon them to conclude what his majestie in person, assisted by his councell of England, and by selected men from hence, found difficulty in.

know alsoe, that being soe assisted, it could not scape consideration, that if the people of England (and of them such as are most concearn'd in the good successe of the king's affaires) have such a reluctancy to a peace with the Irish, out of their compassion to the sufferings of their contrymen, or a icalousy of the honor of the English nation; how it can be possible that the English heere, who for the most part have felt those iniuryes and affronts, which the other soe much pitty and recent, will be induced to aquiessye to a settlement not held fitt to be avowed on that side, but concluded by a deriued authority on this: which therefore with more bouldness they will venture to question, if not disobey.

Since the arrivall of these gentlemen, there passed betwixt mee and their councell the inclosed letter and answear; and I find that they are soe confident that such directions are come to mee, that I have lost much of their former beleefe in my cleere dealing by denying it; and I begin to beleeve there is something in the matter not vnderstood by mee, haveing seene a letter from your lordship to the lord Taafe, dated, as I remember, the 6th of February, wherein is this clause, vizt. "In yours of the 19th you write to mee very earnestly about the Scotts in Ireland, and accuse vs heere of haveing neglected your former advises in that kinde, because you have received no answeare to them: but I assure you they have not been neglected, for the marquis Ormonde hath received direction in the point."

Which gives mee occasion to informe your lordship of a passadge not vnlike this, as to the matter of it. Before the landing of the comissioners I was exceedingly pressed to take vppon mee the comand and conduct of the Irish forces against the Scotts, particularly by your good frend and mine Dan. O'Neile: many reasons weare given for this advise; the most important, I shall, as well as I can remember, impart to your lordship with my apprehension, and (reserveing my humble submission to his majestie's comands) with my resolution on the contrary, as the case 322 stands, and for ought yett appeareing to mee.

The first is, that by this meanes I may draw the dependence of their forces vppon mee, and be able to dispose of them according to his majestie's pleasure, for the advantage of his service heere or elswhere: whereas, if I refuse, it is like to be put into the hands of one perhaps otherwise inclined.

The second, that by this meanes, and the generall submission

promised to mee, there will be an end of the contention that is betwixt two great men for the cheefe comand; which is said to be risen to that height, and the factions divided soe equally, as to threaten the frustrateing of their designes against the Scotts, the loss of very great and irrecoverable preparations, and the imbroyling of them in vnseasonable and distructive quarrells amongst themselves.

Thirdly, it is conceived, that his majestie's authority in mee, countenanceing their action against the Scotts, will draw many of the best affected protestants to ioyne in the service, and deterre many ill affected from appeareing actively on the other side.

Fourthly, in case I accept of the comand, they will provide the army now in my charge; but if I refuse, they conceiue they are not obleedged to it, haueing, as they pretend, payd in all that was promised, or bin damnified by our party in more then remaines due since the cessation: and further to provide for vs, they say, they haue noe reason, till they be better assured then they will believe they are, vnlesse I consent to their desire.

Fiftly, it is doubted whether my refuseall, as vse may and is like to be made of it, may not soe coole the affections of my kindred, allyes, and frends now of their party, that I shall be of little power or esteeme with them, and soe vnserviceable to his majestie.

These are collections of the most powerfull reasons that I can remember to have been vrged by any man in the affirmative: and though they be not such as can perswade mee to become the leader of a people standing in the condition they doe with his majestie, and in the construction of law; yett I held it best for his majestie's service, and more safe for his protestant subiects heere, considering that all our hope of supply depends for the present vppon the Irish, to enterteyne them with a treaty something of kin to this proposition, tell I may receive comands from the king to direct mee, rather then by an absolute breach to give them collour to withdraw the smal supply they are now sending; which together with the hindering of the comerce and freedom of marketts, would (as wee are hem'd in) in a very moment (as I may say) destroy vs. For this reason I gaue the inclosed heads to one to treat with them vppon, but have yeat had noe answeare to them. In shewing your lordship my reasons against the takeing of that charge over the Irish forces soe

pressed on mee, and carrying such a shew of advantage to his majestie's service; I shall begin with what is and ever shall be first and principally in my intentions, and the maine scope of my endeavours, namely, his majestie's honnor and service.

First, then, I conceiue it can be for neither, that I, who have the honor to represent his royall person, and as imediately as any subject can (if I be not mistaken) exercise his soveraigne authority, should mix his rightfull power, and vnblemished, though smal forces with the wild vsurped authority, and yett vnlawfull armes of the other party: and without such a mixture, I vnderstand not how the thing desired can be done.

In the next place, I believe noe man will think mee soe mad as to venture vppon this high straine but by the king's comand: or soe disloyall as to doe it without his approbation; and what scandall it may be to him to have that beleeved, or what hearts it may loose him in England and elswhere, his majestie is best able to judge. Heere I doe not think ten protestants would follow mee, but rather rise like one man against mee, and adheare to the Scotts. The affections of the protestants standing 323 thus, as certeynely they doe; meethinks, in the third place, it is very evident, that if I take either of the wayes desired by them, that is, to take the charge of their army, or to denounce imediately an offensive warr against the Scotts; those effects proposed will not follow; but on the contrary it will give the ill affected so specious a pretence for their owne deffection, and furnish them with such plausible arguments to seduce others; that I am confident I shall be suddainely and totally deserted by all the protestants: which will be the sooner beleeved, if it be considered, that all of them now remaining heere, whether of the army or others, are such as haue had their liuelyhood in this kingdom, and haue sufferred in the first of the insurrection: who being now, for ought yet knowen heere, disappointed of the restitution of their lands and other advantages, which they expected by a peace, will be redy, vppon strayned pretences, (being brought to the extreamety of want and despaire,) to seeke subsistence and become adventurers with those that make the warr, and will promise them present releefe, and shares in the bouty. To this they will be incited by the clergie oppressed with the same wants and despaire; but if the Irish will supply mee speedyly and freely, and not press mee to soe vseles and dangerous a declaration, I shall not only keepe all the garrisons

vnder my comand from ioyning with the Scotts; but I am very confident to draw from them many of their best armed souldiers, horse and foote; and if I be seasonably enabled thereto, I shall, without declaration, by drawing forth to our frontiers towards the Scotts, diuert a great part of their forces, that els will be intirely bent against the Irish.

In the last place, I confess I consider my selfe, and in my selfe neither my life nor fortune, but the honor of my famely, consisting cheefely in this, that from the first planting of it heere it hath never been taynted in the cheefe of it, except that in the great strife for the crowne betweene the howses of York and Lancaster, (where the variety of successe, at one tyme or other, criminated all men of action,) one of my howse suffered in the quarrell of the crowned king Henery the Sixt: and however I know my selfe alredy vniustly proscribed for my loyalty, with many others, yett I shall never (by God's grace) doe that which may iustifie my proscription, though it should cary an appearance of present security and future advantage: and soe I conclude my apprehensions vppon this matter.

In the begining of this letter, your lordship findes the state of this place very truely declared, and not att all made worse by my description: but least it should be woundred how it comes to be more impossible for vs to subsist for some longer tyme, then it hath been hetherto; I humbly desire it may be considered, that till now, I have had these helpes and expectations to maintegre the army, and support in some reasonable manner the place I hould, which now are wholy taken away, or abated to very little better then nothing.

Towards the maintenance of the army there was first the excise and contributions of this citty, and of the quarters layd out for vs by the articles of cessation. These contributions wee weare forced to rate soe high, that now both begin to faile vs; some of the inhabitants being brought to that poverty, that they are noe longer able to beare the burdens layd vppon them, nor indeed to contribute att all; others, to avoide being reduced to the like beggery, remooveing themselves, the English into England, the Irish into the Irish quarters; whereby the excise, our only certainty, dayly abates.

Secondly, wee had some help by what was promised vppon the conclusion of the cessation; which in part is payed, and the rest sought to be defaulked vppon the pretence formerly mentioned, and for the hyre of shipps for the earle of Antrim's designe.

A third meanes was my credit with the merchaunts that imported provisions: this failes in a great measure by the blocking vpp of the harbour; but more desperately by my necessitated breakeing with them for want.

A fourth was the supply in part received, and more expected 324 by his majestie's comand out of England: this hope is taken from vs by the said blocking vpp.

The fifth was a shift which I made since the cessation to perswade some of my tennants, and other monyed men where my estate lyes, to take mortgages (for rent I could gett none) for lands fallen to mee since the warr at low rates. Much the greater part of this mony I haue imployed to the maintenance of the army; the rest, to my owne support; in a higher way, I must confesse, then was necessary for mee, in relation to my selfe, though much to low for the majestie I am forced poorely to represent: but this alsoe begins vtterly to faile; there remaineing little of my estate but what is either thus or formerly engaged; and those that dealt with mee, being, for ought I heare, lesse confident of peace then they weare, will not now soe lay out their mony.

Lastly, there was till now a magazine of tobaco, the goods of the earle of Strafford, wherewith some tymes wee satisfyed the officers, after the rate of 15 shillings a weeke to captains, and rateably to inferior officers, (for all that I have formerly mentioned, served only to give the common souldier two shillings a week, or victuall to that valew,) but the tobaco is also att an end; and I cannot imagin where the officers will have bread to eate. I mention not the king's revenue, because I beleeve it alredy vnderstood to be brought to nothing; by which meanes the lord chancellor, the judges, and all the civill officers, from the highest to the lowest messenger belonging to the state, and of necessitye to be imployed, are brought to such want, that nothing can be done but with such murmerings and clamor for mony, that it is a great and most irksome part of my busines to answer and shift of the howerly petitions I receive, and continual cryes I heare, from people redy to starve for want of what is owing them.

To conclude all, I humbly beseech your lordship to minde his majestie that there remaines but about two moneths vnexpired

of the tyme agreed on for the cessation, and to informe him that the Irish are now strong in the field, and makeing all possible preparations for warre; and that I most humbly desire by this bearer, Stephen Smith, my servant, expressly sent, to receive his most gracious pleasure and direction, with such speed as the condition of his affaires require. I rest

Your lordship's most faithfull and most humble servant,

Dublin-Castle, the ninth of July, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCXII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Antrim.

My LORD,

I RETURNED answeare to your lordship's concearning my house Carrick, which I shall think very happy to receive your lady, to whom I have soe great obligations, and desires to be serviceable.

I have by divers hands received signes of your lordship's being vnsatisfyed with my intentions to your service; and though I take those iealousies as markes of your desire to contract a frindshipp with mee, and in that regard valew them beyond essentiall benefitts from another; yett as they imply an vnbeleefe of my reall professions (and some, though meane, performances) of services to you, I reckon them amongst my misfortunes. But, my lord, to end this question, which on my part is none, I beseech your lordship to informe mee what I shall doe to gaine the esteeme of your freind, and when I am soe instructed, if either I performe not what you desire, or doe not evidently shew that the fault is not in mee, lett mee want the tittle I soe much affect, that is,

Your lordship's faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 10° July, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCXIII.—The earls of Thomond and Clanricard, and lords 325 Dillon, Ranelagh, Taafe, Fitz-Williams, and Howth, to the king.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

THOUGH wee believe that the present state and condition of your majestie's party and forces in this kingdome is more fully and cleerely represented to your majesty by the lord lieutenant and councell, then can proceed from any knowledge or

information of ours; yet wee hould it a necessary parte of our duety to your majesty somewhat to contribute to the generall good, and to seeke the meanes of our owne preservation, by humbly representing to your majestie's gratious consideration our most vnhappy and distracted condition, and our longe sufferings, euen to the ruine of our estates and families, and at this tyme, without any considerable defence, exposed to the mercy of two powerfull armyes nowe in the feild, the one of the confederate catholique party, if they were disposed to make any invasion vppon vs, and the other of the Scotch covenanters, and such as adhere vnto them, who by burning, spoyling, and the committing of cruell and hostile acts, have broken the cessation, and cast off their obedience to your majestie's government heere; which gives vs full assurance of our eminent danger, and the necessity of our presumeing in this manner to present our humble supplications to your majesty.

Wee humbly offer to your majestie's gratious consideration, that, dureing all these vnhappy distempers and comotions raised in your majestie's severall dominions, wee haue constantly continued most loyall to your majesty and obedient to your royall commaunds; though by reason of the high distractions in England, and the slowe proceedings or suspitions of some that formerly managed the government heere, many of vs haue beene totally neglected, and without any manner of encuragement or assistance, haue exposed our persons to eminent hazard, and our estates to destruction, out of our zeale to your service, and for the preservation of your majestie's authority and the defence of your good subjects in the severall places of our residence; and such of vs as were best assisted, and trusted with imployment and commaund, have beene soe slowly supplyed and releeued, and the dangers and difficulties soe greate, that wee haue cause to admire God's infinite mercy towards vs, by inhabling vs in some sorte to subsist in the midst of soe many tumults and distractions.

Wee must likewise humbly acknowledge your majestie's grate wisdome and gratious goodnesse towards vs, that, findeing by the disobedience of many of your majestie's subjects in these parts, and the sadd distempers of England, your majesty could not by your owne royall power seasonably protect and defend vs from the dangers wee were in, you were gratiously pleased to admitt of a tymely remedy, by condiscending to a cessation of

armes for a yeare, the onely expedient that could then bee found to preserve vs, and to which wee doe attribute our safety; and humbly acknowledge your majestie's grate favor therein, and from thence wee were hopefull that a happy settlement would insue in this kingdome, to the content and satisfaction of all your majestie's well-affected subjects, soe farr as could bee expected in a contry soe miserably wasted by the cruelties of a civill warr. But the tyme appointed for the continuance of the cessation being nowe neere expired, and nothing appearing to vs of supply or necessary defence, nor any thing of peace or settlement concluded, wee cannot but bee very sensible of the generall calamities of this kingdome, and the certaine ruine like to fall vppon vs and many other of your majestie's faithfull subjects, in their persons, fortunes, and families, if a warr bee againe re- 326 nued in that condition wee are in, and your majestie's power soe restrained by the vnnaturall continuance and increase of the troubles in England, as that there is litle expectation of any fitting or tymely assistance for your majestie's service and your owne preservations.

Wee most humbly beseech your majesty to looke vpon vs with a favorable eye and compassionate reguard of our past sufferings and present danger; and that our loyalty, zeale, and constant faithfull endeauors in your service may bee soe considered, as not to continue vs in a more perplexed and distructive estate then any other of your majestie's subjects, even those whoe have taken arms in opposition to your majestie's authority, whoe are vpon theire guard and provided for defence, and wee onely exposed to the malice and violence of all insulting enemyes.

Wee humbly propose, that if the agents for the confederate catholique party, out of the opinion of their owne strength, or takeing advantage of the present distractions, have beene high and imoderate in their propositions and demaunds; or if those that went as agents from your majestie's protestant subjects, and theire adherents in this kingdome, through too sharpe a resentment of theire private losses, or for other perticular ends, have, vnder the tytle of protestant subjects, receaved instructions, or introduced the opinions of others, not well affected, either to the religion or government established heere, instead of the intentions and inclinations of others more moderate and truely faithfull to your majestie's service, and thereby put vnnecessary rubbs and doubts uppon the prosecution of the treaty, to

continue a disturbance, and by a division here hinder your majesty from the vnited assistance of your subjects of this

kingdome;

That your majesty, by your owne greate wisdome and royall judgment, will bee pleased to moderate and reconcile those differences, in such a way as may probably produce a speedy and happy agreement; or if that your majestie's leasure will not soe permitt, that the lord lieutenant and councell heere may have commission to proceed in the articles and conditions of peace, vpon debate and conference with the moderate and well-affected on both sides; and then wee are humbly of opinion that noe such distance will appeare as is nowe discoursed of, and that your majesty and your faithfull subjects heere will soone finde the benefitt of soe happy a reconsiliation.

Our present danger doth further invite vs humbly to propose vnto your majesty, that in reguard the Scotch covenanters and their adherents are nowe in armes in this kingdome, violateing and breaking the cessation, and doe refuse to pay obedience to your majestie's government; and that vpon very probable grounds wee have just cause to beleeue, that as they gaine advantage there will bee litle distinction made betweene vs and those whome they nowe assault; that therefore they may bee speedily declared enemyes, and your majestie's power employed for the suppressing of them; to which the confederate party, whoe keepe the cessation, and seeme more ready to returne to their obedience, will doubtlesse give their best assistance; and to subsist in this divided condition, without ioyneing or receaveing the helpe of one party or other, wee conceaue vtterly impossible. All which wee humbly submitt to your majestie's gratious consideration; and your speedy resolution is begged by

Your majestie's most loyall and

faithfull subjects and servants,

Thomonde. Clanricarde and St. Albans.

Dillon. Ranelaugh. Fitz-William. Taaffe.

Howth.

15th of July, 1644. CCCXIV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

327

My Lord,

SINCE my letter of the 9th of this moneth, (which I could not send away till now, the winde being for some tyme crosse, and these coasts infested with a swarme of the rebells shipps,) the Scotts are returned towards their quarters for want of victuall, haueing comitted some spoile in the Irish quarters, but none that I can heare of in ours, though they marched thorough some of them; which I atribute rather to their inabilitye to come to the maine end of their designe att this tyme, then to any better intention I can believe they have towards vs that ioyne not with them in the prosecution of the Irish, nor in takeing the covenant. This march hath given testimony, that for all the cessation, or any peace, if it shall be concluded by his majestie, the warr will be still continued heere, if supplyes be sent them; which to procure, I conceiue, was the principall reason of their late expedition. And I hould their faire cariage towards vs and our quarters to be a very probable signe of their returne to attempt vs, that being but an artifice to bring the well-affected into securitye, and to confirme such as are alredy inclinable to them; for I cannot doubt but that, when they are able, they will endevour to be masters of all the harbours and other places of consequence in this kingdome, vnder the pretence of secureing them against Irish papists and malignants. Their carriage att the Newry and Dundalke, (whereof the inclosed extracts of letters will give your lordship an accoumpt,) with their dilatory management of their part of the warre since they came into this kingdome, confirmes my beleefe in it.

The Irish, who weare not fully drawen together till the Scotts weare returning homewards, are now somewhat aboue twenty miles hence north of vs, pretending to follow the Scotts into their quarters, which are soe bare for the most part, and soe well defended, where there remaines any thing to mainteyne an army, that it is doubtfull whether that be their reall (at least only) intention; and not rather to stay neere vs now vppon the ending of the cessation, to take their advantage, if it prove warr, or better their conditions, if there shall be any treaty for a longer tyme of quiet.

How wee are provided to defend his majestie's authoritye and our selves against eather of these partyes appeares to your lordship by my letter of the 9th, and by severall other dispatches from mee; and it is also made knowen to his majestic by letters from the board of the 20th of June, and others now sent to Mr. secretary Nicholas with this. I shall therefore say noe more of it, saue that wee grow dayly more and more in want and weakenes.

Since I begun my letter of the 9th, the lord of Muskry, with two more of those that attended his majestie, came hether, and tould mee that they weare assured at court that directions weare or shortly would come to mee from his majestie to ioyne with them against the Scotts, who had broken the cessation, and entered into the covenant, with those in armes against his majestie in England; and they desyred to know whether I had received such directions or noe; but if I had not, they conceived that, as this case was, my place and the power I have by it, was sufficient authority and obligation vppon mee to doe it. Another question they asked mee was, whether I had not received a comission to goe on in the treaty of peace, and to conclude it, which they sayd they weare alsoe tould att court ether was or should bee imediately sent mee.

To the first I answeared, by advise of the councell, that I had received noe direction to ioyne with them against the Scotts, and that I held it vnfitt for mee soe to doe without his majesty's direction, which should in all humility be obeyed whenever it should come to mee.

To the second I answered, as the truth is, that I had received 328 noe comission to treate for a peace.

My ignorance of what had passed in England made my answeres very short, and kept mee at a warier distance with them then I doubt pleased them; for since I finde the cauills touching the payments doe multiplye, and soe doe their forces; therefore I againe beseech your lordship to obteyne with all speed his majestie's comands to guide mee, and of your favour to giue mee cleere intimation what I haue to trust to, that I may accordingly governe my selfe with some kinde of assurednesse, though with never soe much hazard, rather then languish and at length perish in soe rediculous a posture as now I am in.

About a fortnight since, or more, the earle of Antrim imbarked from Waterford and other adiacent portes 2500 men well armed and victualled for two moneths. The men are doubtlesse landed in the isles, or, as some say, more to the north, and neerer my

lord Huntley's contry. The shipps of force that conveyed the men plye vpp and downe betweene Scottland and Ireland, and haue taken some prises and many passengers, among them, two of the ministers that came to preach the covenant heere; the late lord of Claneboyes nephew, master John Hamilton, is one of them. Him I shall endeavour to gett into my hands; and if his majestie shall please to suffer him to be exchanged, I humbly desire it may be for a frend of mine taken prisoner in his service. I am,

Your lordship's most faithfull and most humble servant,

Dub. Castle, 17 July, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCXV.—Daniel O'Neil to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

SINCE my last to your lordship from Eucsham, wee haue beene rather in perpetuall motione then marching ass an army; which cast Waler soe much behynd, that wee haue tyme enough, iff fortune fauour, to meet prince Moriss and beat Essex, which iss now our designe. The 2 nights stay wee made here gaue my lord Digby and mee leasure to giue you this short account off your commands.

These inclosed prepositions, ass power essentiall to your present conditione, I made: his majesties answeres to each are in the margent; butt more fully in my lord Digbyes letter to your lordship: iff any thing bee wanting of giueing you freedome, I must say 'tis my fault, not his majestie's.

Iff I have done amiss in moveing the king for the wardship off my lord off Ossry, without your commission, I humbly eraue your pardon, desiring to receaue this for truith, that all my errors towards your lordship can never bee off any other nature.

My lord Digby vnderstanding by some former letters off myne that itt wass your lordship's pleasure that sir Moriss Vstas should bee maister off the rowles, has procured itt for him: soe much hee sayes in his letter to your lordship; iff he needs a letter to pass itt, lett him send one ass large ass he will: his other demands are soe meane, that i'le make them my task in tyme.

By the generall power given you, his majestic commanded mee to tell you, that you may eyther delay or deny any thing off the condition off sir John Read's grant. His majestie vnderstands itt noe fault off yours, why Tom Traffoord came not to Beamoriss with the 300 men.

I should say something off the conditione off both partyes here, iff the bearer were not sufficiently knowing both of the designes, powers, and feares off each; and to anoyd giving your lordship the trouble off decyphering such a relatione ass that subject would minister.

Iff I had knowene the heavy burthen iss layed vppon you 329 from hence, noe commands, (noe not paps,) would have drawen mee from a place wher I might in some measure serve you.

Ass to that bissines, I am not able to aduise more then that, iff you give not an end to the distractions ther, you will ruine all here. Whensoeuer you think I may be more seruiceable to your lordship ther then here, beeleeue you shall find I vallue noething to your commands.

I have written to Emer Mc Mahun and my vnkle, to showe their integritie to his majestie, in obeying your commands now.

This bearer, my cossen Brian O'Neile, I have allsoe gott to vidertake this iurny to wayt vider you. His knowlege of what has passed here beetweene the king and the agents may be a good guid to your lordship. Hee is a person, I can give you vider you vider you readitt, full off zeale to his majestie's service, and ambitione to bee your creature. The shorttness of my tyme and the conveniency of the messenger makes mee stop here, and promise to offer you noe further trouble, vitle after the next batle (which off necessitie must bee within 20 dayes); after thatt, an express or my gost shall wayt vider you can have to governe your present task. God preserve you for the comfort of the king, all your friends, and in particular off

Your excellencye's most faithfull friend and seruant,

Bath, this 17th of July,
1644.

DANIELL O'NEILLE.

CCCXVI.—Sir George Radcliffe to the marquis of Ormond.

MY NOBLE LORDE,

THOUGH I have nothinge at all to write, yet I cannot let these men goe without presentinge my service to your excellence. I longe to heare that the earl of Antrim were gone about his busines, though I cannot promise much in his vndertakinge; but I would have him there. I have moved earnestly about lord Inchiquin to get him pleased or removed; but it stickes I know not how. The earl of Portland will not goe to Mounster, but would gladly sell his interest. Whether the earl of Corke be now in case to purchase the presidency of Mounster or noe, I know not. I thinke they dare not let lord viscount Muskery buy it.

These men can tell you how thinges goe here. Wee haue great expectations, both out of the north, where, after a shrewd bange, prince Rupert is recruitinge gallantly, and hopes to cleare Yorkeshire of the remainder of those shattered forces which are leaft to Lesley, and also out of the west, where the kinge and prince Maurice haue nere about 20,000 horse and foot, to deale with the earl of Essex and his 7000, or, as some say, 11,000.

Great feare some haue of prince Rupert his succes and greatnes. Prince Rupert professeth against lord Digby, lord Percy, lord Willmot, and some others. Some thinke that prince Rupert will remove them from the king. The feare of this may doe harme; perhaps has done already.

Wee pray for peace, but see small hopes yet of it. I belieue wee shall have no great helpes from your side, if the covenant spread, as wee heare it doth in Vlster. God send your excellence that quietnes and settlement in Ireland which wee cannot yet expect in England.

Your excellence's most humble servant,

July 18, 1644.

GEO. RADCLEFFE.

CCCXVII.—Lord Inchiquin to sir John Powlet.

330

NOBLE SIR.

AS I must confess I had alwaies greate inducements to loue your person, soe must I acknowledge an obligation now, both to encrease that affection, and profess my selfe infinitely your servant; for I haue it from many good hands, that you were noble, iust, and freindly, zealous in defence of my honor, being wounded very much by my lord of Cork's traduceing me for betraying his townes vnto the Irish rebells.

Sir, I could wish now that I had told you somwhat more then I did of that business, which truely I forbeare, because I thought

it would be deemed vayne-glory in me; for if euer I did any thing towards the defence of this province against the Irish, this was that I had cause to bragge of; whereof I shall take you for a wittness: for you know that at the tyme when the enimy came to Lismore, we had noe provisions in any of our stores; and a weeke before theyre comeing (that false freind) my vncle Edmond came vnto mee, to lett me know that the Irish army were advancing towards our ports; and that if I would give way to theyre takeing of Capoquin and Lismore, they would spare the rest of our quarters, which, he said, they would otherwise burne and distroy; but before he deliuered me this message from my lord of Musskerry, hee made me promise him secrecy; which as I made good, soe I made vse of what hee told me for my owne advantage; for presently I sent all the provision I could gett in Cork and Yawghall with all hast to Capoquin, and with it 400 comaunded men; Lismore was of itselfe well prouided; but if it had not, you know I was not then able to helpe it. Att that tyme I communicated to your selfe and the officers the intelligence I received of the enimyes advancing; and after advise taken of what was fitt to be done, we founde our wants, and the scarcety that was in all places, would make it impossible for vs to keepe the feild with our army, part whereof, to the number of 1200 men, were with colonell Mynn in the west; where they had noe food but what corne they cutt, burnt, and drest the same day to eate; see that all we were able to doe was onely to draw 1600 foote and 250 horse to Tallow, out of the seuerall guarisons, for whom I had not one daies victualls to march; they being onely on billetts in theyre severall quarters. When I found that this was all I could doe, then I bethought my selfe to make vse of the motion made vnto mee by my vncle; and whereas he (under pretence of giueing me intelligence) went about to worke upon me, in hope to make me an instrument to betray the English. I did in the like manner endeavour to make vse of him for the ouerthrowing the rebells designe; which, with God's assistance, I did thus happily effectt.

After I had taken advise with you, and found that we could not draw the westerne forces unto vs, and that without them there was noe fighting, I seemed to him to have put on a resolution with your advices presently to gather all our forces together, and told him of a greate strength that wee were able to make, letting of him know that I was glad the Irish were comeing into the trap to vs, for that I knew there would none of them gett of againe; and then, to fetch him about, I told him that I was sorry that my lord of Muskerry was not more reall in his professions to the king, which I perceived were all but disimulations, or that otherwise he would not now press see hard upon our quarters, being hee expected a cessation soone after; and being that then it was professed by them that they would goe into England with forces soe soone as that was agreed on: I marvayled that they would be soe much the king's and theyre owne enymies, as to seeke the distruction of those people, (meaning theyrs,) whose assistance I did soone expect in his majestie's service, which I told him was a thing I would willingly avoyde, 331 if I could; and then, finding by him that they were resolued to come, notwithstanding all my threats, I told him that I would not draw our forces together till such a day, if they aymed at nothing but my lord of Cork's townes, for that I cared not if they tooke them; and that therefore I had soe ordered it, that the forces should be there noe sooner to hinder them; which would be tyme enough for them to take them in: butt said, that if they tooke them not by that day, that then they must resolve to retreate, or that otherwise I must fall upon them: this they thought was enough; and therefore they promised that they would retreate that day, whether they tooke them or not; though with as little intention to performe as I expected. Now that I might seeme vnto him to be able to doe this, I presently made all the novse I could of my resolution to fight with the enimies, and wrote unto all the guarisons to lett the inhabitants know, that if they did not make some shift to furnish the souldiers knapsaks for the feild, that they were all lost; whereupon they furnished vs with five daies provision, see that you and I made a shift with the beforementioned number to gett thither by the day that I threatned to fight with them, if they were not gone; which you know was the soonest I could be there, you being a wittness of the diligence I used to gett the men into the feild; and certainely if I could have come thither sooner, I would have threatned the 'nimy accordingly: but when we were come to Tallow, the rebbells, belike having notice of our weakness, continue the seige nottwithstanding the promisses; which I perceiuing, and being fearefull they might take Lismore, offered unto yourselfe, leutenant colonell Appleyard, and the officers, to fall upon them, if you should advise. Whereupon you all aduised

to send presently for colonell Mynn, and not to attempt any thing till he came. This delay, after I had threatned to fight with them, I was fearefull would make the enimy contemne vs; and thinking that it was very likely, that before colonell Mynn (who could not in less than five daies tyme be with vs) should come the place must needs have beene lost, I bethought my selfe to send Jack Fitz Gerrald privately to them, to lett them know, that they were very happy in that Mynn was not yett come vnto me; and that I had received letters from him, intimating his being on his march towards mee; whereof I gaue them notice out of my desire to preserve them, whom wee thought would soone become his majestie's subjects and seruants. And therefore lett them know that if they did not goe away the next day, that I must of necessity fall upon them. But all I could doe could not divert them from theyre owne endes, till the lord of Cork landed, and brought me a letter from the king, comaunding me to give creditt to whatt he should tell me; who told me, that it was his majestie's comaund that I should forward the cessation by all the meanes I could; whereupon I desired a conference with my lord of Muskerry; and you know how my lord of Corke deliuered the message sent unto me there before my lord of Muskerry; and did assure my lord, that if he would withdraw the seige, he knew his majesty would take it well; which my lord (thinking that I would have fallen upon them the next day) assented unto. Now lett the world judge whether I did intend to give up my lord of Cork's townes, they knowing our wants, our condition, our strength, Nick Mynns being in the west unable to come to vs; my offering dayly to fall on, if a counsell of warre should advise it, and all other circumstances to be as I have related; and lett them alsoe that know how wee were, say, if it had not beene easy for theyre 3000 foote and 800 horse to haue taken all our quarters, if I had not by this meanes preuented it, by giuing the occasion to stay, where I had prouided against theyre attempts; whereas if they had marched on into our quarters, I could neuer make head against them, knowing the country to be ready to rise and affoard them theyre assistance against vs; and that we could neuer bring our army into a body to haue given them battell; 332 soe that truely I neuer was soe happy in any thing concerning this warre as in that diversion, which (by my vncle Edmond's and my lord of Muskerries ambush) it pleased God I gaue them,

and thereby preserved all the poore English that were abroad in our quarters. And, sir, for confirmation hereof, you know wee were frequently told, that it was a common reporte amongst the Irish, that I had fooled my lord of Muskerry, and he them. Then lett all the world think whether I could be soe foolish as to give way, that soe many of them should know such a secrett, if I had not my own ends in itt; or if those ends had beene to favour them, whether that favour must not proceede from hope of rewarde or affection to theyre partie: the first of these, I am confident, noe enimy will alleadge against me; and I hope my actions have never given cause to suspect me for the last. Perhaps my lord of Corke will say, I did it out of malice to him; to which I answeare, that it were strange I should putt my safety into the handes of the Irish, onely to doe him a prejudice, who I know durst nott affront me; nor any man durst strike a knowne coward, unless I did intend to become one of the Irish partie; which sure now I shall not be suspected for, seeing I have putt on a resolution to follow the warre against the Irish; wherunto my selfe and the rest of the officers heere have beene induced by the certaine knowledge of theyre designes, being noe less then to extirpate all the protestants and their religeon, and give this kingdom into the handes of another prince, who they think better able to assist them against the parliament then the king of England is.

Sir, wee haue made this knowne to the king and the world in a large declaration; butt we feare that the same instruments that gayned such trust for the Irish (as that the king condiscended to leave this in theire power, supposeing them to be more faithfull to him then that they would doe any such thing) will alsoe prevaile to make him discreditt our declaration, and disaprove of our proceedings; which yett shall appeare to be effectuall for his service. Butt because week now that his majestie, by reason of the parliament's strength at sea, could not assist vs, wee have applyed our selves to the parliament allsoe, desireing theyre assistance against the Irish; and have besought both king and parliament that they would (from the knowledge of theyre treacheries) take a rise to begin such an accommodation, as that by theyre joynte consent this warre might be followed, and that in England may sursease.

I know not whatt effects this may produce for the good of that kingdom; butt I know wee shall have large supplies heere, and good pay for 10,000 horse and foote to keepe the feild; and that it may be an encouradgment for our ould freinds to come ouer to vs againe, the parliament doe vndertake to pay the arreares due vnto all the officers and vs in soe much adventure; besides which, there is noe doubt (if God make vs vanquishers) but deserving men will have estates conferred on them in the end of this, as itt was in the end of the last warres (I meanes Tyrone's warres) of Ireland. I should think it a greate happiness that I might have your assistance in this business; promising you that (if it ly in my power) your condition shall bee one of the cheife in the army. But I know your nobleness and uprightness to be such, as that I shall offer nothing as an inducement to you, but that heere you may fight in a cause which, first, is God's owne; then, that we fight against those who are papists and rebells, and who we know to be enimies to the king and our religeon.

And lastly, I would desire you to consider, that if the king should gett the upper hand with the helpe of these men, whether it be likely that it will be in his power to establish the protestant religeon. If you think fitt to come, you must not make knowne your resolution till you see how the king approues of our declaration; butt if that be not come to his hands, I would advise you to come without the knowledge of any (but such as you think will come with you) to Millford Hauen, where the par- 333 liament shipping will receive you, and transporte hither any that desire to come. I pray God direct you for the best, which is heartly wished by, sir,

Your most affectionate freind and seruant,

[July, 1644.]

INCHIQUIN.

CCCXVIII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond. My Lord,

I, WHOE am the faithfullest and most affectionate servaunt your excellence hath in the world, and the most concerned in your honour and interests, am not more sencible of the hard taske which is putt vpon your excellence, by the referringe the businesse of the peace of Ireland vnto you, then his majestic himselfe is; but his majestic being necessitated vnto that course, by the condition of his affayres heere, that would not permit him with-

out great hazard to act any thinge himself in that business at this conjuncture of time, it is the part of a gallant minister to serve his master in greate streights and difficultyes by easing him of those burdens that would lie heavy upon him; especially when the weight of them consists soe in circumstances of time and collaterall considerations, which are not likely to continue long; but that, as in one season the minister takes from the master, soe in another the master may ease the minister wholly of it.

And now that I have exprest to your excellence the truth of his majestie's carefull sence of you, lett mee tell you, that I am not out of hopes that the worke may prove easyer, and of lesse inconvenience in the consequences of it, then is apprehended, if there were reality in those great professions, which the agents, when they went away, made of their sense of the king's condition, and of their resolutions to comply with it, and to apply themselves rather to merit advantageous conditions for themselves hereafter, than to extort them from him now: unto which disposition there have not been neglected here any private preparations and encouragements that could be thought effectual. I send your excellence herewithall a paper of additionall propositions made by the agents, a little while before their goinge; vnto which there was not time to give an answere.

In these and in the former all is comprised that they say they meane to desire. I send your excellence also a draught of such demaunds as were presented by the counsellours and clergye of Ireland here, as fitt to bee made on the king's part; all which are entirelye submitted vnto your excellence's judgement vpon the place.

Thus farr I had written, and was within few howers of closinge my dispatch when Daniel O'Neile comes to vs, laden with dispatches and with instructions; vnto which the vnsettl'd floatinge condition that wee have been in ever since, hath not permitted mee till now to returne any answere, and even now a very short and imperfect one.

In the first place; as for all those long dispatches from your excellence and the councell vnto secretary Nicholas, which, hee being left behind at Oxford, were opened by mee, I am constrained to referr the larger answere of them vnto another opportunity, and onlye to say these twoe things vnto them from his majestie: first, that the present and more growinge disorders

in that kingdome, which they expresse, import a greater necessity of a peace with the Irish, if it may be obtained upon just and honourable termes, and of an union against those traitors of the covenant, so much more dangerous than any other, as they are more firmly linkt unto the rebells here. Secondly, that his majestie havinge referr'd the whole businesse of that kingdome so 334 absolutely and so unlimitedly vnto your excellence's fidelitye and judgement vpon the place, your excellence must not expect much of direction from hence. You have a difficult taske put vpon you, 'tis true; but yet I make noe doubt but it will prove a glorious one, and wherein, notwithstanding all appearing hazards that might deter vulgar spirits, your excellence hath nothing to fear, but in the ruines of his majestie, and of monarchy it self, with which (I am confident) you will rather perish than subsist after it.

These twoe animadversions I am alsoe to applye vnto the greatest part of your excellence's letter vnto mee of the 18th of June, (that of the 13th mentioned therein havinge miscarried,) particularly in what concernes the losses and defections in the north of Ireland, and the contrivances and animosityes against peace, with the difficultyes and scandalls which, you conceive, cannot bee avoyded in the endeavouringe to suppresse them. It is true, as your excellence sayth, that nothinge could so much diminish the prejudices likely to arise against a peace or further cessation, as if there were meanes, against the conclusion or publication of either, that the army and forts might be well provided for. But, my lord, I must not flatter you with false hopes: wee have not as yett the possibilitye to doe it: wee struggle even for life with our own necessities here; and if we were, as to the point of want, in better condition, I do not know how we could hope to supply you this summer, the seas being so commaunded by the rebells. But if it could be hoped that the army and forts could subsist till winter, we should not despair of the meanes to supply them, and be hopefull of the wayes. However, my lord, I cannot but admire your providence and power in what you have done already for furnishinge the Nurye, Carlingford, Greene, and Dundalke; for which, ioyntlye with your other great services, I am to returne you thankes from his majestie.

That which your excellence writes of the generall sense of the protestants there in relation to peace, and their owne present condition, I ever coniectured to be the truth; and found cleerely those fower persons imployed hither to be persons, either corrupt in their loyalty, or fanatick in their vnderstandings; and their upholders and correspondents of Ireland were in an union with the Scots covenanters; and accordinge to this doctrine, I heare their discourses and demeanour are at London.

Havinge discovered thus much vnto your excellence in the generall, I shall, as shortly as I may, give you an answere, by his majestie's commaund, to the severall particulars, both of your letter, and of such things as were proposed from you by Daniel O'Neile.

For my lord of Portland; hee is makinge all possible haste into Munster. I hope his stay from thence will not be of many dayes.

For the earl of Clanricarde, I herewithall send your excellence a commission, with lord Wilmot's consent, whereby he is to commaund all the military part of Connaght in cheife vnder you, notwithstandinge all former commissions.

Touching what your excellence desires; that such directions as the kinge shall thinke fitt to give you concerninge the affayres of Ireland, particularly concerninge officers, graces, or benifits there, might pass through one hand; his majestie thinkes it a convenience very fitt for your excellence to desire, for the avoiding of contradictory commaunds: and therefore it is his majestie's pleasure, that all commands of his majestie of that nature to your excellence be transmitted by only one of his secretaries, and that what shall come to you signifyed by any other hand, vnlesse merely in ordinary matters of course, your excellence should understand it as a slip of memorye; his majestie being resolved to observe the order as aforesaid betwixt him and your excellence. And the contents of this letter are the beginning of my significations unto your excellence according to this settlement.

A second thing, which his majestie commaunds mee, and 335 which I shall punctually observe on my part, is, that nothing of any consequence shall be granted here within that kingdom, without first advising with your excellency.

His majestie is further pleased to signifye vnto you by mee, that it is his intention that you should use your power in recalling and disposing of all governments and commissions which are during pleasure graunted by his majestie to any person whatsoever since this rebellion, if you shall finde or beleeue them prejudiciall to his majestie's service.

His majestie is alsoe pleased, according to your desire, that there bee a proclamation made heere in England, commaundinge all such as have estates or offices in that kingdome, and are not actually in his majestie's service heere or abroad, [to] repaire into Ireland within twoe moneths after the publishinge thereof, to defend their estates against the covenaters, or any other there raysing armes against his majestie, vpon payne of forfeiture of their offices and seisure of their estates.

Concerning the covenant, it is conceived that your excellence cannot make too high declarations of the treasonableness of it.

I send your excellence herewithall a coppy of that protestation against it, which all the Scottsmen at Oxford were, by the advise of the lords and commons there, obleedged to take, or to loose their places, and not to bee permitted to live vnder the king's protection: your excellence will bee pleased to make what vse of it you in your wisdome shall thinke fitt.

Concerning the four councellors of Ireland, I believe that they will now be exchanged for Monk, Warren, Butler, and Gibson.

There remaynes nothinge more, that I can remember, for mee to trouble your excellence with, concerninge any particulars, either of your letter or of O'Neile's instructions. There are some by the bye, of which I must acquitt my selfe. The first is, to signifye vnto your excellence, that his majestie is pleased to bestowe vpon you the wardshipp of my lord your sonne, though with strong desires that your familye may never have occasion to reape the benifitts of that favour.

In the next place his majestic is pleased to designe sir Maurice Eustace to the mastership of the rolls of that kingdom, if your excellence shall approve of it, and when you shall thinke the time fitt to declare it.

Thirdly, his majestie is pleased to recommend vnto you, in case you shall thinke him worthy of it, my brother Chichester to be sworne a privy counsellour of Ireland.

Lastlye, give mee leave to give your excellence humble thankes for your favour to my servaunt Felton.

There is one sute more that I should make to your excellence, but that I will have noe share in that, which I desire may bee an entire obligation from your selfe, knowinge that you are prone to love the person; it is in the behalfe of my honest deare freind

Dick Power; that you will be pleased to carry him in your thoughts for some fittinge accommodation in that kingdome, either by way of standing troop of horse, or, where his religion may be no obstacle, for the government of some fort. I am confident hee is worthy of a very eminent good one, though I confesse I have freindship enough for him to make mee partiall. Hee was designed to be the bearer of this dispatch; but that besides some occasion of much consequence that I had to stay him heere, this bearer, sir Brian O'Neile, was judged a person that might bee very vsefull in the businesse of the treatye. know not with what prejudices hee may have beene represented to your excellence in that businesse, for hee was the like vnto vs; but I must give him this testimonye, that hee hath carryed himselfe very heartily for the king's service, and had a greate part in any thinge that was of moderation in the Irish agents. I am confident, if your excellence admit him to trust in that business, he will do good service, and deserve your favour; which then I shall bee a sutor that you will afford him.

Thus humblye beseechinge your excellence's pardon for this 336 tedious vsurpinge vpon your time, I rest most entirely,

My lord,

Your excellence's most faithfull humble servaunt, Ilchester, July the 22, 1644.

CCCXIX .- The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

I SHALL ad to my other letters but two things; the one is, that though I still believe it had been much better for the king's service that the earle of Clanricard had been putt into the government of Connaght then the lord Dillon, yett I conceiue the lord Dillon cannot be now removed, but with more danger of prejudice then hope of advantage to his majestie's affaires.

The other is, that vnderstanding by his majestie's letter to mee, that hee intends to send over a comission for a further treaty with the Irish, by sir Brian O'Neile; I must freely declare to your lordship, that as he is a person of small esteeme, and not att all gracious with the English and protestants; soe neither is hee a man with whom I dare otherwise deale then at the staues end. I leave it to your lordship to consider, whether

any vse may be made of this later point: if it come to late, I have yett this advantage by it; that your lordship will see there is nothing concealed from you of the apprehensions or inclinations of

Your lordship's most faithfull and humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 22 July, 1644. Ormonde.

CCCXX.—The marquis of Ormond to Mr. secretary Nicholas.
Sir,

YOURS of the 20th of May gaue mee all the knowledge I yett haue of the Irish treaty there: what I can ground vppon that advertisement, you may iudge: and how necessary it is that wee be instructed in that affaire, and more cleerely and speedyly directed by his majestie, is manifest by the dispatch from the board, which is soe full that I shall ad nothing to it, but my most earnest desire that you will be pleased to hasten the bearer, Stephen Smith, (who is expressely sent,) back with an answear; such as his majestie shall think fitt to giue for our direction in his service.

I was well assured that the gentlemen sent from hence by his majestie's comand weare able to give very great assistance in the treaty; and I wish, if his majestie have not considerable service for them to doe there, that they may bee speedyly comanded to return hether, where their help was never more necessary.

That his majestic gaue noe credit to the strange news conteyned in the letter from the councell touching sir Arthure Loftus, and that he hath been graciously pleased to direct a way for my vindication, giues mee singuler incouragement to proceed in his service with all cheerefulnes, notwithstanding the difficulties I encounter, and the art of the ill affected to discourage mee.

I am sorry his majestie is not yett in condition to cleere these seas of those shipps that infest them, and comitt great spoyle vppon his good subjects trading hether. God be thanked, the greatest hurt they doe this place is the hindring of intelligence, which yett might be had, if those in comand in Anglesey and other sea portes wear as carefull as they might bee. Victuall wee haue out of the contry in good plenty, and shall haue dureing the cessation; but wee want wherewith to buy it for the souldier, 337 who is reduced to great extreamity; insoemuch, that dayly men

run from vs to the shipps, and are transported into South Wales to ioyne with the rebells there, where they prove the best men they haue.

By the next, you shall have a perfect accoumpt of doctor Cooke's carryage about the barque sould heere by him, and com-

playned of by sir Jo. Penington.

The Scotts are returned into their quarters into the north, and the Irish are following them as they pretend. Our security consists more in their enmitye against each other, and in their ballanced power, then in any thing wee can depend vppon of our selves: which is a condition soe subject to change, and soe little honourable, as renders my imployment most comfortlesse and distracted.

The earl of Antrim hath lately sent into some part of Scottland 2500 men well armed and victualled for two moneths; the shipps that convayed them have don much hurt to the Scotts, and have taken two of the fower ministers that came out of Scottland to promote the covenant and sow sedition heere. I must recomend to your favour the state of Mr. Nicholas White, husband to the lady Blundell, who hath lost much by the rebellion heere, and, as I heare, hath suffered by his majestie's forces on that side, contrary, I am confident, to his majestie's will. Sir, I rest

Your most humble and affectionate servant,

Dub. Castle, 22 July, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCXXI.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Antrim.

My Lord,

I vnderstand that the shipps imployed by your lordship to convoy your men to the isles have taken some of the Scottish ministers that came hether to preach the covenant and seduce his majestie's good subjects to sedition and rebellion; if it be soe, as I very believe it is, I shall humbly advise your lordship, by all possible meanes, to gett them speedyly and safely into your hands, els they may perhaps be recovered by the parliament shipps to the king's very great disservice.

I know I shall not need to advise your lordship to make vse of your power and interest in this assembly now att Killkeny, to bring them into that moderation, and humble submission to his majestie, as befitts the duty of good subiects, and is most like to bring this kingdome into a happy and lasting peace; for I am confident this was a great part of your busines into the kingdom, and I believe a principall reason that induced you to ioyne your selfe to their party.

I can heere noe certainty of the landing of the men your lord-ship sent; but I make noe question they are some where at worke. It is heere reported, that the men left by Alexander M^c Donell att Raghlin, vppon their returne to the isles, weare all taken and hanged; whether that be soe or noe, I know not. I am

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Dub. Castle, 22° July, 1644.

ORMONDE.

33

CCCXXII.—Lord Inchiquin to the earl of Clanricard.

My Lord,

I PERCEIUE by your lordshipp's letter, and that other directed to his majestie, that wee are in emynent dannger, (who have adheered to his majestie,) vnlesse he be gratiouslie pleased, and alsoe able, to direct and settle some waie of saftie for vs: which I am of opynion (with your lordshipp's favour) cannot be done by the course proposed in that letter; beinge well assured that the Irish will not be satisfied with any thinge, nor thinke themselves secure till they haue ridd this kingdome of all vs who have opposed them [in] this late rebellion, haue all our churches in theire hands, and haue established such a forme of government, both civill and martiall, as shal be most acceptable to them, and may best conduce to theire future saftie, when they knowe his majestie shall attempt the recourie of that prerogatiue by force, which nowe they intend to deprive hym of by fraud and rebellion.

My lord, if this should happen to prove otherwise, and that the Irish will reallie become obedient to his majestie, I knowe it will sudainlie appeare; for I am confident this assemblie will sufficientlie discover their intents. And therfore I thought not fitt to signe the letter, vntill some intelligence, that I expect from one that is there, doe overtake me. But in regard of my nowe enteringe into a posture of defence, I thought it requisite to send backe this bearer, to let your lordshipp knowe that there was a plott laid to take their garrisons, vnder pretence of a sus-

picion they had of my intention to bringe in the parliament shippinge and forces; and that it is not vnlikelie, that vnder some other false pretence they may take occasion to surprise what forces and places of strength are in your lordshipp's and all other hands, where theire power or policie could reach them.

This would render the letter not onlie vselesse but scandalous vnto vs, beinge in effect to desire his majestie to conclude a peace on any tearmes with the Irish, that soe wee might ioyne vnanimouslie against the Scotts, who as yet are not more rebellious then they, and I feare will shortlie appeare not to be soe dangerous enemyes to his majestie and his protestant subjects; but if it please God to put other thoughts into theire harts, I shall put the letter into the hands of a trustie messenger, who will not faile to make all hast to deliver it. I am,

My lord, your lordshipp's

most affectionate kinsman and humble servant,

Corke, 26th July, 1644.

INCHIQUINE.

CCCXXIII .- Lord Inchiquin to the earl of Clauricard

My LORD,

THIS gentleman, doubteing the speedie conveyance of his and my letters sent yesterday vnto your lordship, desired to follow them; whom therefore I thought fitt to accompany with this intelligence vnto your lordship, that his majestie and the parliament are now vpon a treatie, and that wee expect if the Irish doe not returne to theyr obedience, that his majestie will make some agreement with the parliament, that soe there may forces com hither to assist vs for the preserving of his highnes interrest here, which the Irish haue designed to putt into the hands of another prince; but if the Irish doe behaue themselves as becoms them towards his majestie, wee expect a speedie peace here; eyther of which, wee hope, will conduce to our preservation. More I haue not to say, butt that I am really

Your lordship's affectionat kindsman

and humble servant,

Cork, 27° July, 1644.

INCHIQUINE.

339

CCCXXIV.—Lord Inchiquin to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP;

WHEN it was discovered heere what the resolutions of the Irish were, and how his majestie's gratious intentions towards them toucheing a peace were no less slighted then declyned, it was charged vppon mee as my dutie to putt my selfe into a strict posture of defence as I coulde. And as the exygencie of the matter would not permitt mee tyme to consult with your lordship's pleasure in it, soe I did not faile with all convenient speede to dispatch vnto your lordship speedie notice both of the causes and maner of our standing on our defence; which I thought fittest to doe by the conveyance of a smal vessell of litle value, which I accompted a less hazard to falle into the hands of the parliament shipping, to whom the matter of my letters would not be inacceptable, then into the hands of the Irish, who, I feared, would never lett them arrive att yours. Yet least any misadventure should befalle the letters at sea, I thought good to expose these others to the fortune of a conveyance by land; which are onely to give your lordship notice, that when wee palpably diserned a resolution (and that made publick) in the Irish generally, and more perticularly in theyr clergie, not to accept of any tearms of peace not suteable in all poynts to theyr owne desires and ends of extirpating the protestant religion, and supplanting the Einglish government; and that they had alreadie put in practise severall designes to corrupt and poyseon the loyaltie and affections of the Irish in our garrisons, and to frame among them such instruments as might be readie to execute any treacherous designs of theyrs vpon vs. of which wee haue gained severall instances.

It was therefore the vnanimous and joynte consents of all the poore remnant of his majestie's forces here, who in regard of theyr inconsiderable strength, were the more obnoxious to surprises, and ought in that respect to be more strictly wary, that wee ought to free and secure our selves, by all wayes and means wee could finde out, against the forreign plotts of our enemies abroade, and secrett practises of our malignants at home; and to that end haue wee putt our selves into such a defenciue posture, as that our garrisons are in some measure secured against the one and the other, vntill wee may receive the signification of your lordship's pleasure.

That they have voted against any peace, but on theyr owne conditions, is soe generall a discourse, that they stick nott to divulge itt publickly, and that divers of this towne had promised theyr assistance to them is most certaine; butt it will now [be] vnseasonable to send the prooffes, itt being very requisitt that wee may first receive your lordship's comandes toucheing our present condition, which I shall attend, and remayne,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble and faithfull servant,

Corke, 28° July, 1644.

INCHIQUINE.

CCCXXV.—Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

THESE fowre months at the least I haue not had any letters from your excellency, soe as if any haue bin sent, either they miscarried, or fell into other hands then mine. Wherefore, having no letters of your excellency's to answer, I shall by these worthy personages (to whom I wish a safe and speedy passage) 340 only acquaint your excellency with a summary view of his majestie's present affaires here.

In the losse of York, (succeeding the bloody battaile fought neere it by his highness prince Rupert and the English and Scottish rebels,) your excellency may well imagine what preiudice we suffer in the north, and how insolent those rebels are become vpon it. But as his highnesse hath vsed great diligence in rallying his dispersed men, whereof he hath now noe lesse then 10,000 together in Lancashire, soe as his highness hopes to give a very good accompt of the rebels that pursue him; soe it is remarkable that, notwithstanding their triumphs and boastings, they rather crumble away then augment their forces, and haue made noe progres at all, since that citty fell into their rebellious hands, the ambition of the Scotts perhaps being a great occasion that they know not how to proceede, for they resolutely professe they cannot thinck themselues secure, vnlesse they may have a garrison of that nation in London sufficient to master that citty and the parts adioyning, there being many (especially in Kent, where they say they withstood the Norman conquest, and will neuer submitt to the Scottish) who shew their dislike of a Scottish tyranny.

Waller and Browne houer hereabouts with their severall forces; which yet are not great enough to attempt this citty, or to make any notable addition to the earle of Essex, who hath bin some time in the west, and hath now on this side the king and his army, and on the other side prince Maurice with his army, (each at least 10,000, and not far asunder,) drawing daily neerer and neerer to him; insomuch as we expect very suddenly to heare of some action between the king's and the earle's forces, and hope the rather that it will be successful to vs, they being inferior in number, and far from seconds.

The queene is att Pendennis by Falmouth. I write in such hast as I can add noe more, but that I am,

My lord, your excellencie's most humble servant,
Oxon, 30° July,
1644. EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCCXXVI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

YOURS of the 7th I received the 26 of this moneth, a few dayes after mine of the 9, 17, and 22 weare sent by my servant Stephen Smith, who, I hope, hath before now delivered them to your lordship. The demaunds presented by the councillors and clergie of Ireland as fitt to bee made on the king's parte, and mentioned by your lordship to be sent with your said letter of the seaventh, I have not received; nor did I know there weare any such demaunds presented till I received your lordship's. shall now humbly desire that they may be with all speed sent mee, together with his majestie's pleasure, directing how farr they shall be insisted on, the rest of the papers mentioned in his majestie's of the same date with your lordship's, and the additionall propositions I have received; but I conceive it very necessary that your lordship would be pleased to attest the answeares given by his majestie to the propositions of those deputed from the Irish; whereby all scruple will be taken from those, that I must necessaryly advise with in this treaty, soe farre as there is any concession in those answers to the desires of the other party.

This day, by the advise of the councell, (which I intend to take along with mee to the end of this great worke,) I signified to the lord of Muskry, and the rest of those that attended his majestie, that a comission was come to mee, authorising mee to

treat and conclude of a peace, or further cessation of armes. To morrow I shall send it away, and thenceforth endeavour to bring the treaty to the speedyest and best conclusion I can.

Haueing informed your lordship what is already done in pur-34^I suance of his majestie's comands, and now assureing your lordship that I shall, with all my power and industry, endeavour to effect them, it remaines, that in dischardge of the trust his majestie doth mee the honour to repose in mee, that I humbly and cleerely informe him by your lordship, that by any observation of mine I haue little ground to hope that this comission will effect that for which it was sent: to witt, the concludeing of such a peace as may be for his majestie's honnor, or for the iust and reasonable satisfaction of his protestant subjects; or that the Irish will agree to a new cessation, vnlesse vppon such conditions as will more certainely destroy vs then a warr, and almost in as short a tyme. I haue not tyme to shew your lordship the reason of this opinion; but if our late dispatches be safely come to your hands, they will in a great part satisfye your lordship.

By the very next, I shall be seech your lordship more at large to present his majestic my most humble thanks for his gracious care of mee: and I now assure your lordship of my constant being

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Castle, 30° July, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCXXVII.—The earl of Clanricard to the lord Inchiquin.

My Lord,

YOU may easily imagine I was much amased and distracted vppon the receipt of your lordship's letter, both in reguard of the vnexpected intelligance it brought me, and your lordship's detaineing the letter dirrected to his majestie, signed by soe many of the nobility, who will probably apprehend it a great iniury don vnto them in a busines of such importance, haueing just reason to expect that though your lordship should be preingaged in other designes that might divert your signeing of the letter; yet that your lordship would either have permitted the convayance of it to my lord livetenant accompanied with your lordship's discovery and informations, and soe left it to his lordship's iudgement and resolution, to whom it properly and only

belongs, to consider of the fittnes of transmitting it ouer to his majestie; or else that your lordship would have returned it back to me, who was intrusted with the conveyance of it, that those noble persons who were concearned therein might have considered of their farther proceeding; many of the lords who have subscribed haueing their residences neere to me. though late, I doe expect, and must earnestly deseire, for their satisfactions, and the discharge of their trust reposed in me, that your lordship will speedily returne the letter to me, together with such farther knowledge, as your lordship hath gained of the conspiracy formerly mentioned, haueing cause to beleeve that vour lordship, who is soe anciently and honourably descended here, would not be the author or divulger of soe high a taint vppon this nation, but vppon very sure grounds and euident proofes prepared to make it good: for appearing otherwise, it would certainely be a very great discruice to his majestie, as well as an iniury to the whole nation, to have such reportes diuulged. Yet it seemes strange, that it could be soe closely carryed, as that the lord liuetenant, from whom I latly received letters, nor none of those other lords who subscribed with me, who have great alliance and interest in the kingdome, could not by any dilligence of theires make the least discouery of any such practise: which makes me hope, it could at most be only the designe of some perticuler persons, who vppon knowledge may be brought to their desarued punishment.

Your lordship's first letter I have not received, and I doe not nowe find any thing more to trouble your lordship with at this present, then to renue my request for the returne of the kinge's 342 letter by this bearer, my former messinger, who I have sent againe to waite vppon your lordship in the behalfe of

Your lordship's affectionate kindsman and faithfull servant, CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANES.

Portumna, the first of August, 1644.

CCCXXVIII.—Lord Inchiquin to the earl of Clanricard.

My good Lord,

I have received your lordship's by this bearer; and in regard your lordship doth so earnestly enioune it, have returned the letter designed to bee sent vnto his majestie: but have as yet

forborne to subscribe therevnto, being in noe point satisfied of the integrity of the Irish, or that my distrust and jealousy of them was in any sort groundless or imaginary; but on the contrary am very confident to make it appeare to all the world, that there were such destructive designes on foot at the tyme of my putting my self into a posture of defence, as would have determined in our vtter ruyne, if they had bin pursued to effect; wherein I will not say that the generallity of the nation or gentry were concurrent, for I well know that there are seuerall persons rightly and loyally affected, who endeavoured the settlement of publique tranquillity, and the reception of the English nation and government with much zeale and faithfullnes. I dare confidently affirme, that there were of contrary resolutions and intentions at the least ten men for one. And I doubt your lordship will too suddainely find the evident truth thereof, and therefore apparantly discerneing the faction, disaffected to peace, in no less probability of prevaileing in that, then in our ruyne. It could not bee accompted other then madness or stupidity in mee to suffer my self to bee encompassed in the power of those people, who by too many evident testimonyes haue made it appeare to mee, (as I shall bee ready to doe to all the world,) that. there was a propense readiness in them to deliuer both his majestie's forces and interests into the hands of those formerly mentioned adversarves to peace, whose inveterate mallice hath manyfested it self in so many violent expressions, as that I cannot find any the least hope or expectation of safety, or assuraunce to my self or the charge intrusted with mee, whiles I exist in any condition reduceable vnder their power. And therefore my firme resolution is to continue my self on the same guard and posture of defence, which by God's blessing I am putt into, vntill by the comaund of his majestie or my lord lieutenant I am driven from it. And as I am constant to this resolution, so am I to that opinion of my former letters, that the Scotts will not in the end bee found more daungerous enemyes then the Irish are at this present.

I have not received any intelligence of late, but what your lordship's servant enformed mee to have allready come to your lordship's eares; and therefore I shall not add any thing to your lordship's trouble, more then a subscription of my self,

Your lordships affectionat kindsman and most humble servant, Cork, 7 Aug. 1644. INCHIQUINE. CCCXXIX.—Daniel O'Neil to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

IFF my fortune had answer'd my industry, your lordship had long before your sending off Mr. Smith receaued a dispatch from Euesholm by one Nangle, and another from Baith by sir Brian O'Neile; by both which your excellency had found that I haue 343 not beene negligent off your commands, or vnsencible off your conditione.

Thiss of your lordship's by Mr. Smith, he can tell you, had not beene long slept vppon, iff the tyme were not fitter to make dispatches by the sword then the pen. Hetherto wee howerly expected a batle, butt the earle will not giue vss the satisfactione off a day; which made mee press for that returne Mr. Smith brings your lordship; which, iff I bee not mistaken, has more off shew then substance in it.

Your conditione, which you soe feellingly and wysly deliuer in your letter to my lord Digby, cannot bee remedyed from hence, more then by giuing you what power you will to better it, their one having as much vncertainty and lownes as yours.

The resolutions you desire to the two most important things in your letter, though I pressed his majestie to bee positive in his commands ass to them both, I find they are not to be given, you are to stand or fall by what is good in your one eyes. This iss not what I knowe you expect or desire; butt lett mee assure you, 'tis all the direction that can bee hoped from the present condition of affaires, or from our cautious counsellors; among which I reckon not lord Digby. Him I find free and faithfull to the end wee all intend, without reservation, and to walke in thes affaires of Ireland single.

I did hope by this oportunity to haue given you an exact account off our one and adversaryes conditione; butt my hast to returne Mr. Smith, and that the most part must have beene writt in sypher, forces mee to begg of your excellency att this tyme to be satisfyed with a generall one.

The ennemy in all parts weare never more voyced, nor stronger; nor wee more that contrary, with fewer retreats, reserves, or hopes of any. Howe wee are here, Mr. Smith will informe your excellency. Iff wee com off well, wee haue ass many batles to fight after, beefore wee come to our end, ass Bessus had

combats. Butt in a word, all that the wysest hope from a victory against Essex is noe more then that it will enable the king to deliuer himselfe, and all those that will remaine of his freinds, to the yoke. Among which, by God's grace, your seruant intends not to bee, though as yett he is not resolued which way to turne his face.

Nowe that I have briefly tould your lordship how matters are with both partyes, I am not able to give you any aduise, more then to repeat ould Dauid's counsell to all mankind, *Put not your trust in princes*, and soe foorth; and to beg off you to doe all things in order to your one and countrye's safety, and to believe vs all lost heere.

The king lately offer'd att a treatie with the earle off Essex, ass you will find by the coppie off his letter to the earle, which I send you. Vnto [it] there was noe answere returned, butt that he had noe power to treat; and not that in writting. The officers off the army, perswaded that this answer proceeded from some distrust off his majestie's performance, writt another letter to the same effect to the inconsiderat earle, butt had the same answere, but in writting. He was sent to demand what he would for himself, his army, and the commonwealth, and itt should bee granted. Nay more, that he should command our army; that his majestie would goe vnder his protectione to London: butt God, whoe intends some strange alteratione in this kingdome, would not give him vnderstanding, to lay hould off an offer that would make himself the glorious subject that euer was in this kingdome, or saue his country from the slauery and misery t'is lykly to fall into vnder the gouerment of the Scots and ther party, whoe att this instant indeauour and study that fooles ruine ass much ass his majestie's.

Here is lately come hether one collonell Cab: att the deliuery off York, he commanded the castle. From some off those armyes that beseedged the towne, hee has brought an offer, that if the 344 king shall giue way that episcopacy shall doune, and that lord Digby and our treasurer, and lord Jermyn, shall bee put from court. This is a secret, not yet comunicated to lord Digby, who is ignorant of it, and I feare will [be], vnless Dan. O'Neile tell him. An ould friendship with this gentleman, beeing once a captaine of the queen's regiment, induced him to aquaint mee with this passage, which I thought fitt for you to knowe. I beeleeue the

demands will bee granted, or any thing els that shall bring vss to London, howe infamous soever.

Now that I have done with the publick, lett mee trouble you with the relatione off the sad effects off an vnfortunate falling out of my two best frinds, that att my goeing for Ireland I left the best frinds; which are my lord Digby and my lord Willmot. Att my returne I indeauoured to preuent that mischeef which I did see must befall mee and themselues in ther disvnion: butt found my lord Willmot (whome I conceaued most in the wrong) most auerse to a reconcylement. Whyle I was contriuing other ways to bring him about, he indeauours to render my lord Digby soe odious to the army, and indeed to all honest people, by accusing him off diswading the king from any thoughts of peace or agreement with his people, that if by his majestie's publick act to the contrary, and giving way to the letter of the army to my lord off Essex, the whole army were about to petitione against my lord Digbye. My lord Digby, seeing that he could not work him to his frindship, indeauoured to remoue him from his power, and therefore accused him to his majestie off those things in that charge I send you. Whervppon his majestie caused him to bee arested the same day wee came bether in the face of all the army; which soe incensed the army, thatt presently they petitioned his majestie, the coppie off which, with the answere, I send you. Ass yett, he is not come to a tryall: howe guiltie hee will bee, I knowe not; butt sure I am the accusing of him wass not seasonable, and his committment was less. Two frinds I haue lost; for my lord Digby has soe much malice vppon him, that I see cleerely hee cannot long stand after the other. Howe vnfortunate I am att this instant I need not tell you more, then that I know not any soe poore that I could not easily change conditione and thoughts with.

Whatt success wee shall have here your excellency shall have ass soone ass I can make any iugment vppon itt. Wee know not howe or wher the queene is in France. The duchess off Buckingham went lately from Pendenniss, whether for France or Ireland I know not. I am glad my lord of Antrym's men are in Scotland, though, ass matters are now, itt conduces litle to our saftye. My lord, I need not commend my vnkle to your care; iff he deserves well, I know you cannot neglect vertue.

Iff I have forgott to give your excellence an account off all

your commands, impute itt to the present distraction I am in: for certainely I have not a greater satisfaction, then when I find any occasione to express the passione I have to aprove my self.

My lord,

Your excellence most humble seruant and faithfull friend, Buconnock, this 13 of

August, 1644.

DANIELL O'NEILLE.

I cannot butt laugh, in despight off my troubles, how agashed and skeard our friend sir Mauriss will bee when you read him my letter. When all failes him, i'le prouid him a sariant's place in Holland. Lett him comfort himself with the hopes of that: 'tis better then what the parliament intends him.

CCCXXX.—Endymion Porter to the marguis of Ormond.

345

MY MOST HONORED LORD,

TYME hathe braught his majestie's affaiers to such a pass nowe, as that hee hathe small hopes to preuaile hereafter, if hee miss the destroying of this rebellious armie, which opposes his right and their owne happines; but I hope that God, which hathe protected him hitherto, will deliuer him now from the hands of his enemies, and give him such a victorie, as our blinded nation maye see their errors and harken to peace, which as yet they rashlie despise. I had a greate faithe in expecting succors from Ireland; and had his majestic referred the accomodation of mistakes there wholly to your lordship, I am sure you would haue handled businesses soe, as the Scotts could not haue inuaded vs; nor durst they have prepared mischiffes for vs soe bowldly, had the king given your lordship power in tyme to serue him your owne waye. And yet I hope your lordship will not giue ouer thinking on a meanes to sett the crowne on his head againe; for though hee beate Essex now, yet the northerne forces are soe greate, as his majestie will have a hard pull to make good the justest cause that euer king had.

I am of soe small consideration as I am ashamde to profess how much I loue and honor your lordship, and yet I am willing to make manie offers of my seruice to you, which my defects maye make appeare like lost tryalls, if your lordship, owt of your

charitie and goodnes, looke not mearely vppon that good will which hathe long since render'd mee inuioably

Your lordship's most affectionat and most obliged humble seruaunt,

Boconock in Cornwall, this 13th of August, 1644.

ENDYMION PORTER.

CCCXXXI.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My LORD,

I NEAVER received a more sencible affliction then in your excellence's letter of the 9th of July by Mr. Smith, findinge the greate and just discontent you expresse in it, to bee kept in such ignorance of what hath been done heere, in order to the affaires of that kingdome wherewith you are trusted; especiallye at a time of soe greate perplexitye and distraction there, when thinges are vpon soe short and sharpe a crisis, as the effect of a treatye with the Irish, which must bee concluded, one way or other, before the 15th of September.

My lord, could I accuse my selfe of the least neglect of givinge you full, cleere, and timely information of all thinges necessarye for you to know, I should never forgive it my selfe; for I protest to God, if I am capable of vigilance and industrye in the king's service, it hath beene, and ever shall bee, to the highest degree in what may any way concerne your excellence. this particular, wherein you want soe much enlightninge, I am sure I have not failed of any thinge that was possible; for immediatelye after the agents goinge from Oxford, I sent you an account of all that past; the particular date of it I cannot say. havinge not my papers heere: but it seemes that dispatch miscarried, though committed to carefull hands. Soone after that, when wee were preparinge to send over to you the commission vnder the greate seale, for concludinge with the Irish, either vpon a peace or further cessation, Essex and Waller's armyes comminge downe vpon vs, reduced the kinge with his small armye to such streights at Oxford, that wee were faine to leave all thinges at six and seavens, and to betake our selves to those shifts, which, I hope, e're this, sir Bryan O'Neile will have re-346 lated to you; and from which wee are raised againe to an indifferent good condition, as it were, by miracle. There was not a

minute omitted, after those difficultyes could possiblye permitt it, in sendinge vnto your excellence the said commission by one Nagle; and for feare of miscarriage, another in like manner vnder the greate seale by sir Bryan O'Neile, ioyntlye with a large and punctuall dispatch, in answer to all particulars proposed from you by Daniell O'Neale. If the imployment of sir Brian O'Neile upon that errand were not soe proper nor soe acceptable, the error must lye, where reallye it was, that is, in his majestie's choice; for I had designed Dick Power to it. But it seemes his majestie had, without my knowledge, written vnto your excellence that he would send sir Brian O'Neile; but I hope there will bee noe greate hurt in it, for I must reallye doe him the right as to lett your excellence knowe, that during the agents being here hee behaved himselfe very well in the business of the treaty.

I send your excellence herewithall a duplicate of my former dispatch by sir Brian O'Neile, which conteynes almost all that I can as yett bee punctuall in. The advice which is to be taken in divers of those things, wherein your excellence required directions from hence, depending much upon the success of this action wherein we are now engaged with the earl of Essex. we succeed, and consequentlye have a faire game dependinge vpon hearts and hands here, we must be cautious of giving such scandals by our behaviour in the business of Ireland as may hazard the losing them. If we faile of success here, our case will be then such, as we must lay aside all necessitye, and have recourse unto the extremest remedies. I write this with an aspect onelye to the proposition of your excellence's taking the command of the Irish army, a thinge not to be ventured upon but in case of great extremity or of a settl'd peace with the Irish; but yett soe farr fitt to bee entertained as to hold the thinge in your power, in case that extremity should happen.

I shall not faile to dispatch an expresse vnto your excellence vpon the instant that wee shall see the event of that greate crisis which wee are now vpon. In the meane time, there can bee nothinge added vnto the judgement which your excellence makes in your letter of the benifitts and dangers of that proposition, concerninge which the event here must cast the scale. Touchinge the other very important poinct, vpon which the agents soe much insist, of your declaring with them against the Scots; it is true that his majestie did promise that you should join with

them against the Scots, when a peace or cessation shall be concluded, which we hope will be speedilye. It was vnderstood, that if the Scots submitted not to it, they should then be declared against, as common enemies; but till then, that the joining against them should bee in that way which your excellence should finde most advantagiouse, which is conceived to bee that which your excellence proposes in your letter. It is very true that I wrote vnto my lord Taff in the termes you mention, havinge been often prest by him and others in the poinct. But your lordship may bee pleased to observe, that what I writt to him was rather to lett him know that the thinge was not forgotten, but that your excellence had received directions in it, then to give him any accompt what those directions were, which I should have thought a greate impertinence in mee to have done.

Your excellence desires, in this and in divers other thinges, to receive precise commaunds from his majestie, and you have reason to desire it; but I must deale freelye with you; you are not to expect them; for besides, that wee are not see fitt judges heere as your excellence of what may bee best for his majestie's service there. If wee were, the condition of thinges both there and heere is soe variable, and conveyances of orders to you soe tediouse and vncertaine, that what is thought very advantagiouse when advised, may, before it comes to your handes, bee, by a change of scene, most pernitiouse. The case therefore is in short this; the king hath committed that kingdome to your care, 347 prudence, and fidelitye, and you are to manage it accordinge to your best discretion, with the helpe of the best lights and supports wee can possibly give from hence, but very little of commaunds or directions. 'Tis true, you have a hard taske putt vpon you, but such difficultyes and hazards all his majestie's faithfull ministers must wrestle with proportionably in their severall spheres; and there is none whoe ought to bee soe confident of his majestie's adheringe to him and his proceedings, if God prosper him, as your excellence may bee; and if his affaires miscarrye, I am perswaded there is none will lesse repent to have sett vpp his rest with monarchye, nor that will bee able to struggle better in the hazards of it.

That which principally afflicts vs heere is the want of means to supply the necessities of your army and garrisons there, which for the present we can but lament. But if it please God to blesse vs with successe in our present expectations against the earle of Essex, there shall be immediately sent over to you into Munster from these parts all the provisions that either love, credit, or power can procure.

I finde a passage in your letter to O'Neale, which much troubles his majestie, that there had been some so malitious as to suggest unto the Irish agents jealousies of an intention to have stayed them here; a thinge so odious and of so great scandal to his majestie, that I am commaunded to desire your excellence to require, in his majestie's name, from the Irish agents, a discovery of the authors of it, to the end that his majestie's honour may bee cleared by their punishment.

I sent you over by sir Brian O'Neile such a commission for the earl of Clanricarde to commaund the forces of Connaght as was desired; but it was still sent with an intent that your excellence should make vse of it or suppresse it, accordinge as you should iudge most for his majestie's service. Mr. Smith shewes mee a note of some persons who have the command of garrisons in Ireland, of whom your excellence hath some jealousy: I signified vnto you formerlye his majestie's pleasure that you should dispose of them accordinge to your discretion, which I am commaunded to repeate vnto you; and I should bee very gladd if your excellence did thinke Dick Power worthy of the command of Kinsale, whoe had a promise of it from the kinge, when, vpon my lord Inchiquin's importunity, I procured it for Brocket, hee alleaginge that it would bee much for the king's service.

My lord of Portland is now vpon poinct of takinge his journey towards Mounster; notwithstandinge I thought fitt in the meane time to send vnto your excellence these inclosed papers, which were the subject of sir Hards Waller's employment hither.

This is all that I shall trouble your excellence with at present; but as soone as wee shall see any issue of the present businesse with Essex, and by that meanes obtayne the time to doe it, as well as the judgment how to doe it best, your excellence shall receive as full directions concerninge all the particulars you desire as his majestie will venture to give at this distance in any thinge concerninge that kingdome, wherein, as in all thinges else that may concerne your excellence, you shall bee sure of all care and exactnesse from, my lord,

Your excellence's most faithfull humble servaunt,

Bucconnock, August 13th, 1644.

GEORGE DIGBYE.

Colonell Minne beinge slayne, my lord of Corke is an earnest sutor for the government of Halbolinge, as a safe retreate for his wife and children; and the kinge is willinge that I recommend it to your excellence; which is all that I shall doe for any freind in such cases.

CCCXXXII.—The lords Clanricard, Dillon, and Taafe, to the 348 marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

IF our humble indeuoires for his majestie's seruice and the obtaining of a fitt and happy settlement in this kingdome had mett with that concurrence in my lord of Inchiquin as wee expected, this inclosed address to his majestie would have bin long since offered to your lordship's viewe and consideration. And as our intentions in the representation of our dangerous and distracted condition was with all humility and duety, and the meanes of our presarvation proposed with a due reguard of his majestie's service, as that which wee vallue farr above all interests of our owne, soe wee might have hoped it would have obtained a safe and seasonable convayance to his majestie by your lordship's favourable approbation and transmition over.

The occasion of the stay of this our letter vntill nowe hath bin for that the lord of Inchiquin, to whom (as a person of honnor, and interessed in the good of this kingdome) the same was sent to be signed, vppon a supposition by vs that he would concurr in any thing that was for the advancement of the kinge's service, and the generall peace and quiet of the kingdome, did keepe it by him, and it was not restored till very lately, and for detaineing of it and refuseing to signe therevnto, his owne letters sent herewith will fully informe your excellence, to whom wee humbly leaue it to consider, whether those informations carry that weight and danger as is there represented, and not any other way discouered to vs, or whether his lordship's intentions are not in fauor of the proceedings of the parliament of England and their adherents in this kingdome: however, for any thinge yet come to our knowledge, wee doe not find it grounded vpon such probabilityes as might inuite vs to alter our former intentions: and least some vse may have bin made of our letter to the prejudice of his majestie's service and our owne particulers, notwithstanding the arrivall of his majestie's commission, authoriseing your ex cellence to treate and conclude a peace with the confederate catholiques here; wherein wee haue soe fully obtained the grant of our deseires, as wee haue nothing more to wish in that particuler; yet wee thinke best, with your excellence's approbation, to send the same, not onely to preuent (by produceing of the letter) any preiudice or misconstruction that might befall, ether to our selues or to the publique, by mistaken copyes or inferrencyes to be drawen out of it; but alsoe to make it appeare wee were not vnmindefull of the kinge's seruice, our owne safety, and the publique welfare of our country, although his majestie, whose princely wisedome and care hath left nothing vnattempted which might conduce vnto the good and quiet of his subjects, hath preuented vs therin, by granting such a prime part of our humble desires, before wee could present them to his royal view.

Wee have herewith sent your excellence this humble supplication of ours, together with the reasons inducing us to the sending of it; and, if they shall be approved by you, desire that your excellence would be pleased to transmit them to his majesty, with your recommendation of them, as the sense (in our observation) of all the moderate and well-affected party of the kingdom, and in particular of

Your excellence's most humble and affectionate servants,

Clanricarde and St. Albans. Dillon.

The 18th of August, 1644.

Taafe.

CCCXXXIII.—Arthur Trevor to the marguis of Ormand.

349

My LORD,

I have forborne to præsent your excellence with any letters in an expectation of the motion of prince Rupert, who is now moving from Chester to the king. It is e'en, being for the most part without armes a generall of an army, of ordnance without cure, not a gunne to, lesse mony, much muteny. Will. Leg stays vpon his place, and by hym your excellence shall receaue constantly a journall of my trauells.

[Daniel] O'Neile hath written to mee very earnestly not to indeauour to diuert the marquess of Ormond from vndertakeing the peace of Ireland. I shall say noe more of it, but that the imployment is daungerous, when the imployers dare not bid God saue the plow. My lord, I shall not be ouer ambitious of that blessing at this tyme for the marquess of Ormond, if the earl of Bristoll, lord Digby, lord Cottington, and the councell will put the stocke into your hand, and stand themselues beheind the hangings. I presume the marquess of Ormonde will thinke it proportionable to reason, that they goe their shares, if they expect a profitt in the returne.

General Lesley is with his ragged forces drawne before New-castell, and the New Scotts vnder Kallander march'd vnto his owne country to put out the fire there. The small castles in the north revolt dayly; which daunce was ledd by sir Edward Loftus in his castle of Midlham.

Sir Adam Loftus, sonne to the lieutenant collonell, is fledd to the parliament, and posted for that feate vpon all the gallouses in the king's quarters. Captain Culham, whom he betrayed to the enemy, and hath since escaped hither, says, that Loftus tould hym the reason why he quitted the king's syde was, because sir Adam his father oft tould hym it was against his owne opynion, and that he often sayd to hym with much greife vpon hys coming ouer hither, that it was a very sadd thinge when the sonne vndertak's a busines wherin the father cannot bid God blesse hym. This, and the often assurance he had from his brother, that if euer hee obtains his liberty that hee will take vp armes on that syde, made hym run into rebellion. If your excellence please, I can send you all this attested by captain Culham.

Chudley Coot, Michael Jones, younge Wingfeild, and many more are at Nampwitch, and haue taken conditions from sir William Bruerton, whose lieutenant coll. Mich. Jones is.

From court I shall say nothing to your excellence, but that honours abound there more then victory. My lord of Forth is earl of Branford and baron of Kenton, sir Jac. Ashley is a baron, my lord Sauill earl of Sussex, my lord Seimor an earle, and, in a word, halfe the court are lords.

My lord, this is all by this hand from

Your excellency's most obedient servant,

in all humble duty,

Chester, 20th of Aug. 1644.

ART. TREVOR.

CCCXXXIV.—Lord Digby to the marguis of Ormand.

MY LORD,

YOUR excellence was not in more impatience to heare out of England when you sent Mr. Smith, then wee are here at this time to receive from you some advertisements of the present condition of that kingdome; how Munster stands since my lord of Inchiquin's revolt, how you advance in the treatye with the Irish; with what hopes of good successe; and whether the 350 newes that flyes about heere of the Scotts havinge totallye defeated the Irish bee true; for I can hardly make a judgement, whether, if it bee soe, it will hinder or advance the peace there vpon just termes: probablye it will make the Irish more moderate in their demaunds, but wheither it will not raise a worse speritt then it hath conjured downe, that is the question.

I hope that his majestie's glorious successe against the rebells heere will have a greate effect there, to the advantage of his affaires, which way soever the successe doth runne; and therefore I must not detaine from you this short account of it, havinge noe meanes to say more by this conveyance, nor time to putt much in cypher: the short of all is, that since his majestie's retreate from Oxford, with 2000 foote and as many horse, thorough the midst of twoe greate armyes to Worster, God hath blest his majestie's affairs even to miracle.

Wee first gave Waller's armye such a blow in those parts as it hath never beene able to recover, and since have pursued Essex into Cornwall, and there made all his foote, beinge vpon the poinct of 7000 effective, lay downe their armes at his majestie's feete, and leave their train of artillerye, consistinge of 34 the best brasse gunns of England, besides fower drakes, and a morter peece, 100 barrells of powder, &c. Wee haue since reduced Barnstable, and are now marchinge eastward victorious and stronge; but yett stronger in their weakenesse and distraction; soe that you may confidently eesteeme his majestie's affaires heere in the best posture that they have beene at any time since these vnhappy warrs. God send your excellence that successe and glory, which, over and aboue the interests of the publike, is most passionatelye wisht you in your owne, by,

My lord, the faithfullest and most

affectionate of all your servaunts,

Exeter, September 23, 1644.

GEORGE DIGBYE.

My lord,

My lord, mee thinkes now my lord of Inchiquin is revolted, the custodium of Jephson's estate in Ireland might bee an handsome accommodation for my deere freinde Jack Barrye: if your excellence approve of it, I shall endeavour to procure it from the kinge.

CCCXXXV.—The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

SOME indisposition and want of health diverting my personall attendance, and being informed by my lord of Muskery that himself and the rest of the commissioners doe intend a very speedy departure, though it be my fortune to be only an idle looker on, and many others, who canot exceede me in duty and affection, and, I conceive, much below me in point of interest, are judges, at least powerfull asistants to your excellence in this busines of high concernment to his majestie's seruice and the generall fortune of this kingdome; yet I hould it a necessary duty in me to propose vnto your excellence, that if it be your resolution, in this greate disjuncture of affaires, to vse that wariness and caution as not to conclude a peace without more absolute dirrection from his majestie, then that your excellence will be pleased to dispatch imediatly ouer, and take some course to stay the commissioners here, and continue the treaty, vntill you receive a returne, or, if that delay be not admitted, vntill the next dispatch comes ouer; which probably will be sodaine; for certainly they will not long continue silent there, but send your excellence somwhat of incouradgment speedily to conclude or disolue this treaty.

If the comissioners shall now departe in this vnsetled condi-351 tion, I am most confident it will not be in the power of any the best affected to preuent a sodaine and irrecouerable breach, and whether that may not (all things consider'd) reflect vpon your excellence with as much or more danger then to hazard somwhat the other way, I humbly submitt to your better iudgment: though freely to declare my owne opinion, if they have soe moderated their propositions, as is reported, that they will insist vpon no materiall demaund, but that without which nether themselves nor any of that religion, though never so desarving, can securely inioy the liberty of conscience, or live ether with honor

or safty; to breake vpon such a point, may proue much to the discruice of his majestie, and of soe greate aduantage to them, both at home and abroade, that it had bin much better not to have yeelded to any treaty at all; and for my owne perticuler it will by consequence inforce me, after aboue 500 yeares setlement and continued service to the crowne by my ancestors, to seek some remote contrey for my future habitation.

If my present power could more effectually express my duty to his majestie, and affection to your excellence, there should no industrie be omitted that might conduce to those ends, and which in all affaires of this world shall be the constant meditation of

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

Roper's Rest, the 29th of September, 1644.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

CCCXXXVI.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard-

My LORD,

I AM sory wee should want your assistance at any tyme by reason of indisposition of health; but now that the fortune of the kingdome does soe much depend vppon some speedy and temperate resolutions from both sides, I cannot but esteeme that accident, which shall disable your lordship to make vse of those right affections, that deepe judgement, and great power of comand ouer mee, and perswasion over all reasonable men of the other party, among the most evident of those signes that seeme to foreshew a continueance, and, if it bee possible, an increase of the distractions of this kingdome. What ground I have for the caution your lordshipp speaks of, is knowen to you, and not to some of those who your lordship may suppose to be assistants to mee in this busines; and your advise, a few dayes since giuen mee, touching the speedy sending over, made mee resolve on that course, which I intimated to such as I believe haue advertised the commissioners of it.

I concurre with your lordship in opinion, that the departure of the commissioners at all, but espetially in appearance soe vn-satisfyed, may, and is like to take away all hope of reconcilement: but how to perswade their stay I know not. If your

lordship will be pleased of your selfe to endeavour it, or put mee into a likely way to do it, or both to put to your help and instruct mee how to co-operate with you, it will be, I conceiue, a further manifestation of your aproved zeale to his majestie's service and your affection to and intrest in the kingdome; and in those regards a high obligation uppon

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Castle, 30th Sept. 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCXXXVII.—Daniel O'Neile to the marquis of Ormond.

My LORD,

Bristoll, this 3 of October, 1644.

THE day after our defeat off Essexe's army, I writt to your excellency of itt, and what then was designed; butt the marchant, whoe should have beene the bearer, I meet here, after beeing taken by Milford men. Another which I sent, after our quitting Plymouth, by an express which went to sir John Minnes, had noe better succes att land. What I writt then are too ould to trouble your excellency with now.

As matters stand now with both partyes, i'le giue your excellency ass faithfully ass I vnderstand them. The ruinning off Essexe's army and the reduceing of Barnstable and Ilfort-Coome began soe to buie his majestie's reputation throwe the kingdome, especially att London, that wee began to hope the members att London would give a good answere to a message the king sent them immediatly vppon Essex's defeat. Butt the fate off this vnhappie kingdome will not have hir miseryes end soe soone. For the blowe my lord Byron receaued neere Montgomry castle, and Massye's takeing of Munmouth and other litle garrisons therabouts, which makes that county wholy his, has soe hardned the Londeners harts, that they will herken to noething that peaceably will end ther troubles; therfore they drawe all the forces they can towards Salisbury, to stop his majestie from goeing towards London, or ther free countyes, into which they feare the king iss inuited. This army iss to be commanded by Essex, and iss effective 6000 horse and ass many foot.

His majestie iss now att Dorchester with neere that number, wher hee stayes a fewe dayes to fitt himself against that great day which will make him king or noe king, and all off vs happie subjects or slaues. Your friend sir Richard Greenvile iss left to block vpp Plymouth; hee iss not soe bloody ass hee was in Ireland, butt noething lessned in the rest off his good qualityes.

Oxford iss in a manner blocked vpp. Thus affaires stand west off London. Northward wee haue noe army, nor lyklyhood to have any, vnless you can send one. All the townes wee posses are Newark, Newcastle, and Carlyele. Some few castles wee haue in Yorkshyre, one off which lately did the king good seruice in killing off sir Thomas Fairfax. Wee vnderstand that the stirrs in the north of Scotland has drawen Lesly and the remainder of his army home, and that Calandar, whoe was left to beeseege Newcastle, iss with loss retreated from thence towards Scotland. The truith of the last I dare not affirme, though sir Niccolas sends itt the king ass currant mony. The marques of New[castle] and the traytor king are att Hambrough, the one for shame and the other for feare, will not returne in hast hether iss thought. My lord Byron's vnfortunate defeat renders vss ass litle considerable in Cheshyre, Lancashyre, and North-Wales.

By the dilligence and gallantry off Charles Garrett, wee haue good footing in South-Wales; howe long hee will be able to resist the torrent, I cannot tell.

My lord, this in short you have what I know, and vppon itt may conclude, that wee have not more to trust to for the 3 kingdoms then wee had this tyme 2 years att Edghill.

The great distractiones both our home and abrode enemyes hoped in our court and army, vppon my lord Willmot's tryall, are vanished; for that lord, wysly considering the prejudice his bissines was lyke to bring vppon his majestie's affaires and to himself, iff ther had beene any further proceedings, writt to the king that hee would wave his tryall, and goe to France to wayt vppon the queene, vnto whome the king has writt to prepare hir to receave him well.

Prince Rupert, whoe now iss knowen to bee the primum 353 mobile off that mischeef, iss strangly vnsatisfyed with Willmot's resolutione, for hee thought to make vse off this occatione to ruine lord Digbye; but his proiect fayling, playes the courtier, and iss reconspled, which iss a great happines to the king. Our ould generall has his writt of ease; for his seruices hee iss rewarded sufficiently. Prince Rupert will command our armye; my lord Wentworth shall be leutenant-generall off our hors;

whoe commissary, I cannot tell. My lord Hopton iss generall off the ordinance; my friend lord Piercy is layd by, not onely from that, butt all other bissineses. Soe much for our court and army.

The pouertie of our nobles, gentry, and those shires which wee possess are soe vnsufferable, that I feare wee shall not hould out many moneths without yealding. Already 3000 gentlemen haue compounded, and dayly more goe.

There are lately gone to the parliament off your aquaintance my lord Pagett, Mr. Fretswell and his sylent wyf. One of our beau garsones, the earle off Doune, was debaushed thether by my lord Conway. Sir Fulk Huncks was putt from his command for feare hee should run the same way; now that hee is alone, 'tis noe matter whether wee haue him or noe.

Off the treaty I tould you off in my letter by Mr. Smith, ther iss great hopes. I have learned since that my lord Fairefax iss the man. Another iss now in agitatione with the governor of Gloster. I was sent hether about itt, butt I feare 'twill not work kindly. I beeleeue itt will not bee vnnessary for your excellency to know, that my lord off Portland and my lord Willmot will vppon very easye tearmes part with ther commands in Ireland. Iff ther bee a peace, as wee certainly beeleeue her there will, the commands were proper for Muskry and Clanricard.

The king iss much troubled att Inchiquin's reuoult. Hee gaue order to my lord Digby to recommend those poore people that were thrust out off those tounes to your excellency, commanded mee allsoe to putt you in mynd off them when I writt. The king iss very sencible off ther distressed conditione, and I am confident will not soone forgett the inhumanitye off that lord.

When I was in Ireland, I moved your excellency in the behalf off a friend off myne, Mr. Frowd; hee iss a person off a very clean reputatione, and good esteeme with the king. Iff itt bee soe that the clerk off the hampers place iss to bee disposed off, ass I heare, your excellency cannot place itt vppon a more deseruing man. I should not press for one that iss a stranger to your excellency, iff I did not know that within a litle tyme you will find his parts will meritt this fauour.

Heare I vnderstand off the good success off the Irish army in the north and Conaght; butt that which more reioyees mee, though I am much interested in the good fortune off my countrymen, iss, that my good lady marques is recouer'd, and well in health: all this last moenth shee was allmost dead with vss. I haue bought many things for your excellency, butt cannot now send them by sea nor land. I feare I must make my self braue with them this winter, butt, where God knowes, nott yett.

Your excellencye's most faithfull and most humble seraunt. DANIEL O'NEILE.

Ther iss lately a gentleman come from the queene that tells vss, thatt shee iss well recouer'd off hir health, and that shee iss gloriously receaued in France.

CCCXXXVIII.—Arthur Trevor to the marguis of Ormond. 354

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

AT my coming to Bristoll, where I now am, I found the prince newly returned from the king's army, and with hym my lords Digby, Hopton, Goring, Newport, and Capell, who are all returned this day, except the prince, who stayes for the Yorkshyre horse, that are coming ouer at Aust ferry, and will speedily follow them. The rebells are drawing together all they can to fight the king, and to make Salisbury there generall randevous. Essex is not yett come from sea, nor will it be safe for hym at all to come to London, where his summer voyage into Cornewall is accounted litle lesse then designe.

The king intends his winter quarter in Norfolk and those parts, but in the way will visit Oxford. Banbury is still beseiged, but will not bee soe longe; and Browne the woodmonger is in Abingdon. The rebells were before Basing; but I heare they are risen from thence, and drawe with Manchester and Cromwell's horse towards Waller to Salisbury. The king is in no good condition; 5000 foot and 4000 horse is the true state of that question. The prince will bring 2000 horse and 1000 foot, soe that your lordshipp sees Wales abandoned vntill this great game be played out.

The prince of Wales is made generallissimo, and prince Rupert capt. generall of all the king's armyes. The ould generall Forth hath layd downe his comission, and since that tyme, with a fall from his horse, hath broke his shoulder. This, my lord, is the great busines, and if it hitt, wee ride in coaches whither wee please for this winter.

There are propositions coming from the parliament, procured by the Scott; yett I heare the treaty wil bee intertayned, be they as vnreasonable as can bee expected by such negotiation. My lord of Northumberland is now the darling of the wise masters at Westminster, but is willing to see the kinge end his march before hee take his state of generallissimo for the rebells.

Ireland will bee maynely looked vpon, and in the first place, in the treaty: therefore what is done towards peace must be effected very speedily. I hope the king will do nothing without the marquess of Ormonde; if hee doe, (as I hope to bee saued,) I will not be included.

The prince is now writing to your excellence to be peake credit for hym for 100 barrells of powder to bee sent to Chester. The passage is soe difficult and streightned from hence by the taking of Mongomery castle, that I almost despaye of the safety of it.

Sir Richard Greenvill cut of 800 of the enemy that had possessed themselues of Saltash, and putt most of them to the sword. At Oxford there hath fallen out a lamentable fyre, which hath burnt from Carefax to Fryer Bacon's study neere 200 howses; which is supposed to be done by treachery; for that Browne the woodmonger at the same tyme faced the towne, and warmed his hands, and went to his quarters to bedd.

My lord Wilmott by the king's leaue is gone to travaile, but before his going had 500l. sent hym by the kinge, and vpon a march, and is of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales; soe that either his crime was not much, or the inconvenience very great that would have followed vpon his tryall: I, for my part, beleiue both. I vnderstand by one come from Willmott, that hee and the marquess of Newcastle are præparing a charge against prince Rupert, and will be at the next advise of parliament at Oxford, where their party will bee great—the marquess of Hertford, lord Hurbert—You may guesse the rest.

I find by letters since the finishing the first part of this letter, that the enemy presse vppon the king: if it be soe, I feare all will bee ill. Prince Rupert is soe much given to his ease and 355 pleasures, that every man is dishartned that sees it. This citty of Bristoll is but a great house of baudry, and will ruine the king; and by all I see, prince Rupert is resolved to lye by it.

I desyre your excellence to beware of Dan. O'Neile, and his namesake with you, who, they say, is become a great officer, yett not the fitter for your excellence's trust: all will be naught

with O'Neile. Prince Rupert and Dan. O'Neile are inconsistent in this state.

I be seech your excellence to pardon the addition of this trouble from, my lord,

Your excellency's most oblig'd creature for euer,

ART. TREUOR.

P. S. Mr. O'Neile I mett here, and hee tells me he hath written to your lordshipp all the newes of the army from whence he came; which is a story hee is soe perfect in vpon knowledge, that I shall not trouble you with hearesays; only this, that hee hath quitted my lord Wilmott, though to his own disadvantage in the opinion of all such as haue read Tully de Amicitia. My lord, I am

Your lordship's most obedient and dutefull servant, [Bristol,] 13th of Octo. 1644. ART. TREUOR.

CCCXXXIX.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My LORD,

I have omitted to give your lordship an accompt of the answere the confederate commissioners make to the question I was commanded to aske them, touching a report they heard of an intention to make stay of them at Oxford. They confesse to have been told, that there was some such thing in discourse; but that they were soe confident of his majestie's cleare intentions, that they tooke little heed of itt; and they affirme that what they heard of it came from sir Charles Coote and the rest of his fellowes, or from some of them: and this is all I can gett from them in that point. Another thing omitted is, to assure your lordship that my care of Dick Power, if it be capable of addition, shall be doubled in respect of your lordship's fauour to him.

I shall say nothing like recommendation of my cosin Jack Barry, but shall be seech your lordship to give entire creditt to him in any thing concerning my particular.

Before these counsellors now sent to attend his majestic are gone, I euidently foresee the king's busynesse will have great want of them, there remaining now but very few, and of them some that have of late discovered very ill affections. If your

lordship be free with sir James Ware, he will let you know them. I rest

Your lordship's most faithfull and humble seruant.

My lord, Jack Barry hath an accompt of money layd out by mee for the seruice of England; if, by your lordship's fauour, it may be payd him, it will be disposed of to my aduantage.

Dublin-Castle, 19th of October,

1644.

CCCXL.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

I HAUE chosen rather to answeare shuch particulers of your lordship's of the 22th of July and 13th of August as are not answeared in my other letter, aparte, then to mix with it things not pertinent to the treaty of peace.

In that of the second of July I finde such expressions of the 356 sence his majestie hath of the difficult task I was to vndertake for his service, that if I had received noe other testimonyes then that letter, I should have rested fully assured of his gracious fauour to mee; and in that assurance should have beene sufficiently armed against any apprehensions of danger that my obedience to his commands might draw vppon mee; but att the same tyme I received from his owne hand soe powerfull assurances, that my inconsiderable safety should depend uppon his, that there could remaine noe shadow of feare in mee, vnless I had a wish to outline the ruine of soe greate and good a master. and of monarchy itselfe; and certainely I shall pray against such a life as heartyly as against any death. If therefore his majestie's commands have not been fullfilled, the fayler must be imputed to my misvnderstanding of them, or that the performance of them lay not in my single power; for when I shall receive and cleerely vnderstand his pleasure, I shall my selfe cheerefully obey it, and, as farr as I have power, see it obeyed by others; which, together with my humble thankefullnesse for his great care of mee, I beseech your lordship to make knowen to his majestie.

Next to this profession and acknowledgement to his majestie, I must without complement confess my obligations to your lordship to be greater then to any man els aliue; and with much truth I profess, that I shall bee very industrious to preserue the honour of your frendshipp, as the most free and noble I ever mett with.

I am fully satisfyed by your lordship, why his majestie will not giue positiue commands for the management of his affaires heere; which I should not expect, or press for, with such earnestness, vntill the passage weare more open, and the tymes less subject to suddaine change, but that things to bee acted here may have much influence vppon the king's busines in England. And if his majestie will have mee to shape my course soe heere, as may be most for his advantage in England, or least hurtfull to him; it is of necessity that I receive cleere instruction, else it is ods, but that, thorough my ignorance, or by a suddaine change, which may be more probably foreseene there then heere, I shall vnwillingly fall into some pernitious error.

The earle of Clanricard makes noe vse of his commission, being vnsatisfyed with the clause in it that directs him for instruction to the lord Willmott, or att least gives the lord Willmott power to instruct him. Nor is the lord Dillon satisfyed, that there is noe mention of him in the commission; soe that vnless the intire government might be given him without prejudice to his majestic on that side by reason of his relligion, and without iniury to others, I conceive it better to satisfy him some other way, which will be proposed to your lordship by Jack Barry.

The earle of Antrim (who with the lady duchess is now heere) hath received late intelligence out of Scottland, that the men hee sent thither have marched 40 miles into Argile's contry, wasting and destroying all afore them, and that they are ioyned to my lord Huntly and others: his lordship resolves to go into France to the queen for armes and munition in that service, and desires the king's letter to her majesty for his furtherance. In the meane tyme I shall againe try the Irish, tho' with little hope of prevailing. His lordship alsoe desires mee to write to the earl of Seaforth and others to joine in the service, as his majestie's, and to assure him and them of supplies; which I shall doe but spareingly, being ignorant of the inclinations of the men, as well as of the ways to keep my promise, if I should give it them.

The lord Brabazon having some occasion of his owne to attend his majestie at this tyme, it was held fitt to add him to sir

Henery Tichburne and sir James Ware, but he is not made acquainted with the inwards of the business.

The lord Lambart was pleased lately to make a proposition at the councell board touching the maintenance of the army, in case warre should bee renued: but it depends vppon soe many 357 contingencys, and was soe vncertaine, to say noe worse of it, that it was not held worth a debate; yet it is sent, that nothing that passes heere might bee concealed from his majestie.

I hould it very fitt that collonell Chichester should be of his majestie's councell heere, the board being now thin, and the addition of a person of his good affections and abillityes very requisite. This had been done, but that vpon enquirie and shearch, wee find noe president of any councellor made without an expresse letter vnder the king's hand; which in this particuler I desire may bee speedyly transmitted.

I must give your lordship very humble thankes for my frend sir Mawrice Eustace, who gives very great assistance in all his majestie's affaires heere: but the particular wherein his majestie designes him a reward for his service cannot yett be vsefull to him; when it may, I shall humbly desire the engagement to him may be remembred.

I shall recomend the enclosed letter to his majestie's signature, in behalfe of sir Henery Tichburne, whoes modesty may hinder any motion from himselfe for it; and whenever his majestie shall thinke of disposeing of the martiall's place of Ireland, I conceiue it cannot be better placed then vppon him, for he appeared as early, and continued as constantly, his servant, as any man in this kingdome.

I beseech your lordship to lay att his majestie's feet my most humble thankes for his bounty in giueing mee the wardshipp of my sonne: but he being by his gracious fauour knighted, and my land conveyed, the only vse I shall make of his last guift shall bee with comfort to contemplate the goodness of the master I haue the happynes to serve.

I cannot conclude my letter till I haue againe recomended sir Henery Tichburne and sir James Ware to your fauour, as persons entirely adicted to the king's service; to whome you may bouldly giue creditt, and who deserue very high encouragement.

[19 Oct. 1644.]

CCCXLI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.
My Lord,

AFTER I had made vp my severall letters of the 19 of October, and before I could send them away, heere ariued a parliament ship, and presently after her, your lordship's letter of the 23d of September by Nangle, who got in in the later end of a storme, for all that shipp, which soe blockes vs vp, that I dare not venture to send the lord Brabazon, sir Henery Tichburne, and sir James Ware, as was intended, and as our condition heere required. But your lordship's last letter importing an earnest desire to be informed how things stand heere, the bearer, collonell Butler, is prevailed with to adventure vppon the voyage with some of those letters the councellors should have caryed, and with this additionall accoumpt of some things wherein your lordship desires information.

Since the lord of Inchiquin's revolt, I have had little intelligence with any in Mounster, all those that have not ioyned in his defection being come from thence, and if any remaine that approve not his treachery, they cannot safely adventure vppon a correspondency with mee: his lordship hath, for ought I can heere, received very little of those great supplyes he promised himselfe. The earle of Essex sent him over 300 Cornish men hee had, it seemes, taken prisoners, but without armes, clothes, or mony, and soe little affected to that service, that they dayly run heather, and are sent hence for England with the best encouragement I can give them. Broket the governor of Kinsale wavers as yet, I believe, in expectation of his majestie's success, and will 358 accordingly, I thinke, declare himself. I conceive if the earl of Cork were sent over with authority, his interest in the English of Munster would do good.

In one of the letters sent heerewith, your lordship receiues a true accoumpt of the actions of the Scotish and Irish armys, nothing answeareable to their great brags, preparations, or to the reports giuen out in England of either side. To say truth, I wonder how it was possible two armyes that had marched soe many miles to seeke each other, should, after lying soe long at a neere distance, at least part without haueing don either soe much hurt as a sound fray in a faire might almost haue been done; but this is to be attributed to God's mercy to vs, whose security hee hath wonderfully wrought in their diuision, and equallity of power and successe.

His majestie's glorious successe in the west hath raysed vpp the hearts of his servants heere, with great hopes that hee will shortly be in condition to preserve them, and vindicate his authority from the insolent vsurpation of those that in this kingdom haue seduced his subjects into rebellion vnder the pretext of religion; which I heartly pray for, and for all addition of honnor and happyness to your lordship.

Your lordships most faithfull humble servant,

Dublin-Castle, 2d of Novem. 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCXLII.—Dr. Fennell to the marquis of Ormond.

My LORD,

THIS councell had many serious debates about the buissines of Scottland; but concluded noething yett. They are iealous that the honour and thancks of any service, that was or may be don there, shall be rather attributed to a particular person then to this nation; at whose cost onely they conceaue all that expedition from hence was effected, and they will hardly be drawen to be at further charges vpon the same termes. But I discerne they apprehend the importance and necessitie of furthering that seruice to the full, and would therefor gett it forward as much as lieth in them, if they were assured the nation onely may have the honour of theyre worcke.

This excepted, the greatest rubbe I sawe them light vpon was the difficultie of prouiding shipping, the losse and vsage of the former ships having frighted the seamen from dealing any more that way. They have appropried certaine dayes to consult farther of this matter.

Richard and Henrie Comerford does what they can to bring in your rents, and they shall be sent you as often as any considerable summe shall be brought in. Edward and I contracted with sir Richard Butler for 150l. vpon the same termes the rest did. The monie Edward promissed me to send away with soe much of the rent as was then payed him the last Thursday; for though the warrant is to deliuer the monie to me, I thought Edward fitter for the receipt and dispachinge of it thether, then

Your honour's humblest and moste faythfull seruant,

Killkeny, 2° Nouember, 1644.

GERALD FENELL.

CCCXLIII.—The marquis of Ormond to Dr. Gerald Fennell.

DOCTOR FENELL,

IN my aprehension the first of the difficulties that is made, of sending more forces to keepe life in the warre of Scotland, ought for divers reasons to take noe place with wise men; whoe are not to neglect what may bee of substantiall and lasting aduan-359 tage to them for a vaine and transitory punctillio. Of what reall advantage it must bee to your partie to keepe in the fire of Scotland, is plaine to euery man; and if you please soe to order it, it is easye for you to make what shall bee done to apeare as plainly to bee by your only power and at your proper charge. It is true, that whoever is imployed will expect his share of honour, that belongs to such as doe well execute what by the originall power of others hee is enabled to performe; and that is it which is neuer denyed to such as are prosperous in thir vndertakeings. And in this case I conceiue, without deminution to your reputation, you may alow something more; for I beleeve it will bee confessed, that the men already sent could not have bin soe well received, nor would not have bin soe soone joyned with, as they were, if they had gone in the name or vnder the conduct of a stranger. Nor doe I beleeue you would at all haue thought of sending such a handfull, but vpon the assureance that was given you, they would bee received and joyned with vpon my lord of Antrim's interest; and if hee atribute to himselfe more then belongs to his parte, his vanitie cannot bee a reason for sober men to leave the pursuite of a designe of such huge aduantage. But of this I shall say noe more, having noe private end in, nor expecting noe particular advantage by, the businesse; only I must minde you, that the last men that went were long in prepareation; that the winter is the only safe season to send them in; and that I am ready to contribute all that lyes in my power towards the designe.

I can say noething to your want of shiping, but that if you take the right season, the mater is not much, whether they bee of force or noe, and such as are not, I presume, are easily and cheaply had.

I vnderstand the Scots haue quit and burnt Mounioy. As the place is described to mee, it is very well worth the fortificing, and the charge of a good garison; therefore meethinks noe time should bee lost to make it sure.

The councellors went hence on the 4 of this month in the night, that they might get by the easier. I sent Mun Mathews abord the parliament ship to drinke hard with the captain, whoe was of his acquaintance, which hee performed soe well that hee hath brought him ashore.

I have strugled, as long as I am able, to keepe a garison in the Newry; but that with other charges are growne soe vn-suportable by mee, that I feare I must shortly quit it; I pray endeuour to make mee hould out, till I heare from the councellors. I rest

Your most assured friend,

A great parte of my corne is stayed at Wexford, contrary, plainly, as I conceiue, to the articles of cessation, that gives free traffique, and noe ways subjects vs to your way of judicature.

There is also behinde of a proportion of beeffs and catle, you long since promised a great parte.

Dublin-Castle, 7 November, 1644.

CCCXLIV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Inchiquin.
My Lord,

MY answeare to your last letter by captain Little was written and sent away imediately after I received yours, as will appeare by the date. But thorough some mistake (as I yett beleeve) of those that rule att Kilkeny, my messenger was stayed, and my letter returned vnto mee. I hope that and this will now have an vninterrupted conveyance.

I shall only ad vnto that letter the sending your lordship the inclosed coppy of an oath, which is said to be that given by your lordship's comand to the souldiers and others in those parts, and 360 two copyes of letters, the one said to be written from your lordship and other officers there to the members of parliament att Westminster, the other, to maior generall Munroe and other officers in Vlster. If your lordship shall avow them for true coppyes in substance, you may please to ad the sending of them to those other things wherewith my approbation hath not gone. But I rather hope your lordship is abused in the forgery of them; and soe I rest

Your lordship's affectionate humble servant,

Dublin-Castle, 13th of Novem. 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCXLV.—F. O. Hertegan to the supreme councill of Kilkenny.

My Lords,

I WROTE to you vesterday by St. Malloe, and gaue you notice of the good disposition wherein this court is to succour you. E're yesterday I was with the lord cardinall, who gaue me his word you should haue it out of hand, and wisht me come to him this morning to take his orders: but the weather hath bene so contrary to his health, as few haue bene admitted to come at him. The secretary of state, returning from his chamber, told me that his eminency did wish him looke to my dispatch, and appointed mee of the clock to morrow to goe to his eminencie, where I will know to the full what and when hee is to giue. am perswaded hee will commaund it be given mee out of hand, to prevent your vnglorious falling to peace with God, king, and countrie's enemies, notwithstanding any coullour they in Dublin and their factors about the board give to their doeings. A letter of father Wadding's, I received this very day, containes great matter of consolation; for hee tells me his holiness hath a favour in readines for you, and intends to add a farr greater. I can assure you, if I may rely vpon great men's words, that Rome and France will dispute which shall give you most, when they put once their hand to the worke: our gracious queene's comeing to this court did you noe hurt as yet, and I hope will doe you good, and contribute much to the king's service. It is here reported your commissioners have bene sleighted by the councell in Dublin; that Castlehaven hath played his parte, but not an Irish catholicke generall's parte, in the last expedition.

That Ormond, Clanrichard, and Castlehaven's factions are strong about your board; that Ormond's factioners meete every night, and resolues what is to be proposed and concluded for my lord's interests next day; that though Dr. Barry was with the commissioners at Dublin, little or nothing was imparted to him of the affaires; that the church and churches interests is neglected, by reason some church liuings are in Ormond, Jeoffrey, Browne, and such men's possession; that Clanrickard robbs more from the catholicke party then the villanous Scotts kill; and other such vnhappy things: all which I write, because I am bound to giue you account of what is thought or said of you where I am. I doe not take vpon my selfe to be a prophett; yet I must advance this much, that some of your perfidious catholicks will

feele the smart of their vnconscionable carriadge and mallversations in God's cause e're it be long. Some malignants giue out here, that our king was slaine or poysoned by the parliamentiers, but, thanks be to God, hee liues in perfect health to the Roundheads confusion. This court's embassadour in Rome is comaunded to come back: the reason I gaue in my last letter, that hee received 20,000 pistolls for cardinal Pamphilio his promotion.

You may see by this suddaine good newes from hence and Rome, that father Wadding and I doe not sleepe, and that your freinds doe not neglect your cause. Let any of the Irish or of 361 the catholicks be as wicked as they please, and conceale their tricks and false brotherhood, yet all will come to light, tourne to God's glory, Ireland's safety, and their eternall confusion. Amen, Amen. I am,

My lords, your faithfull servant,

Paris, 16th November, 1644.

M. O. HARTEGAN.

CCCXLVI.—M. O. Hertegan to the supreme council of Kilkenny.

My Lords,

BY my last letter I gaue you, the board, accounts with what cheerefullness our gracious queene receiued your letter. I represented vnto her sence, how expedient it was she made you a favre answere, and should not be spareing of her words, when she is soe liberall of her good offices for you here. She answered mee at first she would not dare doe it without she acquainted first the king, and had his allowance. I replyed, shee might make a full and proportionable answere to your letter, which sought noe condition or any thing at all, but expressed onely your loyaltie and readines to serue his majestie. Then she answered mee, she would make me a returne within few dayes. last (ere yesterday) cardinall Mazarine came to receive and conferr with her vpon all the demands, motions, and articles she would propound; she did not forgett your interest and affaires; but was very earnest to press vpon his eminencie, that if France intended really to succour the king, it must be done by Ireland; which when his eminency heard her say, hee promised her (as he told me this day) that France (notwithstanding its infinite other charges) would make an effort, which is as much as to say, straine or bind its forces to succour Ireland. Hee forthwith

wished her call me, and resolue what might be done, and that he would retourne to her, and receive her orders to be discussed by the councell, and then effected accordingly.

Yesterday, as I visited one of the prime ministers of state, he tould mee vnder secrett of not divulging his name, that it was resolued in councell, that arms and ammunition should be sent into England, and money into Ireland; and that of a hundred thousand weight of powder, and 6000 musquetts her majestie demanded for the king, she should have the one halfe; and that of 200,000 crownes I sought for your assistance, I should have the one halfe; she wished me sollicitt the execution, and gett the lord Nuncius to assist mee.

I went forthwith to the lord Nuncius, and induced him to come along with mee, to sollicitt one of the cardinall's greatest confidents, (because he cannot get audience from his eminencie,) which was done instantly.

This day about noone I visited our queene, and had a long talke with her; dureing which time shee acquainted me of the lord cardinall's fauourable answere about touched, and appointed me to come to her to morrow about one of the clocke, to resolue what speedy course may be best for succouring Ireland. What resolution be taken you shall know by my next; credibly it will be this, that the king shall referr the composeing the affaires of Ireland (giueing you all content) to our queene and the queene regent's arbitrement; and in the meane time, the queene regent shall send you succour of mony and armes, that after the enemies shall be expelled from Ireland, and all the houlds of the land put to catholicke hands, (and few to protestants,) then you shall send 10,000 men (at least) to helpe the king in England; all which may agree with your intentions and propositions offered to his majestie last summer.

The lady Bambery has promised mee 10,000*l*. sterling to fur-362 ther the worke, if it goes on, and the lord Montague and others haue made me very large promises to the same effect; the lord Nuncius offers vs all hee is worth to be engadged, and wee are both to visitt shortly one Frenchman, of whom wee expect a good summe of ready money. Father Luke Wadding writes he hath the pope's word for a considerable summe. Father Bourke sends you somewhat. All which considered, you should take hearts, and care little for Ormond, Clanrickarde, and such vn-

naturall patriotts. To morrow the deceased queene of Spayne's funerall will be royally celebrated in the metropolitan church of this court, where the king and queene regent are to assist. I am without any newes of father Plunckett, but still,

My lords, your faithfull servant,

Parris, 4 December, 1644.

M. O. HARTEGAN.

Doctor Dowyer returned mee from Rome your letter for the lord Nuncius in this court; which I presented him yesterday, and hee received with cheerfullness.

CCCXLVII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

YOUR excellence transmitted hither a bill, to bee proposed and enacted in the parliament of Ireland, touching his majestie's remission to the protestants of Ireland, as well of the clergye as of the laitye, and such others as haue joyned with the protestants, of all rents, seruices, compositions, twentyeth parts, and first fruites, due vnto his majestie in the kingdome at Michaelmas, 1641, or at any tyme since, or to be due vnto him at Easter next, being 1645, and vntill and for such further tyme as such a peace were settled, as that they might peaceably and quietely receive the rents of their lands, tenements, and hereditaments. His majestie, with the aduice of his councell, hath considered of the bill, and is very graciously inclin'd to give ease and comfort to his good subjects there, by parting with that which is his owne, and to that purpose hath transmitted back the bill to bee passed for remission of all due at Michaelmas, 1641, or at any tyme since, or to be due at Easter next. But for that other clause of remission for the future tyme to come after Easter, vntill such peace bee settled, as they may peaceably and quietely receiue their rents, it is conceiued to be a very vncertaine limitation, that noe man knowes when it may bee sayd to end, nor what the king shall part with, and not vsuall in president to remitt future rents and dutyes, and not fitt or safe for his majestie to assent vnto it. Therefore that clause onely is omitted out of the bill, now sent you without any other alteration.

And his majestie's good subjects of that kingdome may rest

confident of his further grace and fauour hereafter, as occasion shall require. I rest,

My lord, your excellence's most humble seruant,

Oxford, December 15th,
1644.

George Digbye.

CCCXLVIII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

YOUR excellence will herewithall receive from his majestie himselfe such directions as hee thinkes fitt to give from hence concerninge the peace of Ireland. Our principall hopes of the settlinge whereof are grounded vpon the last paper deliuered in 363 by Browne, which seemes to wave their stiffnes in mater of religion, which is the poynt that cannot bee yeelded in by his majestie at this time, further then you have done in your answers, without apparent ruine to his affaires; which, whatsoever those busye fellowes you mention may have sayd, hath throughout beene soe positive a rule with his majestie, and founded in soe much reason, as the Irish comissioners themselues, when they were here, seemed conuinced with the necessitie of it, and to apprehend it fatall to his majestie's affayres, and consequentlye, though more remotely, euen to themselues, should his majestie draw vpon himselfe at this time the scandall of such a concession to the Romane catholiques there, as the repeale of the penall lawes would amount vnto; and seemed fully engaged to perswade their partie to rest satisfied with such security from punishment for the modest exercise of their religion, as might bee giuen them without such mischeefe to his majestie. And indeed I thinke his majestie soe much disserved by those that have reported the contrarye, that it were worth the further enquirve into the proofes of those speeches.

These directions from his majestie will save mee the labour of sayinge any thinge concerninge those memorialls sent ouer by Burke, or any other thinge in relation to the treaty there; soe that all that I shall say vpon this subject is, that his majestie's resolutions therein are kept secrett from all persons but sir Henry Tichborne and sir James Ware; of whose affections and integrityes in his majestie's service, his majestie is very well satisfyed, and I hope they will returne very well satisfyed that hee is soe; onlye I am much troubled, that my continuall want of

health, since their beinge heere, hath hindred mee from applyinge vnto them those personall civillityes, and giving my selfe that frequency and freedome of conversation with them concerninge the affayres of both kingdomes, which otherwise I should have done.

Vpon your excellence's recommendation, his majestie is likewise pleased to gratifye my lord Brabason in his sute, in case your excellence shall approve of the particular, not otherwise.

I heere send your excellence all those letters signed, which were desired by you, with a particular note of them; amonge the rest one for swearinge my brother Chichester a privy councellour, whose name I cannot passe by without makinge a thousand acknowledgements to your excellence for the noble and generous obligations which you are pleased to lay on him and my poore sister.

In my last to your excellence of the 5th of December, I gaue you a short account of our condition heere; in which I shall not enlarge now by letter, but referr you to the bearers sir H[enry] Tichborne and sir James Ware, whoe returne fully enformed.

I shall only take the libertye to inculcate to your excellence the necessitye, both in order to the procuringe vs a good peace, or the maynteyninge a warr heere, that the suplyes from Ireland of men and armes bee, not only as large as can bee procured, but as speedy; and that no time bee lost in settleing the wayes of drawing them together, and transporting them: to which end I am commaunded most earnestlye to coniure your excellence that I may heare from you with all possible expedition, what numbers, vpon the setlement of the peace, may bee relyed vpon from thence, what ships may bee procured there, and to what ports wee had best direct those ships that are to bee sent from his majestie for that seruice.

As concerninge the Bartlett's twoe shipps, valesse vpon the settlement of the peace, some supplyes may be obtained for them from the Irish, or some other expedient found out there to furnish them, wee know heere noe course for them to take, but to come to Bristoll, where wee will indeuour to satisfie them, and to send them furnish't for the intended transportation.

I shall contract my selfe in this letter as much as I can, both as beinge in a temper of health very vnfit to write, and as intendinge to write at large concerninge all particulars omitted heere, especiallye of what concernes your selfe, by Jack Barry, whoe will not stay many dayes after this. In the meane time, I shall onlye recommend three thinges more vnto your excellence: the one, the preservinge the earle of Clanricard in a right opinion of his majestie's value of him, of which hee shall receive very shortly demonstrations. Another, that you would vse all possible meanes to assist and encourage the earl of Antrim, and his forces in the seruice of Scotland, whereof wee finde admirable effects heere. And lastlye, that noe acts may bee omitted to regaine, if it bee possible, Inchiquin, of which if there bee noe hopes, then I conceive it may be very proper to send ouer the earl of Corke; otherwise it is conceived that his appearinge in Ireland will make Inchiquin the more auers and desperate.

I beseech your excellence pardon the disorder and imperfections of this dispatch, hudled vp in greate distemper of health, and consequently of vnderstandinge, findinge my selfe cleare and cerene onlye in this of beinge,

My lord, your excellence's most affectionate and most faithfull humble servaunt,

Oxford, December 16th 1644.

Ouer and aboue those draughts of letters sent over by your excellence, it is thought fitt to send you one, givinge you power to suspend from the councell board, which you will make such vse of as in your wisdome you shall thinke fitt.

I am alsoe commaunded to recommend vnto you, but without any imposinge vpon your choice, sir Faithfull Fortescue for the gouernment of Dublin, in case you shall remooue lord Lambert; but [it] is wholy left to you to make what election you please.

CCCXLIX .- The bishop of Cloyne to lord Inchiquin.

I findings in my lord leiutennant a sweet disposition to your lordshipp, and a full purpose of his to sett all thinges fayre vpon your part with his majestie, if hee could perceive that you would aprehend your mistake of the cause you have vndertaken, did write to the dean, that there was meanes to sett you right, and to place you, with honour and trust, where you would bee; and I conceave, when the deane was heer, that hee receaved such free expressions from his excellency, that your lordshipp neede

not to doubt but what I had written would bee firmely assured vnto you. But these last letters off your lordshipp's containing a justification of your vndertakings, which his lordshipp conceaves you only passionately fell into; my lord having not liberty at this time to dispute the point, hath given mee leave to tell your lordshipp thus much.

That whatsoever hee hath vndertaken for you, and whatsoever hath been advised, hath been done for noe other respects, (his majestie's service excepted,) but out of his affectionate desires to bee an instrument of your honour and safetie; and doubts not but, if his good intentions towards your lordshipp could have prevailed, your lordshipp might with more peace and comfort of conscience, assist the protestant party and cause with him then in the waye your lordshipp doth now tread in, or hereafter doth purpose to goe.

For the particulars that concerne my selfe, I hope I shall stand forr relligion before the world, life, or mytre, (I mean any earthly concomitant of it; for a mytre and relligion haue long liv'd together, and cannot bee separated without a mayme,) but to take armes in defence of relligion (though it were to preserve my mytre) against the prince, or without him, I never said I would doe, beeing fully assur'd (whatsoever men pretend) that 365 there is noethinge of Christ that doth direct or will justifie such actions.

1644.

CCCL.—Bishop of Cloyne to dean Pryse, a friend of lord Inchiquin.

I am sorry your journey to vs hath produced soe litle good, or that thinges are now otherwise with you then they appeared to vs when you were heer. I did comunicate to his excellencie what was written, both by my lord of Inchiquin and your selfe; and truly I cannot finde that any necessitie the king maye bee in will make him cast his affections other wayes then hee hath done.

If it were, as you report, that the parliament party were prevalent, yet his excellency doth not thinke his condition desperate whilst it is Christian and loyall; nether doth hee conceave that such a time (of all times) were fitt to desert his majestie. But however the face of thinges appeare to you in England, let your duty never bee neglected to advise to those pathes which both

God and relligion will justifie you in. If you and I cannot gett our desired ends, it will much comfort that wee haue performed our duty's, and labourd there preservations, that haue not dealt soe mercyfully with vs.

And a better occasion you cannot have then the present condition of his majestie; for such an action from my lord at this time would crowne his loyalty, and obliterate all thinges conceav'd heretofore against him: and lett mee tell you, this is noe desperate perswasion.

Montrose hath now all Scotland, which (one years since) was more the parliament's then ever England was. And it is not impossible but you may heare that the kinge will have a Scottish and northerne army before the west bee conquer'd.

[1644.]

CCCLI.—To the king's most excellent majestie.

The humble petition of the archbishops, bishops, and the rest of the clergie in the kingdom of Ireland.

SUCH is and allwaise hath been your majestie's princely and vnparallel'd care of the church in that your majestie's kingdom, that, without any petition of ours, more is allreadie performed then could bee expected, in a tyme soe full of distractions; not onely in protecting it against forraigne jurisdiction and domestick schisme, but lykewise in committing the gouernment of that wholl kingdom to a person of that nobilitie, vigilancye, integritie, and vnquestionable affection to your petitioners, that (iff not preuented) they had been compel'd to petition your majestie for soe great a blessing. All which wee most thankfully acknowledge, and with that cheerfullness as much abateth the sense of our own most sad condition and present miserie. Soe that your majestie may now justly seem to have anticipated all that can bee desyred, sauing your majestie's continuance long to maintaine the doctrine, worshipp, and gouernment alredie by law' established, and by your incomparable wisdom and pietie at this tyme more especially preserued. Yett beecause the clergie there, in soe generall a combustion, must needs bee lyable to many emergent calamities and pressures, which can neyther bee knowne to your majestie, nor made now known by vs; wee therefore most humbly supplicat,

- 1. That your majestie would bee gratiously pleased effectually 366 to recommend your distressed petitioners and church, as well in generall, as following particulars, to the lord liuetenant of that your majestie's kingdom; not that wee doubpt his good affection, distrust his zeale, or that hee hath omitted any thing which the present distractions could permitt; but that this your majestie's recommendation including your royall approbation, meeting with his lordship's owne desyres and endeauours, may adde to his encouradgment, though not to his performances, when it shall please God to make the tymes more peaceable.
- 2. That your majestie would bee pleased to giue order for the continuance of that protection and assistance at councell boord, which that church hath enjoyed vnder your majestie's blessed father and queen Elyzabeth; soe that neyther arbitrarie orders of parliament nor popish jurors may haue it in theire power to disinherit the church, or vndoe that which authoritie and consent of parties haue setled on vs, or vindicated, or preserved vnto us.
- 3. In respect your petitioners haue lost all their means, rents, and personalt estates, during the late commotions, and yet are chargable with greate summs of monyes for subsidies due to your majestie, which they are alltogether vnable to pay; your majestie would bee pleased to giue power to your ministers there, to whom it appertayneth, to make such enstallment or abatement of these subsidies as may stand with your majestie's goodnes and their inhabilities; and the rather beecause your petitioners enjoy their estates but for terme of lyffe; and their burthen in subsidies is farr greater in proportion then the laitie's is.
- 4. That it may bee referred by your majestie to the councell boord, to give vnto your petitioners such large and convenient tyme, as to their lordships shall seem fitting and reasonable, for reparation of mans-houses and chancells demollished, or impair'd by the late warres. And that their executors may not bee charged with the wholl dilapidations, now happening without the fault of the incumbent, but onely for a proportionall part of those reparations, according to the tyme allotted by the lords of the councell for rebuilding the same.
- 5. That your majestie would take noe advantadge of lapse (except what is taken allreadie) against any archbishopp, bishop, or other your petitioners, having right of collation or presentation, since the 23 day of Octob. 1641, vntill six moneths after

the proclamation of peace in that kingdom; but that they may still collate or present to such benefices as are now void, and of their patronadge.

6. Forasmuch as the church hath noe other censure to inflict vpon contumacious refusers to appeare in ecclesiasticall courts, or to abyde the sentences there given, but onely excommunication, and that as well in causes which concerne interest, as spirituall offences: by occasion wherof many persons, rather considering the smallness of the matter of the suite, then the heighnousness of the offence, of contumacie, take scandall to see the seuerest censure inflicted vpon such occasion.

It would therefore please your majestie to recommend it to the lord liuetenant and councell, to aduise some other process to bee setled according to law, to compell the apparance, or punish the contumacie, of such as shall bee cited to appeare in the ecclesiasticall court, after the maner vsed eyther in the courts of common law or of equitie in the said kingdom. The execution thereoff to bee left vnto officers to bee appointed by your majestie for that purpose.

7. That the ministers of Dublin, Droghedagh, and other incorporate towns, having noe prediall tythes, but onely stipends charged vpon the severall houses within their parishes proportionall to their rents, may still leavie and take up their respective stipends, whether by distress or otherwaise, as they were formerly accustomed. If any resist, their punishment to bee referred to the councell boord; and if, through waste made in any of their parishes, any of them want competency of maintenance, 367 order there to bee taken at that boord for their releiffe.

And your petitioners, as most bounden, shall euer pray, &c.

CCCLII.—The king to the marquis of Ormond.

ORMOND,

IT havinge pleased God soe farre to blesse my affayres in Scotland, vnder the marquesse of Montrosse, by those helpes which have been given him from Ireland, whereof I finde very powerfull effects in the temper of the Scottish nation at London, I cannot but consider the supportinge of the marquesse of Montrosse's power there as one of the most essentiall points of all my affayres; and therefore I have sent over this bearer, colonell

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

Steward, on purpose to sollicite you, and, according to your directions, the Irish, for the procuringe the speediest and considerablest supplyes of armes, amunition, and men alsoe, that can bee obteyned to bee sent over with all possible expedition into Scotland; whome I have alsoe commaunded wholye to tend that service in such way as you shall thinke may bee most vsefull; hee beinge a person of approved fidelitye and abilitye, and intimate with the marquesse of Montrosse, with whome I desire you to hold frequent and carefull correspondence. And soe noe way doubtinge of the same care in this matter of soe greate importance, which you have ever exprest in all thinges which concernes my service, I rest

Your most asseured constant frend,

Oxford, Jan. 4th, 1644.

CHARLES R.

CCCLIII.—The earl of Clanricard to the marguis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

VPON the 30th of the last month, I received your dispatch of the 23d, and by the large extent of your fauer in so perticuler a relation of the seuerall passages and condition of affaires in England, your lordship hath layed before me a large field for my imaginations to wander in. And I must confess, that therin I haue mett with such variety of objects as doth much distract and perplexe my vnderstanding; for in my weake, and I hope deceived apprehention, though it hath pleased God to grant very prosperous successes to all his majestie's proceedings wherin he hath appeared in his royall person, yet it seemes to me, that, ether through practice or negligence, as much as want of power, the most considerable partes for strenght or contribution are fallen of from his majestie; and the losse of Newcastle, if the Scotch brethren continue their kindnes to London, must be of much aduantage and incouradgment to them to pursue their former insolent presumptions; and the taking of Leuerpoole, and the to visible impairing of his majestie's party in Wales and the adioining sheeres, canot but be a greate diuertion to your lordship's noble designes and vnwearyed industrie for the aduancement of his majestie's seruice in ether kingdome: and, to deale cleerely with your lordship, there is not any thing I am more sencible of, then that the greatest parte of the winter is past

ouer, and the treaty of peace or setlement here soe litle aduanced, that there is scarce any hope left that it can be soe seasonably concluded as to make a fitt preparation for any considerable forces to be transported to his majestie's asistance in England, before the coming abroade of the parlement fleetes, who questionless will increase their strenght at sea, to preuent the danger likely to fall vpon them from these partes; the winter, 368 in my poore opinion, being the only proper time that doth afford a hopefull probability of prosperous success to that greate and most necessary vndertaking. Those on the other side, that did not formerly give his majestie incouradgment to be more absolute and cleere in his commands for a setlement here, may to late find the inconvenience of loosing soe faire an oppertunity; and if they apprehend asistance from hence likely to be lost for this season, I doe very much doubt their owne distractions will much divert the timely consideration of the peace and safty of this kingdome, and consequently expose all here to a generall ruine.

My lord, in the conclusion of your dispatch, you were pleased to imparte vnto me your observation of some late coldnes and disrespect towards your lordship in those that manadge the affaires of the confederats, and that a strong party of them are industriously working to divert the peace of this kingdome, and my apprehentions therin is required by your lordship's command; which, to the best of my ability, I shall now performe with all truth and cleernes, though I must presume to say your lordship hath put a very greate difficulty vpon me; it being, in my opinion, almost impossible to make any setled iudgment, or euen to frame any probable conjecture vpon the resolutions or proceedings of those that asume authority ouer that party; since I find the best vnderstandings, that have subjected themselves and their obedience to their orders and commands, doe not know what constructions to make of their actions or intentions; and indeed the wonder is not greate, when consideration is taken that no one of them hath had the least breeding, that did soe much as looke towards state affaires, more then to dislike all gouernment.

My lord, I am most confident they are now in very greate pouerty; the contrey growne weary and suspitious of them for the disposall of their monyes; that there are vndoubtedly seuerall greate factions and divisions amongst them; and nothing but one perticuler that keepes the lincks from breaking quite asunder; and that they can haue but litle expectation of any considerable asistance from abroade, without some greater occasion appeare, and better knowledge had of their pretended inforcement to continue a warre: soe that, my lord, what shew soeuer they make vpon the whole matter, I canot imagine that any of iudgment amongst them can be oposite to a well setled peace, that may be of security to them, vnless it be such whose guilty consciences haue inuited them to prouide for their departure and setlement in some forraine kingdome, when they haue destroyed their owne; and I assure your lordship, it is suspected that some amongst them haue such intentions.

My lord, I presume, vpon very good grounds, I may confidently affirme, that, if it doe agree with his majestie's pleasure and present condition to condiscend to some few perticulers, which I did briefly touch vpon in former discourse, there is no question to be made that the most considerable partes will conforme themselues to their due obedience vnder your lordship's command; and whatsoeuer may be the practices or designes of some few violent and self interested persons, they will be soone beaten downe and vanish to nothing, and your lordship haue the honor of reducing this kingdome by your owne power and interest, and likewise of putting them into a posture of being speedily ready to serue his majestie elswhere, when meanes of transportation shall be prouided. And this, my lord, I speake vpon better and more certaine knowledge then I can now with conueniency express; though, I must confess, it is a greate presumption in me to deliuer my self in this confident kind of languadge to your lordship, whose perticuler interest, besides publicke authority, is farre aboue any thing I can pretend vnto, and by that meanes your knowledge and intelligence more exact; but your lordship may probably guess at the occasion that may inuite many at this time to a greater freedome and confidence in me then they know how to express in their present addresses to your lordship, and the command you have laide vpon me pleades my excuse.

Now, my lord, to come to the other parte, which is, that if his 369 majestie shall not thinke fitt to grant those conditions, and may be perswaded by some that an ordinary proclaimation of pardon will breake the faction and make the conquest easy, I shall, out of my confidence in your lordship, and the cleernes of my conscience and integrity to his majestie's service, freely declare my

sence, that it will certainly make a perfect vnity, and reconsile all differences betweene them, and gaine them that aduantage both at home and abroade, as will continue a lasting trouble, untill all be so destroyed as will make the kingdome vseless, not only to his majestie's present seruice, but to the crowne of England for very many yeares to come.

Mr. Pat. Darcy calling here in his returne from Gallway to Kilkeny, he did ernestly press me to countenance the actions and services of his party against those garrisons of Roscomon, who, both by prinat letters and publicke disobediences, did declare themselues enimyes to his majestie; and that if I would not in person appeare against them, yet that I would permitt some of my followers and adherents to contribute and ioine with them. Vpon this occasion I tould him, that the miscariages of those garrisons in the generall, and their perticuler disrespects to me, had indeed inuited me to consider of some way of complyance with his party for the safty and presaruation of the contrey, so farre as I might iustifie; but that of late, by my owne observation, and the information of others, there did appeare a greate change and alteration in the disposition and cariage of his fellow counsellors at Kilkeny, their former professions and present proceedings seeming to looke seuerall wayes; and that it was observed they did not apply themselues with that dilligence and duty that became them towards your lordship, by whose mediation, and through whose convayance, they were to expect the benifitt of his majestie's grace and fauer; that it was believed, dangerous factions were raised to disturbe the quiet setlement of the kingdome; that consultations had bin held amongst them to discharge my lord of Castlehauen out of all imployment, which increased the suspitione held of them; that they had declared Owen Roe O'Neile to be generall of this prouince of Connaght, which lookt like some ill intended designe, both vpon the publicke and my owne perticuler; that the departure of Mr. Richard Bealing beyond sea, to treate and negotiate in forraine partes, at the very instant of time that they were in expectation of a returne from his majestie, could hardly admitt of any other construction, then some dangerous practice to gaine forces and protection from abroade, to continue their disobedience to his majestie's gouernment; that therfore for my parte, vntill I received good satisfaction in these points, and full asurance that their intentions were answerable to their professions, I would not at all

comply with them in any thing; but rather indeuoire to strengthen and presarue my quarters and adherents against all attempts or practise of theirs, ether by fact or perswasion. To this he replyed, that he did confidently hope no distast had bin giuen to your lordship, but that, if through mistake any such thing happned in the absence of Mr. Bealing and himself, it should soone be rectified; that they neuer gaue incouradgment to any faction, much less to one of such dangerous consequence; and that, if any such did appeare, it should be supprest; their intentions and resolutions being vnalterably faire and cleere towards the aduancement of the king's seruice and presaruation of the kingdome, threatned to be destroyed by the professed enimyes both of king and contrey; that they had no intention to discharge my lord of Castlehauen; but on the contrary, had newly appointed him generall of Munster; that Owen Roe was not declared generall of Connaght, but only to be imployed for an intended expedition against the Roscomon garrisons; and that finding it distastfull to the prouince, they would not make vse of him here at all, though there would be much want of him; that Mr. Bealing's imployment was rather to further, then any way di-370 uert, a safe and honorable peace; and that he hoped the sodaines of his returne would remoue all doubts and ielousies raised by his departure; and this was the substance of what past betweene vs; only by some flashes vpon the bye, I doubt my ould friend is not see right as I could wish him, though indeed I canot positively charge him with any thing more then leuity.

I had much sooner informed your lordship of Mr. Bealing's intended voyage and departure vpon New-Yeare's-day, but that I was tould it was spoken of at Dublin before I had knowledge of his resolution; and some doe beleeue he is gone to Rome, though Mr. Darcy speakes of a speedye returne.

At this instant it comes credibly reported that the commissioners imployed by your lordship were returned to the water side, and some hope that they might be ariued at Dublin; but the making no mention of my lord Taafe and my coussen Barry doth much trouble me, and inuites me to renue my former request to your lordship, that if any difficultyes are like to arise you will be pleased to afford me timely information, that I may prouide for the safty of my famely, who will otherwise be in a very desperat condition.

There now remaines to craue your lordship's pardon for the

lenght and defects of this dispatch; and likewise that it was not sooner dirrected to your lordship, occasioned through my desire of right information, and not any willfull neglect in

Your excellence's most humble and faithfull seruant,

Portumna, the 10th of January, 1644.

CLANRICARDE and St. Albans.

CCCLIV.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.

My Lord,

YOUR dispatch of the 10th of this moneth found mee intangled in the discovery of a treachery, whereby Drogheda, first, and by consequence this place, should have been put into the power of the Scotts, at least into the obedience of the parliament: I cannot assure my selfe that it is fully prevented, though I have in safe hould such as yet appeare the principall conspirators.

The elder lady Moore hath been active in deboisting the officers in intelligence with Monroe, and in preparations for the admittance of a party from him into the towne, by provideing false keys for the portes. My ould frend sir Pat. Wemys, I doubt, will be found faulty; at least as farr as amounts to concealing; which in him, (considering the favours done him by his majestie, and the good offices by mee,) in my iudgement, is lesse pardonable then the contriuance and action of others less obleeged. The discovery was made vnto mee two severall wayes, first from one in the north, and last by one of the confederacy, I meane this new one.

Many difficultyes arise in the mannagement of this matter now it is discovered, which will be best cleered when our commissioners are landed, for whome I have sent captain Bartlett about a weeke since.

They have been at the watters side since about the last of December, as I find by relation of an officer that landed heere the second of this moneth, and by letter from an officer att Beawmoris to George Carr. But from themselves I have not had one sillable since their first landing on the other side.

The officer that arrived heere, sayd, that neither the lord Taafe nor my cousin Barry weare with them, nor did hee that writt make any mention of them; yett it is possible they may be with them by this tyme; for the one officer came away towards Hollyhead, and the other writt by some one that came with him at the instant of their coming to Beawmorris, where missing 371 Barrtlett they rode imediately to Carnarvan.

That which gives mee more cause to believe they may be with them is, that at their goeing to court they parted companyes, ether for the safety or conveniency of their iourney, which may occasion the like separation at their returne: and perhaps the dispatch was of such importance, that they might be sent with a duplicate of it by the west to land at Wexford or Dungarvon.

By this your lordship perceiues how vnable I am to giue you any information in what you desire; though I be exceeding inclineable, and highly obleeged by the freedome and prudence of your lordship's last letter, to giue all possible and cleere intimation in whatsoever may conduce to your satisfaction or safety.

Mr. Darcy's apologie to your lordship's expostulation in some things seemes satisfactory; but will bee much more when it is followed by a suteable reformation and suppression of the too much lycensed inveighers against peace and its well wishers.

The particular wherein I cheefely observe some alteration in their deportment towards mee is this: vpon the first begining of entercourse betwixt the then lords justices and those that call themselves the supreame councell, there came a letter from them directed to the lords justices concluding thus, vizt. Your lordship's loveing frends; which was a subscription soe vnvsuall from any subject in Ireland to the governour, that it gaue at first a very ill impression of them, and much disgust to those best enclined to peace. Of this I tooke occasion to speak with one of them that subscribed it, and soe farr satisfyed him of the vnfittnes of such a subscription, and the ill vse that might be made of it, that it was in the next letter mended thus, vizt. Your lordship's humble servants; and this last was observed in all their adresses ever since, as well to the lords justices as to mee, till that about a moneth agoe they have againe changed it to loveing That this can be an oversight, thorough the absence of their more courtly secretary, is not probable; for their letters come written in the hand of one that hath often writt it otherwayes; nor could such an alteration scape the observation of the subscribers: and if it bee designed and voluntary, I leaue it to your lordship to put it to other things, and make a judgement vppon it.

I am not able to coniecture what a proclamation may doe, till I know what it may conteyne; and that depends vppon the ex-

pected dispatch from his majestie, which I hope may be such as will satisfye the less insolent and the more interested men in the peace of the kingdome, when they shall seriously consider the certaine damage, and the vncertaine event, even of iust and equally powerfull arms; but if they will haue warr, till they may haue such a peace as shall secure all their feares, reall and imaginary, all treaty will be fruitles, and, in my simple iudgement, if there appeare some hazard and inconvenience in a peace, it is not to be layd assyde for warr, the nature whereof is vnalterably casuall and destructive.

Your lordship will be pleased to pardon the staying of your servant, occasioned by the oppression of busines now vppon

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Castle, 16th January, 1644.

ORMONDE.

Mr. Eustace is againe goeing to you with high matters.

CCCLV.—The king to the marquis of Ormond, approving his conduct in the treaty for peace.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and councellour, wee greete you well. Wee havinge taken into serious consideration the account which you have lately given vs, by our trusty and wel-beloved councellours the lord Brabason, sir Henry Tichborne, and sir James Ware, of your proceedings in the late treaty with our Roman catholique subjects of Ireland, in pursuance of the commission graunted vnto you by vs for the treatinge and concludinge of a peace in that our kingedome: wee doe very well approve of your proceedings therein, and particularlye of the answeres given by you vnto the severall particular propositions of our sayd catholique subjects. doe hereby require you to insist upon the sayd answeres, soe farr forth as you shall finde it any wise probable that you can prevaile with our sayd catholique subjects to rest satisfyed with the same, and to settle a peace vpon those just and reasonable conditions. Butt in case you shall perceive it impossible to reduce them to that moderation, but that the warr must breake out againe in that our kingdome, vnlesse they may be further yealded vnto in their demaunds: vpon a most carefull enquirye into and full consideration of the true state of that kingdome, and of the

condition of our protestant subjects there, unanimously represented vnto vs, (as well by the agents employed from them to vs vpon the first overtures of this treatye, as by all those whoe for their knowledge of the state of that kingdome were commaunded to attend vs vpon that occasion,) to bee soe weake and indigent of all thinges necessarve to a warr, as that there was not the least hopes that they could bee able to maynteyne themselves against the power of the Irish, vnlesse supported by such extraordinarye supplyes from hence, as all the world knowes are altogether impossible for vs in our present condition to afford them: wee, findinge that there is noe way to procure the safety and protection of our protestant subjects there, but by the settlement of a peace in that our kingdome; in pious and tender care of their preservation, wee doe thinke our selves bound to remitt much of what, in relation to our dignitye and interest, wee should otherwayes esteeme our selves obleedged to insist vpon; and wee doe therefore hereby authorise and require you to conclude and settle a present peace within that our kingdome, vpon such further degrees of concession to the sayd catholiques demaunds as you shall finde cannot be denyed without relapsinge into a warr: twoe poincts only excepted: the one, the repeale of the penall statutes against recusants, in which wee may not consent to more then is exprest in your answeres to their propositions concerninge religion, either with our owne honour or the safetye of our protestant subjects there, for whose sakes wee are induced to yeald soe farr: the other, the suspention of Poynings act; but as for this latter, if you more free debate there, some such expedient may be found, whereby the dangers which you rightlye foresee by the present suspention of the same may be prevented: wee doe in that case allow and commaund you rather to yeald in that poinct alsoe, then to fall back vnto the extreamitye of a warr, wherein God knowes wee are at this time soe little able to maynteyne and protect our good subjects there. Soe noe way doubtinge of your greatest care and discretion in a businesse soe highlye concerninge the wellfaire of all our dominions, wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Oxford the 22d day of January, 1644.

By his majestie's commaund,

George Digbye.

CCCLVI.—The king to the marquis of Ormond, in sir John Read's 373 behalf.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloued cousin and councellor, wee greete you well. Whereas complainte hath beene made vnto vs by our trusty and wel-beloued seruant sir John Reade, knight, one of the gentlemen of our privie chamber, that notwithstanding he was employed vnto vs with letters from the nobilitie and gentry of the English pale of that our kingdome, and that therevppon hee sent a seruant of his with a letter to sir William Parsons, one of our then lords justices, for a pass to come into this our kingdome; whoe with our other justices and councell returned him answere by letter to repaire to Dublin, that they might conferr with him before his departure, at his comeing to Dublin was committed close prisoner to our castle there, notwithstanding they wrote for him, and that he tolde them hee brought letters to vs; and that hee brought another letter from the lord vicecount Neteruile, to desire a safe-conduct for himselfe and 2 or 3 more to come and see a proclamation of ours, wherof they had a rumor which comanded them to lave downe theire armes, and submitt to our mercy, if true, that they might render theire obedience therevnto; and that soone after he was racked, and afterwards indicted, and after that, though a prisoner, and in that condition sent to London, hee was outtlawed of high-treason, and that, before hee was eyther indicted or out-lawed, his horse and goods were seized vppon, and his children and family thrust out of doores; nor vppon his wife's petition would they give her anie parte of her owne goods, to maintaine herselfe and her small children, though the barons of our exchequer, to whom her petition was referred, did certefie that it did not appeare vnto them what his offence was, nor how or for what cause wee either were or might be entitled to his goods or other estate; which heigh and extreme courses, (if true,) as wee doe vtterly distaste and dislike them, soe wee desire to bee fully enformed of the trueth thereof. Wee doe therefore by these our letters will and require you to direct a comission vnder our great seale there to such comissioners as you shall thinke fitt, to examine such witnesses as shal be produced touching the premisses, and to make enquiry what became of the said letters hee was to bring to vs. and what answere was given to

the lord Neteruile's letter by our justices; and by whose direction or allowance the said sir John Reade was racked, and by whose direction, order, or aduice, hee was indicted, and by whose direction hee was sent prisoner to London, and afterwards outlawed, being knowne to be sent prisoner thither, and to cause a true coppie of the said examination to bee sent to vs with all conuenient speed, that wee may giue such further directions thereuppon, as to honor and justice apperteyneth. Giuen at our courte at Oxford the 22th of January, 1644.

By his majestie's commaund, George Digbye.

CCCLVII.—Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

HIS majestie hath newly received aduertisement from a very good hand in London, that captain Swanley (one well knowne in the Irish seas, especially for his cruelty's the last yeare) hath written to those at Westminster for three or fowre ships only, to 374 assist him, and some small force, saying he is confident therewith to surprise Dublin; for that he hath good intelligence there, and aboue two hundred persons in that citty who will concurre with him in the designe. His majestie therefore commands me with all speede to giue your excellency notice hereof, and requires your vtmost care, as to prevent soe great a mischiefe, soe to cause seuere inquiry and punishment to passe vpon the conspirators. The importance hereof your excellency will sufficiently foresee to deserve all possible precaution, and effectuall provision too that other important places be secured against the like designes. I shall add hereto no more, but the assurance that I am,

My lord, your excellency's most humble servaunt,
Oxon, 26 January,
1644.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCCLVIII.—The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

THIS faire wether being likely to produce an easterly wind, I hope by that time these shall attaine the hapines to kisse your

hands your lordship will have received the long expected returne out of England, and therin some timely remedy for the recovery of this gasping kingdome.

To give your lordship some accompt of this vnlucky province: besides the formerly knowne divisions of a small party for his majestie, consisting, as I conceive, of little more then the castle of Athlon, and my three barronyes, and some few castles of mine vpon the frontiers, the Roundhead garrisons of Roscomon, who are mischiefous to all sides, and the confederate party, that are sufficiently distructive to themselves, by their oppressions vpon the contrey, there are another sorte of people risen into a new rebellion in the countyes of Sligo, Letrim, and Mayo, increased from 100 to 1700, as I am credibly informed, who doe committ greate insolencies, and are likely to grow into a more formidable body, no course being taken to suppress them.

I presume your lordship hath heard of my lord of Mayo his escape from Kilkeny, and ariuall home, and whether he will ioine with these later discontented gentlemen, or sett vp for himself, or make his applications to your lordship, is doubtfully reported; but certaine it is, that he hath vowed neuer to be vnder the obedience of the supreame counsell. Though these perticulers afford apparence of much danger and confusion, yet I doe much more apprehend the mischief that may arise by the swarmes of northren men that wander about the contrey, and the fresh reportes of Owen Roe O'Neile's coming and iurrisdiction in this prouince, notwithstanding the former intelligence I gaue your lordship. And I doubt those promises and faire shewes will likewise faile in other-perticulers; and if all these sortes of people shall be licenced, or at least will take it, to combine and practise what they please, and that wee must sitt still confin'd within the rules of the strict letter of the law, our case and condition must be very ill; but lett your lordship timely give the word, and I am still confident of the truth of my former information and opinion deliuer'd to your lordship.

By this relation your lordship may be inclined to that assertion which declares, that most men haue a more liuely feeling of what concerns or comes nearest to their owne perticuler, then of other affaires of more importance farther of; but though the disorder of these partes haue accidentally gained the priority of the first expressions, yet I asure your lordship I haue with much more disturbance apprehended the consequence of the dangerous

conspiracy you were pleased to imparte vnto me; which I hope is now fully preuented, by the hapy discouery of the principall 375 contriuers and actors of it, if those are to be called soe whom your lordship mention'd to me. And as your lordship hath found the ill vse those people haue made of your fauer and indulgence towards them, soe I presume you will now judge seuerity as necessary to be inflicted upon them, and timely consider of the power and meanes of effecting it; which indeed is the greatest difficulty, as affaires are yet composed. And certainly, my lord, vntill the couenanting Scotts are publickly declared enimyes, and their Roundhead adherents throughly sifted out, those treacherous practises will dayly renue and dangerously increase; but I hope the speedy ariuall of the comissioners will soone inable your lordship, not only to suppress them, but hapily to setle and vnite the other deuided partes of your gouernment; that the distructive titles of confederacy may be likewise disolued, and the well disposed of them incouradged, and made capable of seruing his majestic effectually vnder your lordship's noble and prosperous conduct. In the meane time, I doe hartely wish your lordship had a regiment of the youthes about me here for your present safty, who neuer asociated themselues; a comodity somwhat rare at this time.

My lord, having trauail'd, or rather wandred thus farre by land, I must now begge leave to trade somewhat in maretine affaires.

I send your lordship herewith a letter I received the last night from cap. Brooke, a prisoner at Kilkeny, together with soe much of the busines as is come to my knowledge, humbly leaving his requests to your lordship's consideration.

He apprehending his danger greate, and like to fall sodainly vpon him, though it may well be that he hath offerd some abuse to the subjects of the king of Spaine; yet his and his companions commissions being vnquestionably right, as affaires now stand, I conceiue it might have better become the supreame confederats, according to their professions of duty, to have in the first place reguard to his majestie's service, before the satisfaction due to his allyes; the want of a fleete at sea being the greatest present defect; or else have found out some other expedient then the detention of those shipps soe long. And if there be any difficulty in requiring him and the triall to be brought to Dublin, I humbly propose, whether it may not be convenient for your lordship to

send downe a commission for the full examination of the cause, that vpon a right information, your lordship may iudge whether it be not a greate breach of the cessation, and discruice to his majestie; and I am confident, if Ferns goe away vnsatisfied, he being yet vpon this coast, it will raise a greate noise in England, and a stopping of all traffick from thence hether.

My lord, the liberty and freedome you allow me still increaseth my presumptions, which receiveth farther growth from my ernest desire cleerly to manifest the sincerity of my respects and affection, though accompanied with a discouery of the weaknes of my iudgment, yet designing a double advantage to my self therby, the gaining a right and firme beleefe of the first, and, by instruction, the rectifieng and inabling of the seacond, and both constantly imployed in giuing the best testimony of my being

Your lordship's most humble faithfull seruant,

Portumna, the 29th of January, 1644.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

Mr. Eustace hath bin here since he waited vpon your lordship, and at his departure was not resolued whether his greate affaires would cary him to Athlone, Limricke, Kilkeny, or Corke. He prest earnestly to know what you writt to me of him; wherin your lordship put no small trouble vpon me.

CCCLIX.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard. 376

My Lord,

ALMOST at the very instant I received yours of the 29th of January, I received a letter of the 5th of the same from the lord Brabazon, sir Henery Tichburne, and sir James Ware, giveing mee an accoumpt of their vnfortunate surprisall att sea by a parliament ship on the last of December; and of the resolution of captain Swanley to send them from Milford to London. By some that weare taken with them, I vnderstand they made a shift to fling all their letters and papers into the sea; and this for the present is all the accoumpt I can give your lordship with any certainty of their negotiation and successe, though by very probable circumstances, as well as by letters from the lord Byron and sir John Menes, I finde cause to beleeve they had that with

them, which gaue good assurance on the other side that a peace would follow soone after their arrivall.

Before I received your lordship's, I was advertised of the new commotion in some countyes of Connaght, and of my lord of Mayo's escape; but have not yet heard what course he intends to take. By his correspondents heere, I rather believe hee may enterleague (my lord Inchiquin's phrase for covenanting) with the Roundhead garisons then make any application hether. those loose northerne men, your lordship has reason to be apprehensiue; but very little to beleeve in such as want either truth or constancy; for from one of these it must proceed, that, contrary to what your lordship last writt and weare promised, Owin O'Neile is appointed to comand that province, to whose person I have noe exception, and believe much in his partes. There is now a faire opertunity offered, not only to rid the country of soe ynprofitable members as those loose men are, but to dispose of them where they may be of singuler vse to his majestie, and of great advantage to this kingdome; and that is, by putting them vnder comand, and sending them into Scottland to assist his majestie's party there, who, vnder the marquis of Mountrosse, and with the help of those sent sence the last summer, haue been very prosperous; and now call to his majestie for help against the preparations that are makeing against them. this I am directed to invite and incite the confederates, in case the peace be not see concluded as that by his majestie's authority I may doe it seasonably; that is, before the parliament ships be sent abroad on purpose to prevent it, as certainely they will bee with the first of the spring.

There are many reasons, all tending to their owne safety and advantage, that might and shall be aleaged to induce them to a complyance with his majestie in this; wherein I shall desire your lordship's assistance and concurrence with mee, by perswading such of their councell as you have power with, to befreind and further the designe.

Your lordship hath a noble sence of the desperate condition your servant is in by the late detected conspiracy; and at once you hitt vppon the right remedy, and the difficulty that attends it; which is much increased by the sad accident befallen those gentlemen now prisoners. I should with thankfullnes lay hould of that your lordshipp touches at for my security, if I knew how

to provide for their subsistence; however, I must not be wanting in my acknowledgements to your lordship's affection and foresight.

I have written to Kilkeny about captain Brookes, and doe hope they conceive his majestie more worthy their satisfying, then their Spanish agent, who, for ought I can heare, vnder the title of agency negotiats his owne and other merchaunts affaires

My lord, captain Swanley hopeing to convert mee, hath sent 377 mee divers coppys of letters directed from one Hartigan a Jesuite to the confederate councell, by whom it should seeme hee is imployed. By some of the coppys, (if they be true coppys, as the vanity of the stile, and the contexture of the business makes mee believe they are,) your lordship will find I have the honour to wait vppon you in the reverend esteeme of that father. Some part of his dispatch may be worth your observation, and the most of it may provoke your mirth. And now that it seemes hee is weary of his imployment, Mr. Eustace may bee preferred to succeed him, your lordship may please to keep them to your selfe.

I am with the next wind sending a dispatch to court by an express, to lett them know our misfortune in the miscaryage of those gentlemen, and that I am still in the darke as to the maine busines; with the preparation of which dispatch I am soe pusled, that I must ask your pardon for this vnhansome letter, remaining

Your lordship's most faithfull and humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 3 Feb. 1644.

Ormonde.

CCCLX.—The marquis of Ormond to the king.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

HAUEING but lately received your comands by coll. Stewart, I can yet give your majestie noe other accoumpt of them, then that they shall not long rest with mee, and that within a short time (if my adresses have a cleere passage) your majestie shall bee humbly and plainly informed what to rely on in that businesse.

I have besought the lord Digbye humbly to mooue your majestie in behalfe of those your servants that in their passag hether were taken at sea. The most probable way I could theenke of for their freedome I was bold in my dispatch to him to offer to

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

your majestie's consideration, with some other things conduceing to your service, according to the duty of

Your

[Feb. 4, 1644.]

CCCLXI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My LORD,

THOUGH I believe the takeing of the lord Brabazon, sir Henery Tichburne, and sir James Ware at sea, and their being caryed to London, be already come to your knowledge; and that his majestie's comands, which they weare to bring, are renued, and vppon the way hether; yett I haue sent this bearer, Francis Peisley, expressly with this dispatch, to acquaint your lordship with some things that I humbly conceiue fitt to be offered to his majestie's consideration vppon this occasion.

And first, I aske leave most humbly to beseech his majestie to be pleased to think of the most probable way for their speedy enlargement, which will not more content them then it will encourage others, and every way advantage his service heere, which in the meane tyme will something suffer for want of them. I confess I know not well what to propose towards their delivery, nor indeed why they should be deteyned prisoners, their negotiation haueing had noe relation to the differences in England. Sure I am, the three remaining members of this councell, that weare in restraint, and are now at liberty vppon bonds by his majestie's comand, may with more reason be againe imprisoned, if his majestie shall please soe to haue it; and I dare confidently affirme, the exchange for them will be as redyly taken at Lon- 378 don as that of sir John Temple for justice Mallett; if these men's haueing estates within our quarters, (which sir John Temple wants,) and their aime at doeing more mischeefe in them, make not the difference.

I vnderstand, by my lord Byron, the howses att Westminster haue made an ordinance, that noe officer that hath served his majestie heere shall be capable of exchange or ransome. I supose they intend such as are taken beareing arms for his majestie in England, and that the lord Brabazon and sir Henery Tichburne are not comprehended; yett, if it might stand with his majestie's pleasure and affaires on that side, I should humbly offer, whether it weare not fitt to stay all exchanges till that

order be revoked; if the number and quallitye of prisoners be neare equall, I am sure such a course is.

In the next place I humbly propose, that to the end his majestic may be sure of a ruleing number in this councell, which, as the case stands, I cannot say hee now is, hee would be pleased, besides coll. Chichester, to comand by letter that the lord bishop of Cloyne and sir Robert Forth should be of his councell: they are the fittest, indeed the only men heere that I can name.

Your lordship's of the 4th of January I received by collonel Stewartt, with one of the same date from his majestie. Imediately I bethought my selfe of the likelyest way to effect what I am comanded; but can yett only assure your lordship of my vttermost endeavour, the successe depending vppon the wills of such as doe not alwaies guide themselves by the rules of duty to his majestie, or of prudence in their affaires: in a few dayes I shall be able to say more of this busines.

In a dispatch from mee and the councell, your lordship will haue a relation of a treason happly discovered, and, I trust, fully prevented. I have long feared our wants, iovned to the generall aversion the English heere have to a peace with the Irish, and the large promises that are made from London, would at length produce some such designe; which being now brought to light, and the principall conspirators, for ought year appearing, found out, it is made some question how wee shall proceed with them: the number of the ill affected, the distance wee are yett at with the Irish, and the weakenes and wants of such as stand right being considered. But for my part, I conceive it better to try once what the punishment of the most guilty will worke, though there be hazard in the experiment, then, by passing the matter gently over, to encourage others, and lay his majestie's remaining interest and party open to continuall contriuances of this kinde. In this, as in all other things, I expected to be fully guided by the returne of those persons now prisoners; however, I shall follow the best advice his majestie's most faithfull servants and my owne weake judgement shall lead mee to, in case it prove necessary to doe something before I can receive his majestie's pleasure. I shall be seech your lordshipp, when you finde sir Patrick Wemys among the delinquents, to call to mind hee is not the first trust-breaker, nor I the only man soe deceived since theise tymes of triall. I shall not extenuate his fault to

excuse my folly, in saying hee yeat only appears a concealer; for that in him I take to be worse then the plotting was in another. I leave him to his majestie's iudgement, whoes pardon I most humbly begg, if my mistake hath been any part of the cause that his majestie hath misplaced his trust and bounty.

The coppy of a letter from the lord Brabazon and his fellow prisoners, and of another from one Swanley, both sent heerewith, will shew your lordship how I came by these severall copys of letters sayd to bee directed from a Jesuitt in Fraunce to those called the confederate councell att Kilkeny; from whome, it should seeme, he is imployed. What vse will be made of them att London, or whether they bee worth the sending to Oxford, I know not; yet I venture to fill vpp a box with them rather then your lordship should want the diuersion of that father's stile, if his they bee.

By collonel Francis Trafford I am tould, that in North Wales 379 they are in a dangerous security; little doubting, at least not providing to resist a threatned invasion. I hould it my duty in ralation to the safety of this place, and for the continuance of some possible way of receiuing his majestie's comands, to moove him that some order be taken to man and fortific at least the harbours in those parts.

I had almost forgot to tell your lordship, that in case the Irish shall bee willing to send succours into Scotland, I foresee that shipps may be a real want; and if vnwilling, doubtles it will be a pretended difficulty. Therefore, if it be possible to procure some frigats from Dunkerk in tyme, it will much facilitat that designe, if it goe on; and if not, they will be of great vse heere, where there are convenient harbours from whence they may anoy the rebells of Scotland, hinder the releeveing of their army here, and secure inteligence, or what elss can be expected hence In short, without shipps I know not how that which is left of this kingdome to his majestic can bee preserved, much less [be] of any vse to him: nor is it possible here to provide any thing towards the defraying of the charge of them, as the case stands.

My lord, I supose there is noe danger that our condition heere can be thought there any thing bettered since my last dispatch; therefore I forbeare the wonted conclusions of my letters, and shall end this with a hearty wish for the full acomplishment of your health; wherein, though all honest men be concearned, yet giue mee leaue particulerly to interest my selfe,
Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dublin-Castle, the 4th of February, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCLXII.—Lord Muskery to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCYE;

I HAUE receased your letter of the 25th of the last, wherein you are pleased to commaund me to deliuer my knowledge in a report given out by one major Muschampe, wherein your excellencye, as you are pleased to take notice, find your selfe highly concerned.

My lord, before I shall proceed to deliuer my knowledge of that busynes, in the first place I shall craue your excellencye's pardon, if, for compassing my own ends, it shall appeare that I haue made vse of your excellencye's name without warrant, through which there may arise any blame or blemish to your lordship. This being granted me, all that I can remember is as followeth:

It is very true, (my lord,) Muschamp employed one of his friends vnto me, signifyeing his dislike of my lord of Inchequyne, whom he found to be entirelye in his actions and resolutions for the parlyament; and therefore thought fitt to seeke my aduise to put him in a present way, whereby he may secure the fort for his majestie's service. Truely, my lord, I was loath to loose such an opportunity to doe my countrye seruice, and immediatly returned him an answer to meet me the next day after at a castle of mine called Blarnye; which he performed that day or the next day after, (as neare as I can remember,) and vpon our meeting, he being sworne to secreeye in all thinges, I moued vnto him concerning the fort; to which he seemed to encline, makeing great expressions and feruencye in all respects to preserue his loyaltye, and to obserue (vpon the least intimation or notice) any comaunds that should come vnto him from your excelleneye. Then vpon further discourse he fell to wish I had the fort in my possession, so he were sure that the partye whereof I was and me selfe were for the king; to which I answered, that by the good countenance and vsage the rest of the commissioners and me selfe had in England, and our comeing without

rubbe or interruption from thence, might in some sort assure 380 him thereof; which proueing not altogether satisfactory vnto him, he replyed, that if he had seene any directions from your excellencye for him to dispose of the place, he would obey it to the losse of his life, and deliuer it, either vnto me or any body else your lordship would apoint; which I apprehended a busynes much conducing to his majestie's seruice, and the preservation of this prouince against the rebells in England, into whose hands I was assured the same should be put as now it is; and presumeing that it would not have been prejudiciall to his majestie or your lordship for me to vse any slight or meanes to get it out of their hands, I presumed to frame a warrant in your lordship's name, authorizeing him to surrender me that hould to his majestie's vse, and that your lordship had receaued sufficient assurance from me to redeliuer it vpon demaund, which I read vnto him. He would have it into his own hands (as he alleadged) for his justification; but I insisted that I would not part with the instrument vntill the worke were accomplished according [to] the directions, wherevoon he tooke time to prepare and consider of the busines, for two dayes as neare as I can remember, and then he was to send his further resolution vnto me, or to apoint another meeting: and since I have not heard any thing from him; but, within six dayes after, I could heare that he discouered all vnto my lord of Inchequene and some others at a councell of warre. My lord, he thought to eatch me, and I was hopefull to catch him; and if in the progresse or carriage of the matter I haue said or don any thing that gives your lordship cause of offence, I craue your forgiuenes and pardon. Your lordship may be the more indulgent vnto me in this particular, for that vpon my saluation I had a full resolution (if I had compassed the place vpon those termes) to preserve all the English without any preiudice, either in their liues, religion, or goods, and to surrender it vnto your lordship, or such as you would apoint, whensoeuer your lordship would call for it.

My lord, this is the truth of what past betwixt Muschampe and me in that busynes. I have no more to adde vnto it, but that I desire, if in this I have forfeited any thing of your lord-ship's good opinion, I may be restored, and accompted by your excellencye

Your most humble seruant,

Clonmell, the second of Febr. 1644.

Muskerye.

CCCLXIII.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Montrose.

MY MOST HONORED LORD,

NOE comands from his majestic could more fully meete with my owne inclinations, then those I lately had the honour to receive by collonell Stewart to serve your lordship in those noble vndertakeings, wherein, with soe much honour to your selfe and admiration to all the world, God hath prospered you.

This bearer, captaine Mc Donnell, being left heere by the lord of Antrim, I have made choyse of him to convay to your lordship full assurance, that noe tyme shall be lost or paines spared to procure and send your lordship from hence armed men and amunition, if a peace shall be concluded with the Irish; whereof there is great probability I shall then, by his majestie's power and authority, be able, I trust, to answear his comands and your lordship's expectation; and least the concluding of a peace might take vpp more tyme then can consist with your lordship's condition to want succours, I am already something advaunced in a treaty with those that governe the Irish affaires for their assistance to send you imediate supplyes, and I am in good hope to prevaile with them. In the meane tyme, by this bearer I 381 humbly desire, with all possible speed, to be informed by your lordship what it is you most stand in need of, and where a supply of that may most conveniently and safely be landed; that if there should bee any delay in sending you compleat supplyes, (as I hope there will not,) I may send your lordship what I am able, in what may be of present vse to you. I alredy foresee the greatest difficulty may be shipping, for transportation of men, which yet I hope to procure; but if your lordship could send vessells, either of burden or force, to Carlingford, (where I will imediately build a fort to secure the harbour,) it would much facillitate the worke.

I am comanded by his majestie, as necessary for the furtherance of his service, to hould frequent and strict correspondence with your lordship; which on my part I shall endeavour with much ambition: and that this may be the more secure, I humbly desire to receive from you a cypher proper for the busines, which, being a stranger to that kingdom, I am not able to frame. I remaine

Your lordship's most faithfull and most humble servant,

Dub. Castle, 10 February, 164\frac{4}{5}.

ORMONDE.

rubbe or interruption from thence, might in some sort assure 380 him thereof; which proueing not altogether satisfactory vnto him, he replyed, that if he had seene any directions from your excellencye for him to dispose of the place, he would obey it to the losse of his life, and deliuer it, either vnto me or any body else your lordship would apoint; which I apprehended a busynes much conducing to his majestie's seruice, and the preservation of this prouince against the rebells in England, into whose hands I was assured the same should be put as now it is; and presumeing that it would not have been prejudiciall to his majestie or your lordship for me to vse any slight or meanes to get it out of their hands, I presumed to frame a warrant in your lordship's name, authorizeing him to surrender me that hould to his majestie's vse, and that your lordship had receaued sufficient assurance from me to redeliuer it vpon demaund, which I read vnto him. He would have it into his own hands (as he alleadged) for his justification; but I insisted that I would not part with the instrument vntill the worke were accomplished according [to] the directions, wherevoon he tooke time to prepare and consider of the busines, for two dayes as neare as I can remember, and then he was to send his further resolution vnto me, or to apoint another meeting: and since I have not heard any thing from him; but, within six dayes after, I could heare that he discouered all vnto my lord of Inchequyne and some others at a councell of warre. My lord, he thought to catch me, and I was hopefull to catch him; and if in the progresse or carriage of the matter I haue said or don any thing that gives your lordship cause of offence, I craue your forgiuenes and pardon. Your lordship may be the more indulgent vnto me in this particular, for that vpon my saluation I had a full resolution (if I had compassed the place vpon those termes) to preserve all the English without any preiudice, either in their liues, religion, or goods, and to surrender it vnto your lordship, or such as you would apoint, whensoeuer your lordship would call for it.

My lord, this is the truth of what past betwixt Muschampe and me in that busynes. I have no more to adde vnto it, but that I desire, if in this I have forfeited any thing of your lord-ship's good opinion, I may be restored, and accompted by your excellence

Your most humble seruant,

Clonmell, the second of Febr. 1644.

Muskerye.

CCCLXIII.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Montrose.

MY MOST HONORED LORD,

NOE comands from his majestic could more fully meete with my owne inclinations, then those I lately had the honour to receive by collonell Stewart to serve your lordship in those noble vndertakeings, wherein, with soe much honour to your selfe and admiration to all the world, God hath prospered you.

This bearer, captaine Mc Donnell, being left heere by the lord of Antrim, I have made choyse of him to convay to your lordship full assurance, that noe tyme shall be lost or paines spared to procure and send your lordship from hence armed men and amunition, if a peace shall be concluded with the Irish; whereof there is great probability I shall then, by his majestie's power and authority, be able, I trust, to answear his comands and your lordship's expectation; and least the concluding of a peace might take vpp more tyme then can consist with your lordship's condition to want succours, I am already something advaunced in a treaty with those that governe the Irish affaires for their assistance to send you imediate supplyes, and I am in good hope to prevaile with them. In the meane tyme, by this bearer I 381 humbly desire, with all possible speed, to be informed by your lordship what it is you most stand in need of, and where a supply of that may most conveniently and safely be landed; that if there should bee any delay in sending you compleat supplyes, (as I hope there will not,) I may send your lordship what I am able, in what may be of present vse to you. I alredy foresee the greatest difficulty may be shipping, for transportation of men, which yet I hope to procure; but if your lordship could send vessells, either of burden or force, to Carlingford, (where I will imediately build a fort to secure the harbour,) it would much facillitate the worke.

I am comanded by his majestie, as necessary for the furtherance of his service, to hould frequent and strict correspondence with your lordship; which on my part I shall endeavour with much ambition: and that this may be the more secure, I humbly desire to receive from you a cypher proper for the busines, which, being a stranger to that kingdom, I am not able to frame. I remaine

Your lordship's most faithfull and most humble servant,

Dub. Castle, 10 February, 164%.

ORMONDE.

from all ther snares. I am confident ther are many layed for you. What the fruit wil be of what Jack Barry brought to you iss much longed for here; for my part [I] feare 'twill not answer the expectatione, and that I have freely tould the king; butt ass yett I have noe creaditt.

The takeinge of Waymouth had much advantaged our condition, iff the newes, the day of the revoult of the toune of Shrowsbury had not alayed our hopes; that, I must confess, iss a Rowland for our Oliver.

My lord, bee prepared with cheerfullnes for a recommendatione that will bee sent you, both from the king and the queene, off a persone thatt both of them resolue to setle ther, in that conditione which they have designed for him. The man iss sir William Killegrew, and the place the master of the wards. This comfort I can give you, that you will bee satisfyed very well with the man within a litle [time,] for hee is a man off singular honesty and of very good parts; and this advantage you will have from itt, that you will not be pressed vppon concerning the vice-treasurer's place. I beeleeue you will be the less vnsatisfyed with this resolutione, because I heard your excellence wysh that the king would send thether some able, honest men, to take a part off that burthen you beare, and to bee a wittnes off your actiones. Iff I am not deceaued, you will find this gentleman such a one ass you desire.

Here wee have great newes out of Scotland off the success off Muntroes to a miracle; butt you know better ther the truith: 383 butt that hope iss remote, grant itt true. Myne iss onely that the hard vsage off the lords att London will certainly drive them to doe something for ther one defence; ealse the same ruine iss threatened to them ass vss. Iff this does not, good night. The loss off Shrowsbury have soe distemperd mee, that I can tell you noe more now, then that, come off mee what God will, I am resolved to live and dye

Your excellence's most faithfull seruant,

Oxford, 22 of February, 1644.

DANIEL O'NEILE.

CCCLXVI.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord.

I have received yours of the 4th of February, concerning the two cheefe poincts, of which your excellence will receive an an-

swer from the kinge himselfe; vnto which I shall onlye adde, that I shall make it my care to sollicite the exchange of those persons, whose assistance, you say, is soe needfull to you there, and the course advised by you of a stopp in all exchanges is all-ready declared. In the meane time, to suply the want of more to be relyed vpon at the board, I send your excellence the warrants for swearinge those two councellours whome you were pleased to recommende.

The admirable successes of my lord of Montrose in Scottland will, I hope, facilitate your obtaining from the Irish the aydes desired, and enable him to support the warr there, till they may bee afforded them.

As for shiping, all is done that wee can thinke of toward the prouideing them: and I make noe doubt, but, before the beginninge of Aprill, his majestie will have assembled at a generall rendevous at Falmouth a considerable fleet, to bee applyed to the transportation out of Ireland, or to any other service of that nature. But it is hoped that meanes may bee found before that, by the Irish, of sending ouer some suplys to Montrosse, of amunition at least, if not of men.

I thanke your excellence for your advertisements and advises concerninge the securinge of the maritime parts of Wales, in which all possible care is now taken: but wee daylye expect a greate crisis neare those countryes betweene prince Maurice, with an armye of 6000 horse and foote, and all the rebells collected forces of those parts; which, when wee last heard from them, were within halfe a daye's march of one another: and I believe this bearer will, as hee passes, receive the newes of the successe to carry over to you sooner then wee can have it heere.

His majeetie's forces have of late beene blest with extraordinarye successe in severall parts, principallye in the takinge of Weymouth, a port of high consequence in relation to all foraigne helpes, of which wee haue great assureances: but not at all in the way that Mr. Hartigan is soe wise in; of whoes leters I shall need say noe more then of a madman's, whose calumnyes cannot wound; else trulye his presumptiouse lyes concerning the queene, in relation to Ormonde and lord Jermin, I confesse, would anger mee; for on my soule noe man livinge is more cleare and vnblemisht in the queene's fauour then Ormonde; and this you may relye on, if I have truth, or am your servaunt.

Our treatye of peace at Vxbridge is this day ended, though the continuation of it hath beene most earnestlye sollicited on his majestie's part, and all thinges offered to purchase peace that can possiblye consist with the very beinge, either of the church or monarchye, as your excellence will perceive by the papers themselves that have past, which I shall send you (for sooner I cannot) by the next expresse, which shall bee dispatched vnto you within very few dayes, with such directions concerning 384 the peace of Ireland, as vpon occasion of this breach, his majestie [sic] will be fit to bee added into the former sent by the councellours, which were taken and since renued both by Jack Barrye and sir Timothye Fetherston.

The Scottish commissioners, havinge gained a tirany over the English, have beene the onlye hinderers of peace, and most fierce in the poinct of Ireland, as they have reason; for in this treatye a cleare discoverye is made that Ireland is wholye given to them by the close committee of state: but his majestie's commissioners, as you will finde, have carryed themselves in that argument with much constancye and dexteritye. I shall adde noe more at present, but in his majestie's name to coniure your excellence, that, though the Irish should not submit vpon those further concessions which you have power to make vnto them, doe by all artes possible prevent a breach, tell you can informe the king punctually what will content them, and receive the king's pleasure therein. I will conclude with that which I am confident will be wellcome to you, that it hath pleased God to restore to perfect health,

My lord, your excellence's most faithfull and most affectionate humble servaunt,

Oxford, Febr. 23, 1644.

GEORGE DIGBY.

CCCLXVII.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.

My Lord,

MY cousin Barry hath been at Beawmaris about 3 weekes; in which tyme he might severall tymes safely haue come over; but having stayed soe long, I sent to him yesterday by a fisher-boate not to stirr till Bartlett come to him; which, if wind serve, will be by the end of this week. I have had severall letters from him since his coming to the water's side; but noe word,

whereon I can ground a judgement of what hee brings, more then that he sayes he hath all that those that we are taken should have brought, with some suplement. Of his majestie's condition in England, or of the treaty for peace now on foot there, he makes noe mention: from other hands, diversly affected, there are many severall reports of both; but soe vncertaine, that they are not worth the collecting, or your lordship's trouble.

To morrow it will be a fortnight since I sent a servant of my owne express to court; I hope he will be returned tyme inough to come over with Jack Barry, and that by him wee shall have something whereon to make a probable conjecture at the event of the treaty in England; which may perhaps have had so great an influence vppon this heere, that the leter by my servant may be the more positive direction.

I find the confederates slow and scrupelous in their answeares to my proposition for the ayd of his majestie's party in Scottland; insoemuch that I believe they will either doe nothing in it, or bee soe long about it, that it will be ineffectuall. And soe farr they are from assisting mee with meanes to support the king's affaires heere, or my selfe in the management of them, that they refuse mee lycense by mortgage of my estate (all in their quarters) to doe it; but I hope, e're it be long, the world will alter; for with mee it cannot be worse. I could wish, if it might bee without too much trouble to your lordship, that you weare heere against (or presently after) my cousin Barry is arrived, that by your advice and furtherance some resolution for the king's service and the good of this kingdome might be taken by

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 24° Febr. 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCLXVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to Mr. Humphrey

Galbraithe.

38

SIR,

YOUR letter of the 29th of January hath been coming to mee till this day: which I tell you, least that not knowing the interuption it hath mett with, you might iudge mee not soe thankfull vnto you for your important and prudent advertisements, as in truth I am, and shall be found to be, whenever it comes in my way to make it apeare to you.

By other letters from those partes I am confirmed that your observations are well grounded, and that your stay there, though it may have bin troublesome to your selfe, was of good advantage to the king's service, in the reduction of those seduced people some degree towards their wonted temper and dutifull regard to lawfull authority.

I am prepareing answeares to those letters and overtures, which are yet something generall, for matter of vndertakeing from thence, and expectation from hence; perhaps one returne more will make vs vnderstand one another better. In the meane tyme, I conceiue both the wayes touched on by you may bee well and necessarily taken to make advantage, both to the king and themselves, of the begining of alteration you find in the humor of the people.

The letters I shall redyly prepare, and furnish with as winning matter as truth will dictate to mee; for further, noe respect can draw any thing willingly from mee: but being a stranger in those partes, I know not what instruments to make choise of, or to whome with most probability of success to direct my letters. Of this, and of the aptest alurements to draw them to the king's service and their owne good, I shall desire to bee informed by you, with what speed you may; and lett your letters be directed to my selfe, and conveyed to mee by maior Gore, who may from Drogheda send a messenger of his owne with them. By this meanes your correspondence with mee shall be sure to doe you noe hurt, and I shall willingly take the paines to read and answeare your dispatches my selfe: for I am heere to noe other end, then to serve my master and country; to which your letters, I am confident, will tend.

I believe, since you writt your letter, you have heard of a plott that was heere discovered, sett on foot by malitious, and to have been acted by misled people; as in charity I am apt to believe.

By letters from thence, I find it is misvnderstood and beleeved, that all the Scotts serveing heere weare in it, or soe farr mistrusted as that they weare vnder a great cloud of suspition. You have learned how difficult it is to stop the mouthes of common people, for whose discourses, in these licentious tymes, it

weare hard iustice to make those that should governe them answear. Allowing this, I confidently affirme to you, that though some Scotts, and of those such as had least reason, have been to farr guilty; yett the nation hath lost noe iot of esteeme or trust in the more considerate sort by it; and it will be found, that noe rigor beyond necessity, in order to our preservation, hath bin or will be vsed. This, because you are in a place where you may heere much of this busines, I held needfull to lett you know vppon this occasion; and soe giveing you thankes for your intelligence, and desireing the frequency of it, I rest

Your very faithfull frend,

Dub. Castle, 25 Feb. 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCLXIX.—The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond. 386
My Lord,

I GIUE your lordship most humble thanks for your letter of the 24th this day received; without which I had bin ledd into a wrong beleefe that my coussen Barry was returned backe to Oxford, related to me by other letters from Dublin. And in obedience to your lordship's commands, though, I feare, a very vseless person, I shall vpon the observance of the first faire wind imediatly begin my iorny from hence; and if that should be delayed, if my attendance sooner be requisit, and may conduce to your lordship's service, vpon the returne of this bearer, I will at an hower's warning be ready to waite vpon you.

I have vsed all possible dilligence within my power to further and expedite the designe for Scotland; and I can yet give your lordship no better accompt of it, then by a letter from Mr. Pat. Darcy, thus expressing himselfe:

"The counsell will now vpon a second letter give the lord lieutenant their finall answere concerning the busines of Scotland, and had they Carlingford in their possession, (which for ought I vnderstand the lord lieutenant will not bee soone in a condition to presarue,) the king's seruice both in Vlster and Scotland had bin therby much advanced by our party."

He writes with much confidence, that the forte of Duncanon will be speedily gained; and that, or somthing else, hath eleuated his spiritts vnto very lofty straines.

There is a cessation of arms for eight dayes in the county of

Mayo, and it is beleeued that his lordship, who beares that title, is once more vpon his humble submission to the supreamacyes; and the contrey in the meane time very sufficiently destroyed by the disorder of the forces of both sides.

I presume your lordship hath heard of Mr. Bealing's ariuall at Paris, and departure from thence towards Rome, (as I was informed,) ypon the 22th of the last month; and so much of his imployment as is come to my knowledge, with some apparence of truth and pretended secrecy, is, that being esteemed both an accute and active courtier and statesman, he is sent to discover more cleerly the intention and mistery of the large promises and complements procured for them by the industrie of their former agents; and, if possible, to conuert those formalityes to a substantiall setled revenue for a lasting mantainance of their cause. And according to the ebbs and flowes he incounters with, their resolutions here towards peace or warre are to rise and fall; and that vntill his returne, or full intelligence from him, protraction of time is the cheife parte they are to act; but when affaires on your lordship's side shall be ready prepared to hasten a conclusion, I hope such delayes will not be admitted.

An honest able man of Gallway (of late a greate rarity in that towne) writes, that two greate shipps of the king of France is come into that porte, loaden with armour and amunition, and some greate quantity of plate for the supreame councell from the state of France; which he doubts is no signe of peace; that they give out the shipping are to cary souldiers, which, he sayes, is but a coulor, and feares wee shall have vnfortunat dayes of it, and no hopes of peace.

Somwhat to confirme that opinion, I have lately seene letters from fiery spirrits of this nation abroade, dirrected to privat persons here, labouring that an auertion to peace might be generally infused, with greate promises, by them called asurances, of plentifull supplyes, and a large relation of a rich Italian prelate, stiled bishop of Fearmo, ready to come over to spend his revenue in this holy warre. But these relations hath wrought nothing vpon some to whom they were dirrected; who are rather confirm'd in a contrary beleefe, knowing the vncertainty of 387 those storyes, and asured that all is grounded vpon the misinformation of the state of affaires here, and that the ariuall of any such persons would but disgrace the cause and contrey, when they should find all things soe contrary to their expectation.

And I am still hopefull that the well affected will be the more powerfull and numerous party, though men's inclinations are soe vnsetled and ticklish in this age, that it is hard to depend with much confidence vpon the resolutions of any.

The intercepted copyes your lordship was pleased to intrust me with doth very rightly confirme the former character giuen me of that buisy agent's disposition: and I doe find that vpon knowledge of some former letters of his to the same effect, some sharpe reprehentions were dirrected to him about Christmas last from others of his owne vocation, who doe earnestly labour to withdraw him from that imployment; and my apprehentions vpon some pasages of his intelligence I shall resarue, vntill I haue the hapines to waite vpon you.

My lord Taaffe not being with my coussen Barry, nor at all mentioned by your lordship, makes me fearfull that he might come to some mischance in England, or hath given your lordship occasion of distast, which I should accompt equall to any other disaster. Some relate that he hath taken imployment and command vpon him there, which doth as much disturbe my present thoughts, as being doubtfull that he is not satisfied with that which your lordship hath not bin yet informed of; but then I conceive him to noble to forsake his friends ingaged here, and not to beare his parte of the burthen with them. The world being soe full of icalousies and feares, I hope your lordship will the more easily pardon these vnsetled imaginations of

Your lordship's most faithfull humble seruant,

Portumna, the 27th of Feb. 1644.

CLANRICARDE and St. ALBANS.

Sir Roger Shaghnussy hath againe vinfortunatly lost his castle of Timoleag, being surprised by the garrison of Bandonbridge; which doth much trouble me, both for his perticuler, and the ill vse that, I doubt, will be made of that strong place.

CCCLXX.—The king to the marquis of Ormand.

ORMOND.

THE imposibilitie of preserveing my protestant subjects in Ireland by continuation of the warr haueing moved me to give you those powers and directions which I have formerly done for the concluding of a peace there, and the same growing dayly

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

much more euident, that alone [is] reason enough for me to enlardge your powers, and make my commaunds in point more positiue. But besides these considerations, it being now manyfest that the English rebells haue, as farr as in them lyes, given the commaunde of Ireland to the Scotts; that their aime is at a totall subuersion of religion and regall power; and that nothing lesse will content them, or purchase peace heere; I thinke my selfe bound in conscience not to lett slipp the meanes of settleing that kingdome, if it may be lawfully, vnder my obedience, nor loose that assistance which I may hope from my Irish subjects, for such scruples, as in lesse pressing condition might reasonably be stucke at by me for their satisfaction: I doe therefore commaunde you to conclude a peace with the Irish, whateuer it cost; soe that my protestant subjects there may be secure, and my regall authority preserved. But for all this, you are to make me the best bargaine you cann, and not to discouer your enlargement of power till you needes must. And though I leave the manageing of this greate and necessary woorke entirely to you, yett I cannot but tell you, that if the suspention of Poining's act 388 for such bills as shal be agreed vppon betweene you there, and present takeing of the penall lawes against papistes by a lawe will doe it, I shall not thinke it a hard bargaine; soe that freely and vigorously they engadge themselves in my assistance against my rebells of England and Scotland, for which noe conditions can be two hard, not being against conscience or honnour.

27th Febr. 1644.

CCCLXXI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

THE inclosed coppy of a letter from one in the north will acquaint your lordship with the present inclinations of most of the antient inhabitants of Vlster; whereof I shall endeavour to make the best vse I may, though the knowen necessity wee are in, and by consequence our inability to releeve or protect them, will be a maine hindrance to what (if wee weare in better condition) might be done for his majestie's great advantage, vppon this and some other overtures of the like kinde that are made vnto mee.

I am tould that sir Robertt Meredith is to bee released, as sir

John Temple was, for some one in hould at London; but haueing noe relation to this kingdome: if any such direction come from his majestie, I shall make some stay of performing it, presumeing that it was obteyned before the takeing of the lord Brabazon and those that went with him, of whome sir Henery Tichbourne and sir James Ware had noe other busines then his majestie's; which they vndertooke cheerefully, though with much hazard and little expectation of particuler advantage to themselves. And therefore I believe his majestie will thinke fitt that what prisoners are heere should vppon noe other tearmes then the release of those gentlemen be sett at liberty.

Duncanon fort continues strightly beseeged by the Irish, and is in some danger to be taken; those within haueing caryed themselves very meanly. I rest

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast, 27m° Feb. 1644.

Ormonde.

CCCLXXII.—Sir Robert King to the marguis of Ormond.

Most honourable and my verry good Lord;

I DID presume to trouble your lordship with a letter bearing date the 8th of the last monthe, as also with such newes as was here sturring about the end of the same. I sent thos letters by long sea, and for as much as they may ether be long in going, or miscarry by that way, I now take the bouldnesse to write againe the substance of them. I therin tould your lordship that I held my self bound in duty, for the many fauours I have receaved from you, though with hazard of your sensure for such hardinesse, humbly to give your lordship a caueat of what I foresaw in all liklihood would ruine you and yours, if you fell into it; and I apprehended the danger the more, because I thought your lordship at this distance in their distracted tymes, and hearing but one side, might be the easilier mislead. The euill I feared was this, that your lordship, not rightly vnderstanding the state of things here, might by misinformation be induced to ioyne with the rebels and papists against the British protestants. Truly, my lord, my humble opinion is, that such a coorse would absolutly vndoe you, and the contrary coorse, I am sure, vnder God, is the only visible meanes to preserue you; and if your lordship thinke it woorth the looking into, to see whether I have grounds 389 for what I say, I shall thinke a journey thither verry well bestowed, to give your lordship further satisfaction in it.

I send your lordship the coppies of two letters, the one from O Hartegan out of France to the supream councell at Kilkenny, the other, as is supposed by comparing the hand with former intercepted letters, written from sir Brian O'Neyle to his cousin Owin O'Neyle at Kilkenny. I am sure your lordship is concerned in the former, and I thinke also in the latter; a good parte whereof was written in charracters, and cyphers sett for the names. He that did vndecypher it is a most honest man, and is verry confident he hitt it right. As for the names, your lordship may better guesse at them then I can. As for other newes, I wrote to your lordship of the taking of Skarburrow towne and harbor in Yorkshire, lately by sir John Meldrum, the strange taking of Shrewsbury towne and castle, both in one day; the greate defeate sir Richard Greenfeild had last weeke at Plymouth: and since, here is newes come from collonell Massy of a defeate given sir John Winter, his house stormed, his brother taken prisoner, with many more, and 120 killed and drowned.

There is an army now raysing here of about 20,000 for sir Tho. Fairfax. Colonell Browne mayntains his garrison at Abington within 5 miles of Oxford, and feares no strength to remoue him. It is taken for granted here by all men that the king has not in all England one intyre sheere to himself but Cornwall. Colonell Goring did latly surprise Wymouth in the west; but Melcom-regis, which lyes beyond the bridge, houlds out for the parliament: so that the harbor is not likely to be of much vse to him, and it is here sayd he has leaft the place.

I fear I have alreddy bin too troublesome to your lordship, and therfore I will say no more; only I herewith send you transscripts of the two former mentioned intercepted letters, and doe most humbly desire that I may retayne that place in your lordship's thoughts which formerly I have had the honnour of, in being esteemed

Your lordship's most humble and most affectionate seruant, ROB. KING.

Treilhouse, 3° March, 1644.

CCCLXXIII.—The marguis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard. My Lord,

ON Fryday at night last Bartlett went hence, and had soe faire a winde, that I am confident he was on the other shore on Saterday betymes. Before his departure, he assured mee that, if the wether weare not fowle, he would land my cousin Barry in some of those few portes vnder his majestie's obedience, within a weeke after his arrivall on the other side, lett the wind blow where it listed. And if the wether hould as it is now but a few dayes, I shall confidently expect him landed heere or at Carlingford. I confess I know not what to make of my lord Taaf's stay on the other side, being as ignorant of the cause deteyning him, as I am confident of his frendship and hearty affection to mee and many other his freinds heere.

Yesterday, a little after I received your lordship's of the 27th of the last moneth, I received a letter from their confederate councell, which I believe to be that intended by Mr. Darcy's to your lordship for a finall answer to the busines of Scottland. could wish they had sooner given mee this answear, that I might seasonably haue sought his majestie's directions in those two particulars they insist on, who best knowes the importance of their profer, and the consequence of those things they expect; for it could not be thought that without his pleasure signifyed I would adventure vppon such high things, as the putting into their hands soe important a port in the condition they yett 39° stand in, and the apeareing in actuall service against soe powerfull an enemy in the condition wee are in. And now I finde that which hetherto was noe small mistery to mee, namely, the reason why they will not permitt mee to vndoe my estate for the maintenance of my selfe, and the places vnder my comand, to be in hope to necessitate mee in these two particulers, or at least in one of them, to comply with them. But till I have direction for it, or till I hould it a thing to be done, without breach of trust and loss of honor, noe danger or distress will induce mee to it; not but that, if they shall make apparant their intentions to deale fairely, I may be of opinion his majestic should listen to their propositions.

I send your lordship copys of their letter, and my answear, which will best lett you see how that busines stands.

I am at this tyme soe troubled with the spleene, that I must

aske your pardon if at present I enlarge my selfe noe further. I remaine

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 3 March,
ORMONDE.

CCCLXXIV.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond. My Lord,

BY the papers sent herewithall your excellence will finde at how deare a price to himselfe his majestie would have beene content to purchase the peace and quiett of his people in this last treatye at Vxbridge, and how hopelesse wee are to procure it at any lesse rate then a totall subversion of the church and religion it selfe, a resigninge of the regall power heere into the rebells hands, and an entire givinge vpp of that kingdome to the Scotts, vnlesse they can bee forced, by the power of the sword, vnto those termes of reason, vnto which noe pietye, justice, nor indulgence can perswade them. How to doe this is not imaginable, but by aydes from without, since forces here are soe balanced on both sides, as, without that to cast the scale, nothinge can bee looked for, but an alternative ruininge of one another, and, whilest the superioritye is doubtfully contended for, a common desolation of the whole. Since then his majestie's condition is such, as to justifie, nay, to obleedge him to endeavour the supporting of his consience and his crowne by any helping hand whatsoeuer, it were great imprudence to neglect the meanes of doeing it, rather by his owne subjects of that kingdome then by foraigners.

By this your excellence will see how much it imports his majestie to make that kingdome, as much as hee can, his owne, and to procure timely suplyes of men from thence, by the speedy setlement of a peace, if it may bee obtained vpon termes consisting with honour and conscience, and the safty of his majestie's protestant subjects there; concerninge which your excellence will receive his majestie's directions from his owne hand; vnto which, I assure you, noe creature liueing is the least priuy, but only those from whome none of his majestie's councells are concealed. I shall onlye add thus much vpon this subject, that I am confident that that part in the last treatye at Vxbridge which concernes Ireland will appear to your excellence to have beene soe skillfullye managed, as that you will find the way to a peace

with the Irish in point of scandall rather smothered then made more rugged by that agitation.

My lord Taafe, who carryes this dispatch, or a duplicate of it, is a person vnto whome his majestie would willinglye doe any fittinge favour, and much the rather vpon your excellence's recommendations of him; but withall hee is one whoe would faine bee, and appeare to bee, trusted in resolutions concerninge Ireland more then comes to his share; failing of which, hee was 391 apt to bee discontented, and hee hath heightened the occasions of his owne discontent by his vnreasonablenesse in other pretentions alsoe. Hee hath prest his majestie earnestlye in twoe thinges; the one, for a custodium of sir Robert King's estate, the other, for a present commaund to your excellence to make him a privye councellour of Ireland. To the first of these I tell him that the kinge is engaged to your excellence not to bestow any thinge of that nature without your particular approbation. the second, the same engagement is insisted on; and over and aboue that, the necessitie of breakeinge the ice first in soe tender a busines by some very popular man of his religion, euen with the protestants themselves, which could only bee by doeing it to the earl of Clanricard. Hee replyed to both, that hee hath your excellence's full approbation to any thinge that the kinge shall doe for him in your generall letter of favour; and to the latter, that hee sees noe reason why such difference should bee made betweext the earl of Clanricard and him[self]; that hee is as well thought of among the Irish as hee, and that the kinge ought to consider the pleasing them; that hee will owe noe favours of that nature but to the kinge himself. I replye, that I conceive your excellence may wish high honours and benifitts in one kinde to a gallant person, to whome you would bee sorry to have favours of a lesse degree done without your advise in another, where the propernesse of the thinge may bee disputed, and that generall letters doe not distinguish. And thus wee part, hee as little satisfyed with my logick, as I with his discre-Your excellence will bee pleased to return your opinion in the particulars, which shall bee our directorye heere.

I send you herewithall an order from the kinge for the swearinge my lord of Clenerickard a privy councellour, if you shall finde noe greater inconvenience in it there then is visible heere.

Concerninge the state of his majestie's affayres heere, it is true they are much cast back by the losse of Shrewsbury and by the rebells recovery of Weymouth; for before that, they were in the most prosperous state that I have knowne them since these troubles; and I make noe doubt notwithstandinge, but his majestic shall bee as earlye and as powerfull in the feild this summer as hee ever yet hath beene, over and about that armye which is expected to bee raised for the prince of Wales in the west, whoe is goeinge to Bristoll to morrow.

The distraction of the rebells among themselves is very greate, and increaseth daylye.

I beseech your excellence to continue your favours and good opinion of,

My lord,

Your excellence's most faithfull humble servaunt,

Oxford, March 4th,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

My lord, although my lord Taaffe hath not behaved himselfe soe wiselye in the businesse aboue mentioned as I should have expected, yett hee is one whome his majestie is willinge to doe good for, and I to serve; and his majestie hath commanded mee to signifye vnto your excellence, that whereas his majestie formerelye made a graunt vnto him, Jack Barrye, and my deceased freind Dick Power, his majestie desires your excellence to give vnto my lord Taaffe and Jack Barrey all the assistance that may bee to make their benifitt of that graunt.

CCCLXXV.—Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond. 392

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

ALL the papers concerning the late treaty at Vxbridge being not yet imprinted, I cannot draw you a fuller breuiat thereof then you will find inclosed in these severall peeces, which have made hast to be publick for some timely satisfaction to the world what passed in that 20 dayes treaty; the breaking vp whereof, we owe (besides other good turnes) to our brethren the Scots, with whom we could gett noe reasons to prevaile, when once they perceiv'd that the specious arguments they had framed to ouerthrow episcopacy proov'd too weake, and how cleerely their laboured speeches against it were answered by our divines; for then they despaired to carry the church patrimony, the morcell they have so long gaped after. Soe, notwithstanding all our endeauours, and frequent pressing of further time to be granted

for the treaty, that his majestie's propositions might have come into consideration also, (which they still defer'd,) we were told plainly by those commissioners that their time and instructions to treate with vs were at an end. Neither can we find that, since the recesse, they have once thought of resuming the treaty, albeit the king's successes in Scotland, and vnder sir Marmaduke Langdale in the north, (wherof the particulars are in the adioyned papers,) the divisions in London, and mutinies of Essex, Manchester's and Waller's men, might well enough incline them to lay hold of those desires and overtures we left with them at Vxbridge.

But they are now high and elevated with our losse, as of Shrewsbury, so of Weymouth, (but a while since taken by vs,) which last is indeed a verie vnlucky blow to the affaires of the west; to the repaire of which, his highnes prince Charles went on Wednesday last from hence into those parts with his councell and attendants, and we hope he will soone haue a good army there.

The earle of Kingston, lord Hopton, and lord Capell are sworne of his majesty's privy councell, and the young prince of Aurange and duke of Epernon are elected peeres of the garter.

The reuerend bearer hereof can giue your excellency accompt of things as they stand here, and brings with him divers letters from his majestic concerning particular matters. To this I shall add only, that I hope we shall ere long haue my lord Brabazon and the rest of the protestant commissioners from Ireland, and other Irish gentlemen and officers here again by exchange, his majestic taking for them speciall care that way, and suffering noe exchanges to passe till theirs be accomplished. I conclude therefore with the tender of all respectfull services to your excellency from,

My lord, your excellency's most humble servant,

Oxon, 10 March,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCCLXXVI.—The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

SEUERALL touches of my ould infirmity and some other indisposition, hath lately put me into docter Meara's hands, from whom though I doe now hope to be speedily freede, yet the

extreamity of fowle wether, which hath blowne downe houses and throwne men off their horses, hauing, I presume, inforced 393 capt. Bartlett to stay a while in a good harbour, rather then trust his skill to much in this most violent tempestious season, doth likewise inuite me somwhat longer to delay my attendance vpon your lordship, with an inclination, if it may receive your lordship's allowance, to defferr my iorny vntill Easter week; but with a resolution to be prepared at an instant, when your lordship's commands shall call vpon me; and by this bearer's returne, I humbly begg the fauer, without farther trouble then by one line, to receive your lordship's present sumons, or farther dispensation to that time.

My honest merchant of Gallway, by the ommission of one small word, hath much alter'd the busines from what I sent your lordship of the ariuall of two greate French ships into that porte: he writt they were come, and now I find they were to come; I suppose when father Hartigan can preuaile in that behalf, and the inclosed from Paris by the stile may be knowne to be one of his relations.

A man of warre about 100 tunn of the west of England, commanded by one capten Taaff, came this last weeke to Gallway, and his intelligence of the condition of those partes I presume to send your lordship, to be compared with your more exact relations.

There is a peace concluded betweene my lord of Mayo and the confederat counsell of this prouince, vpon very poore and submissive tearmes on his lordship's parte, as comes related to me from one of them at Gallway, where they were yesterday to be publisht; the perticulers I have not yet received.

I have soe posessed all of that counsell here what a greate advantage might be gained for the whole kingdome by sending a present supply into Scotland, besides the perticuler ease and benifit to this province of being ridd of such a multitude of northerne people that now doe heavily oppress it; that they have all ioined, as they informe me, in a very earnest and importunat address to expedite that designe to their superiours at Kilkeny; which may perhaps produce a more satisfactory returne to your lordship, having observed that their supreame decrees are not so irrevocable as the antients lawes of the Meades and Persians.

Castle-Coote and those garrisons are most mischiefously

spightfull against me and all that haue relation to me. The ground of the quarell, I conceiue, is their eopinion that wee haue somwhat to loose, and I know not now what title to giue them; being certainly informed there is not aboue twenty English in Castle-Coote, the rest being most of them the pillagers of the English in the begining of the troubles; and they haue two young friers very active amongst them. They are now drawne into a body, and hauing wasted all Roscomon, their designe must certainly be vpon this county; and my estate and adherents being mixt with the confederats in those lower partes, how I am then to behaue my self is humbly desired by

Your excellence's most humble faithfull servant,

Portumna, the 10th of CLANRICARDE and St. Albans.

CLANRICARDE and St. Albans.

CCCLXXVII.—Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

YOURS of the 5th of the last moneth I received the 21st, which was very welcome, expressing your excellencie's freindly remembrance of me.

The king is resolved to make a stopp at all exchanges, vntill sir Hen. Titchborne and the rest of the commissioners and Irishe officers shal be exchanged. I hope my fellow colleague will by 394 duplicates supply the dispatches sent by sir H[enry] Titchborne and the other commissioners.

I have very certeyne advertisement from London, that they there have sent the freindshipp of London to Youghall and other portes of Ireland with souldiers and provisions; and that the *increase* of London is goune with sir Arthur Loftus and his 80 men for Duncannon. My lord Digby hath coppies of all the papers that passed betweene his majestie's commissioners, and the London and Scots commissioners att Vxbridge touching Ireland, which he will send your excellency. The Scots commissioners were very eager against the cessation made in Ireland, as being very prejudiciall to their wicked designes, to gayne an interest to themselves and their nation in the government of that kingdome, as well as of England; in which wee made it appeare how the Scots had over-reached or rather cheated the 2 houses att London. God will, I hope, in his good tyme heape

on their heads the mischeif they have plotted for others, vnder pretence of brotherhoode and intimate freindshipp.

The king hath with this dispatch written to your excellency for performance of parte of what was desired by sir Mau. Eustace. As for the rest, his majestic forbeares to make any such precedent, but acknowledgeth the great meritt of sir Maurice, whome his majestic resolves to reward accordingly as soone as God shall enable him.

There is here a report that the papists in Ireland haue fower thousand men ready to send over to the king, as soone as peace shall be there concluded. Your excellency best knowes the truth of this report.

Thoughe I am not covetous of much busines, yet I am very ambitious to serue your excellency in all things wherein I am capable, and shall doe it faithfully whensoever your excellency shall honour with your commands,

My lord,

Your excellencies most humble and affectionate servaunt, Oxon, 11 Martii, EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCCLXXVIII.—Sir Edward Hyde to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

I have not the vanity to beleive my selfe in any degree knowne or remembred by your lordship, though I have had sometimes the honour to wayte on your lordship in London; but I have a great ambition to bee received by you as one who holds your lordship in singular admiration; and I hope your extraordinary comportment in these degenerated times will have soe great an influence upon other noble brests, that if neither virtue or conscience makes any impression, even envy may make them follow your lordship's example, that they may in some degree have the recompence of such an excellent fame and estimation.

When I came from Oxford, (which is not a weeke since,) having by his majestie's command the honour to wayte on the prince into these parts, I had a spetiall command from the king to use all meanes to give your lordship frequent advertisements of what passes here, and to endeavour to understand the condition of affayres in that kingdome where your lordship worthyly sitts at the helme; and finding the prince soe solicitous to write to your

lordship, that I thinke hee hath committed a duplicate of his letter to three seuerall hands, I found it noe lesse my duty then my inclination to make this addresse to your lordship. Indeede the prince much pleases himselfe with the hope of a few men from you for his guards of firelocks, being informed of the rare diligence and activity in light marches of those men; but whe-395 ther it bee convenient for you to spare any of your numbers, I I should bee very glad to heare that your lordship were in any probable forwardnesse of uniting the affections of that kingdome; but I confesse I have not skill enough to understand the meaning of those with whom you are to treate, bee their pretences neuer soe specious; but as your lordship's great power and admirable vivacity hath hitherto supported that miserable kingdome, soe the preservation of it is reserved only for you, when, at the distance wee stand in, the meanes seeme most difficult. I aske your lordship's pardon for,

My lord, your lordship's most obedient seruant,

Bristoll, the 14th day of March, 1644.

EDW. HYDE.

CCCLXXIX.—The marquis of Ormond to the lords Muskery, Castlehaven, &c. of the council of Kilkenny.

AFTER our hearty comendations; wee received your letter of the 14th of March the 19th of the same; and will, according to your desire, present your propositions vnto his majestie: but if you defferre the sending of those supplyes you mention in your said letters vntill you receive his majestie's resolution, wee feare that, thorough your owne want of shipping, which you write you cannot provide, and the multitude of parliament shipps, which (as soone as the season of the yeare will permitt) will vndoubtedly infest these coastes, there will be an impossibillity of transporting those men.

Therefore wee againe recomend to your serious consideration the importance of the service, in relation to the security of this kingdome, as well as to the advantage it may be of to his majestie's affaires elswhere; whereof wee haue such a sence, that, though the difficulty be great, yett wee vndertake to provide shipping sufficient for the transportation of the number you mention, and the provisions you shall send with them, to be redy at Carlingford, by the tyme you shall promise to haue the

men and provisions there: for the safety whereof, in that harbour, wee shall pass vnto you his majestie's royall word; which is an assurance, wee believe, you will not except against. Which that wee may be the better able to discharge, wee haue a good while since giuen order to build a block-howse in the mouth of that harbour, which wee hope is in good forwardnes by this tyme, and will be finished before your men be there. Soe, expecting your answeare to this our letter, wee remaine

Your loveing friend,

His majestie's castle of Dublin, 21 March, 1644.

ORMONDE.

CCCLXXX.—The archbishop of York to the marquis of Ormond.

MAYE IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCYE;

MY lord of Osorye, who is full of your excellencye's favoures towards him and all clergiemen beside, (for which your reward will be greate in heaven,) beinge nowe to returne to that kingdom, and to haue one bowte with the parliamenteeres in that meridian, as he hath hadd many, in print, with those kinde of people in oures, calles vpon me for this letter, to giue your excellencye all humble thankes, both in his behalfe and myne owne.

But I am destitute of all maner of newes worthy the impartinge, as weareinge much in age, and out of any highe imployment, which might bringe into my notice any affayres of that consequence: and therefore must presume to referr your excellence over in that kinde vnto the earl of Glamorgan, who commeth from the court as I believe.

Your excellencye will heare, that the treatye at Vxbridge is 396 broken vp abruptly by the rebells; that although his majestye yelded much vnto the 3 propositions in debate, was verye importu[nate] to proceede in disputation of the rest of the propositions, and to goe in person to London, vpon reasonable securitye, yeat they dissolved theyr assemblye disorderlye and abruptlye, haveinge spent all the time of the conference in huge preparations of men and armes, (whereof euery howse in London is stuft vp,) and vpon the vnfortunate obtayninge of Salop, (the key and passage betweene the kinge and these partes,) by horrible treacherye of the citizens, and recklesnes of our commanders in cheefe, they refused to treate, that is, to dissemble any longer.

The prince of Wales is drawne out allreadye as farr as Bristol to his government in the west, attended by the lord Hopton, the lord Culpeper, the earl of Barkshyre, sir Edw. Hyde, and others; who are of his counsaile, as I heare. Oxford is expected to be verve suddenlye besieged, and that his majestye and his court wil be this summer in the west; which haveinge heard from a reasonable good hande, I thought fitt to impart vnto your excellencye, for to provide for your addresses. Rumoures from Chester we have of somme mutinees in the rebellious armye, who refuse to serve vnder Waller, and disallowe of the cashieringe of the earl of Essex, who, with all the rest of the old commaunders, (beside Waller and Fairefax,) are intended to be sett aside, that all the active spirits in the howse of commons maye in a consular wave tast of government in theyr severall turnes, and feede (like newe and hungrye flies) vpon the galled backe of this miserable kingedom. And this is all I heare from aboue, more then colonel Barrye was able to informe your excellencye.

Here belowe in Chester and Wales, (where by the privile distates between Legge, much interested in prince Rupert, and the lord Byron and his valiant brothers on the other side, all lave neglected and in a confusion,) the enemyes were once maisters of all, as farre as Ruthen, and of that verye towne itselfe: but the Welshe of the mountaynes (and of this countye especiallye) fallinge downe vpon them in greate numbers, made them retrait presently to the river of Dee, and, vpon the advance of prince Maurice, beyond that river. And now that both the princes are vnited, ever sithence Thursday last vpon Preestes heath, and are sithence quartered at Whitechurch and Bunberye, the enemyes haue quitted Beeston castle, (which they hadd mainelye assieged,) Holt-bridge, all Worrall, excepting Hooten howse, Chrysolton, and such little places nere Chester, and are gatheringe into a bodye to oppose and resist the two princely brothers, who are effectually 8000 strong.

With prince Rupert is ioyned nere Shrewsburye (which that prince hath a fixed eie vpon) sir Marmaduke Langdal with 2000 horse, whose march from the west to the north, (where he bett Fayrefax and releaved Pomfret castle,) if I shold relate as it is generally represented, it wold seems a peece of a romance, and scarce credible. But surely the gentleman hath donne great wonders in a short time, and fought in his long passage five or six severall times.

I must represent here vnto your excellencye that Vere in gari-

son at Latham howse is growne maister of the field in Lancashire, and beates the rebells round about him, is 1500 strong, hath multiplied his garisons to five or six, taken (as we heare of all sides) Leverpoole, a fitt place to land the Irish forces, when God and your excellencye's providence shall have made them readye to be transported.

Your excellencye, I suppose, understands French, and many about you. Et vous entendrez en vn mot, que my lord Byron, qui est grandement vostre serviteur, est parti pour Oxford fort mescontenté a cause de beaucoup d'affrontemens qu'il pense d'avoir receu, de par monsieur le prince Rupert et son favori Legg non seulement en sa propre personne, mais aussi en ses freres, jettes hors de leur governemens de Newarc, Ruthland, et celuy de Leuerpole, estant abandonné par le roy et laissé mourir en prison : 397 et resolu est il ou de gaigner quelque redres de ces affronts ou quitter sa commission, et son service tout a fait. Ce que je pensois mon devoir de vous faire entendre sur cette occasion.

You see I have beene verye troublesome vnto your excellencye in the rehersall of particulars, which I hope your excellencye hath received from somme better handes before this time. But my lord of Ossorye beinge afrayde to be blowne awaye in these boystrous tempestes, would neede be balaced in this kinde.

I humbly craue your excellencye's pardon, and, beseechinge God to blesse your excellencye, doe trulye vrite my selfe

Your excellency's most humble and faythfull servant,

Conway, the 25th of March, 1645.

Jo. Eborac.

CCCLXXXI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My LORD,

WITHOUT ceremony or preamble, I thus answeare your lordships late dispatches.

Vppon the arrivall of collonell Barry on the 6th of this moneth, I sent to those that formerly treated with mee on the behaulfe of the confederate party, to come hether to proceed in the treaty the 18th of the same. But they weare soe intent vppon their expectation of help from abroad, vppon the takeing of Duncanon fort, which was rendred to Preston on the said 18th, and vppon the rayseing of an army in Mounster, (all things whereby they hope to countenance the treaty on their part,) that they have deferred their coming hether till the 10th of Aprill.

By this backwardnes in the treaty, occasioned thorough the late arrivall of his majestie's comands and the other rubs it hath mett with heere, your lordship will iudge it impossible for mee yett to assure his majestie what forces hee shall haue from hence, or when they shall be sent; which, if the peace weare concluded, would be hard to make certaine, till it weare knowen what opposition or obedience will be given to the peace by partyes either protestant or confederate, and till I haue informed my selfe of the power and redynes to serve his majestie of such as will obey it; for accordingly his majestie may more or less accoumpt yppon help from hence.

What shipping may be had heere vppon the conclusion of a peace is for other partes of the kingdome vnknowen to mee: sure I am, that in all the harbours vnder his majestie's obedience the two Bartletts are all that can bee relyed on; though perhaps there may be barkes found in such portes as shall be free from the rebells shipps. The best ports to direct such shipps to as his majestie shall think fitt to send will be according as hee intends to dispose of the men, and as these coasts shall be cleere or infested with rebells shipps: of the later I shall endeavour to give your lordship tymely notice; and for the other, his majestie, when hee resolves where the men shall land, may redyly be informed by many there that know how the portes of this answeare those of that kingdome.

Ever since I received his majestie's of the fourth of January by collonell Stewart, I have had one, resident at Kilkenny, to sollicite the succours of the marquis of Mountrosse; but all my endeavours have yett produced nothing certain; for after much deliberation these propositions, extracted out of their tedious letter, weare sent me; which, according to their desire, I promised to transmitt to his majestie; desireing them in the meane tyme to consider that the season, and by consequence a designe of soe greate advantage to themselves, might be lost; vndertakeing that, if they would hasten their part, I would provide shipping, which I shall be very vnable to performe, vnless his majestie speedyly direct shipps to some port betwixt Carlingford 308 and Dungarvan. Vppon this offer, or rather vppon the takeing of Duncannon, they promise to resume the present thought of that affaire, which I shall press while they are in the humour; but dare yett promise nothing of the success, though I am soe hopefull of it, that I wish some shipps should be hastned over.

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

I have sent an express to the marquis of Mountross, to lett him know what comands I have received from his majestie to serve his lordship, which I have vndertaken to performe full as largely as I have any hope to compass it. I dayly expect the returne of the messenger.

I have imployed such as I conceiue most proper for it, to discover whether there be any hopes of regaining the lord Inchiquin; but I dare venture noe oppinion vppon the event. I presume to be president of Mounster will bee one of his expectations, if he capitulate; and therefore your lordship may please by the next to lett mee know what I may say in that case.

I should most redyly receive sir Faithfull Fortescue in the condition comanded by his majestie; but I find the lord Lambart strangely altered, and soe vsefull at councell, that, in place of takeing his government from him, I must move your lordship for a letter to make him an earle, with a blanke for the place from whence. But it will suffice for the present if your lordship please to vndertake to move his majestie in it, and lett mee know as much by some letter I may shew him, expressing good hope of prevayleing, and giveing some reason for the delay; and if hee continue in the way hee is in, I shall humbly be of opinion it may bee really done.

Before I leave this subject, I must informe your lordship that there are many considerable persons of the Irish that, I conceiue, might be gained with addition, others with new creations, of honour: but how to contriue the way to assure them of it, or whether it can at all be don without danger of scandall, I confess, I cannot resolve; but must leave it to his majesties to determine; only I venture to send your lordship heerewith a lyst of the fittest men I can think of.

Thus farre in answeare to your lordship's duplicate sent by collonell Barry. Your letter of the 23th of February by the bearer Fran. Peisley, is either answeared in what I haue alredy writt, or requires none other then to assure your lordship I shall endeavour to observe all I am comanded by it. I haue intreated Daniell O'Neile to move your lordship in behaulfe of the earle of Roscoman; and I humbly beseech your lordship to favour him with dispatch in it.

I send your lordship heerewith a clause extracted out of my letter of the 19th of October sent by sir Henry Tichburne and sir James Ware; which will give your lordship the reason why his majestie's more particular directions for answearing the inclosed propositions are humbly desired, whereof no vse shall be made, but in case of evident necessity.

With this dispatch there are two bills transmitted: in the end of one of them there is a clause, giveing power to the cheife governour for the tyme being, dureing the space of six moneths, with the advise of the councell, to receive to his majestie's grace and mercy such as they shall think fitt: which clause, as is conceived heere, may be of very great vse for the preservation of his majestie's interests and protestant subjects heere, in case the approaching treaty should end in a breach; and it is inserted in this bill of grace, that it may have the redyer passage in this parliament.

The other bill touching the cessation, is for the better security of his majestie's servants that have any way laboured in that necessary work, and generally of all his majestie's good subjects, that, without such an act, may conceive themselves to be in some danger by reason of their entercourse with rebells by vertue of the cessation.

Your lordship does mee much right in your beleefe that I ioy 399 much in your perfect recovery, and that I am

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 28° March,
1645. ORMONDE.

CCCLXXXII.—The marquis of Ormond to Dr. Gerald Fennell.

DR. F[ENNELL,]

I find by a late letter from some of you, that you will reasume the consideration of the Scottland business. I know not what more to say to induce you to it then, it seemes, is fully apprehended by you; only I must never leave minding you, that the seasonable doeing it is the very life of the action.

Since I vndertooke vnto you to provide shiping, Bartlett's shipp is come in with some prises taken on the Scottish coasts, but soe wether beaten, that I doubt shee will not be rigged and fitted in any reasonable tyme; yett I shall straine hard to provide others of force, and I presume barkes for burden may be gotten better by you. I desire to know whether you will vndertake for vessells of any kinde, and whether you hould still to your oppinion of shipping them from Carlingford. In my judge-

ment it might with less notice takeing, be done from Waterford, and with much less charge; in regard, if it be from Carlingford, there will be tyme, expence, and danger in sending first your provisions, and then your men thither; in all which something will bee saued by dispatching them from Waterford or Wexford, whether I could easyly send what shipping I can procure, if I knew any certainty whether you would be redy.

I doubt when your commissioners come heather, your number will be see few, and your busines see great and many, that this will be neglected, or see farr slowed, that the season will be lost; if therefore you could put it into some way before, I conceiue it would goe on the cleerer.

This I had not tyme to put into a formall letter to those in authority with you; but desire you to acquaint them with it, and to hasten a returne, either from them or your selfe, to

Your very assured frend,

Dub. Cast. 2d April, 1645.

Ormonde.

CCCLXXXIII.—Daniel O'Neil to the marquis of Ormond. My Lord,

I find by my lord Digbye's letter hee sends you ass well the progress ass the result off our late treaty, which cutts mee off off much that I had to saye to your excellence vppon that text.

Since the breach, nothing iss offer'd off eyther syde to renue itt. The truith iss, the parliament will have noe riuall, and wee noe superiors: they contemne and despise our conditione, and wee will not receaue the yoke, without more blowes and worse fortune.

I am not see sanguine, nor see vniust to you, ass to tell you wee haue equall power or share off this country. In free countryes, numbers off men, mony, and all materials, they much excell: to ballance which, wee haue a just cause, and the resolutiones of desperat louers to defend itt to the last man of our partye.

What iss nowe sent by this dispatch I hope will end the miseryes of that kingdome, and contribute much to this.

Though this in most oppinions will bee thought a daye after 400 the fayre, I hope wee will find itt sesonable enough to the honor of that distressed nation and the safty of this. God preserue you, and lend you his hand to guid you in all your affaires.

The discours you find in my lord's letter betweene him and lord Taafe, I was made, though not a wittnes off, aquainted with by both: iff I were to bee a judge in the case, I should not excuse lord Taafe of much folly, injustice, and disrespect to you; and I must confess I should not bee soe gentle in my caracter of his carriage, not onely in this particular, butt his whole course since his comeing hether; for hee did nothing that did deserue the name of discreet, honest, or gallant. I had much vallue for the man heretofore; butt his vngratitude to your excellence, whoe made him of your domestick; his strange indeauours to posses the king with an ill oppinion of the province I was borne in, and his ungenerous way to approch prince Rupert, by telling what freedomes passed heretofore in Ireland beetween him and Dan. O'Neil concerninge the amours off prince Rupert and the duches of Richmond, hass soe vnmasked him to mee, thatt hereafter I'll bee what I ought to a man off those vertues.

I shall shortly write from Bristoll what will bee the designe of this summer. In the meane tyme beeleeue that none liueing shall pass without a word and a blowe, except Jack Barry, that dares saye hee is more yours then

Your excellence's most humble faithfull seruant,

Oxford, [the 12th of Aprill,
1645.]

DAN. O'NEILE.

CCCLXXXIV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.
My Lord,

MY letter of the 28th of March I kept by mee till now, in hope to giue your lordship a more particuler accoumpt of his majestie's severall comands, signifyed to mee in his owne and by your lordship's hand. But severall interuptions have hindred the coming hether of the Irish comissioners till now; and some things in my other letter, importing his majestie's service in a seasonable returne to them; I have sent it away, though not by soe sure a hand as I would, resolveing by an express within a few dayes to send duplicates of these, and what more I shall conceiue needfull for his majestie's knowledge.

I have presumed to send your lordship draughts of letters for the advauncement in this church of the lord bishop of Killalla, and doctor Sibbalds, both persons of great learning, pietie, and affections to the king's service. I doe humbly beseech your lordship to moove his majestie in their behaulfes. The letter your lordship mentioned in yours by my lord Taafe, in behaulfe of the earle of Clanricard, I found not in that dispatch, nor in that brought since by the bishop of Killalla.

There are now rideing in this harbour three parliament shipps, imployed, as they say, to hinder the transportation of men hence. I believe their service will not be worth their wages. I rest

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 16 Aprill, 1645.

Ormonde.

I have sent your lordship coppyes of depositions taken heere touching the rendring of the fort of Duncannon, which had vndoubtedly been still in protestants hands if the souldiers had not been seduced into the protection of the parliament, and then left to shift for themselves; a coppy alsoe of sir Bryan O'Neile's letter, not to Owin but to Tirlogh O'Neile, I send your lordship: if it be counterfeited, it is by somebody that knowes him well, and his acquaintance.

CCCLXXXV.—The marguis of Ormond to the king.

401

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

THE miscariage of your commands to mee, by the takeing of the lord Brabazon and those that we re with him in their passage hether, hath soe retarded your affaires, that till now I was not able to give your majestie these following accounts of your letters of the 15th of December and 18th of January, and of the 16 and 27th of February; which being now not see certaine, nor soe seasonably advertised, as your majestic required, and as with all my power I laboured they should bee, I most humbly beseech your majestie, that where they answer not your expectation, you would be pleased to impute the defects in a great measure to the obstinacy of others, and to lay my share of blame only vppon my naturall weakness and want of skill to effect your pleasure, and graciously to pardon that incureable fault, the rather for that it was not accompanied with the vaine presumption of affecting any imployment in your majestie's service beyond my proportion of witt and experience to mannage, as I humbly acknowlege and realy find this, wherein I now serve your majestie, to bee.

By a late dispatch from mee to the lord Digbye, whereof there is now a duplicate sent, I doubt not but your majestie is informed

that the treaty for peace was not to begin heere till the tenth of Aprill; on which day fower of those deputed from the confederate party came hether, but had noe power to treate, their authority requireing that five should be present. Nor could I make knowen your majestie's pleasure to Muskry and the other two, according to your comand of the 15th of December, in regard that Browne was absent, whos presence, of all others, I conceived most needfull. By this there was about a weeke lost. Imediately after Browne came, I acquainted him and the other two with what I was comanded; whereunto I was answered, that your majestie, at their being at Oxford, was pleased to give them a paper to the effect of what I sayed to them, with liberty to impart it to their councell only; and that though they and their councell should be satisfyed therewith, yet that iniunction of secresy towards all others being still vpon them, they say they can make noe vse of it to the satisfying of a comitee of instructions appointed by their generall assembly to direct them in their treating, or of their assembly, who being to meete on the 15th of this moneth, are to determine what conditions to accept of. I was something surprised at the mention of such a paper, and soe farr I doubted it, that I desired to see and compare it with what I had comand to deliuer in your majestie's name, which at their departure hence they shewed mee, written in Brown's hand full to the effect of what they said.

To the inconvenience ascribed to the iniunction of secresy I could answear nothing that seemed satisfactory to them; nor am I satisfyed but that they, espetially the lawyers, may without further transgression of that iniunction, satisfye the most considerable of that party if they please. Some conditionall expressions in your majestie's promise they lightly excepted to; but not as desireing any amendment of them, doubting, as I conceiue, that that might imply they would be satisfyed if those expressions weare made absolute.

After this private discourse with those three, all their propositions except that (concearning religion, wherein your majestie is pleased to comand there should be noe ground given them) weare then fully debated on; in which debate it was discovered, and not much denyed by them, that the meeting of their assembly being soe neere they would not venture to conclude any thing without their approbation. Yett they desired to have the best answears that could bee afforded them, that they might (as 402

they profess they will) with those indeavour to content their party. After some consultations had at councell, the answers to their severall propositions now transmitted to the lord Digbye weare agreed to be given them, and are now humbly offered to your majestie to bee graciously approved of or altered. And thus for the present is the treaty ended, to be resumed when they shall have consulted their assembly, if your majestie please.

That I have made noe vse of the addition of power given mee by your majestie's letters of the twenty seventh of February concearning the repeale of the penall statutes against papists, was, first, for that I found evidently they could not, or would not, have concluded a peace at this meeting, if that had been graunted them.

Secondly, your majestic comanding mee to make the best bargaine I could for you, and not to discover my enlargement of power till I needs must, which I humbly conceive your majestie principally expects I should endeavour in the two poynts touching religion and the suspension of Poynings act, I held it a dangerous improvidence to lett them know either would be graunted, being vncertaine whether that would content them or noe; and yett put in hope by some of good knowledge and power among them, that the qualification of the penall statutes, according to the inclosed note, would doe the worke. However, I conceiued it more fitt your majestie should know what would satisfy them, then that it should be in their power, first to reject, and then to publish, for ought I know, to the prejudice of your affaires elswhere, and to their owne advantage abroade, what hath bin offered them. And in this there can probably be noe considerable loss of tyme, if your majestie shall please to hasten over your pleasure by the end of this moneth, which will be as soone as their assembly will have determined what to insist on.

Lastly, your majestie's letter of the 15th of December renued by duplicate of the 22 of January, conteyning a gracious approbation of the answers formerly giuen, and a generall liberty to enlarge those answears for the further satisfaction of the confederate party vppon the matter in all their propositions, except in that of religion, (rather then a warr should be renued,) it was absolutely necessary to have that letter read to your majestie's privy councell, with whose advise those answears weare giuen, and without whoes approbation all further concessions to the Irish, as I humbly conceiue, will be dangerous and ineffectuall to

all your majestie's purposes. This letter hath in it a clause touching the penall statutes, which I have extracted and heerewith sent, least this dispatch should find your majestie where the entry of it cannot be redyly had; which clause is so positive, that if I should affirme to have received larger directions contrary to it; if I weare beleeved, yett I have cause to feare, that such a way of declareing your majestie's pleasure would rather raise in many of your councell apprehensions of danger to themselves, then induce them to advise the qualification of those statutes, according to the notes sent heerewith. much less the repeale of them. Vppon the whole matter, my oppinion is, and in all duty, humillity, and plainess I offer it to your majestie's high wisdome, that in this particular of all other your majestie will not have the concurrence of this councell further then by open and express comand they are made acquainted with your pleasure, if even then they may be perswaded to it.

I conceiue your majestie will be noe further troubled with their proposition for the suspension of Poynings act; for after much discourse vppon it, they seemed convinced that what your majestie intends them may be as speedyly and securely conveyed to them, without the suspension as with it. But in place of this, (wherein I take them to be satisfyed,) they have, to my vnderstanding, by a late interpretation of their eigth proposition, made a new and more vnreasonable demand of it; for now they de-403 clare the equallity in your majestie's distribution of places of honor, comand, profitt and trust in this kingdom, desired by them, is in number; which, in all places of that kinde, they expeet your majestie should obleege your selfe to make equally to consist of papist natiues and protestants. And on this they insist more then could be beleeved of reasonable men; but I hope, when they come to discourse with their assembly, there will be many found, that will esteeme peace with your majestie and the titles of good subjects very good steps to their advauncement from the state they are in at the present.

Your majestie's of the 9th of January remaines only to bee answered; and of that, as I humbly conceiue, but those partes comanding mee to conclude a further cessation for a yeare, if peace cannot be had, and to press the Irish to send supplyes to your majestie and to their frends in Scotland. In the first I haue sounded them, and believe it will be possible to gaine their assent; but from thence I doubt many inconvenyencys must

inevitably follow, vnless your majestie be in condition out of England to support the charge of your army heere, whereof I presume to make noe judgement, or that the Irish would doe it, which I cannot hope to perswade them to promise, nor your army to believe, if they should. A cessation for any longer tyme then may be in order to a peace would give generall discontent to your army and all your protestant subjects, as well the clergie as others, who being in the greatest extreamity of want that can bee imagined, and by a cessation put out of hope to receive pay, or possess their estates and liueings for soe long tyme, would, as is much to bee feared, attempt to deliuer these garrisons, and those few that no extreamity can force from their loyalty, into the English or Scotts rebells hands; or at the least they would revolt to them, in hope to gaine part, as well of what comes from London, as of bouty from the Irish, leaueing these places despicably weak, and soe an easy conquest for the Scotts or Irish, as either party shall be at leisure to make it their busines. Nor can your majestie by a cessation expect any considerable succour from hence, either into England or Scottland; for though, vppon your majestie's commands to mee by collonell Stewart, I haue pressed them to it with all possible art and dilligence, I must not soe ill discharge the trust your majestie hath honored mee with, as to tell your majestie I am in any hope they either can or will doe it in present; or to advise your majestie to depend vpon great succors from hence this sommer, even in case a peace shall be presently concluded; though whenever that is, I presume more may be done then can be now by those that governe the confederate party. Something of this and concearning shipping I writt in answer to a dispatch from the lord Digbye, and therefore I will not venture to trouble your majestie with repetitions.

In the last place, I may not conceale from your majestie, that even vppon these answers alredy giuen, and the vse to be made of one of the bills now transmitted, I conceiue I am able to ruine their supreamacy by deviding their party; but in that case, neither can your majestie expect assistance from hence, nor I vndertake but that in the end wee heere shall be all rooted out by the Scotts and such as adhere to them; whilst they are left at better liberty to send succors to their freinds in Scottland, as lately they have done to the number of fourteen hundred men. Yet if peace cannot be had vppon conditions of honour and safety to your majestie, and in some degree of contentment to

your councell and protestant subjects heere; and that your majestic cannot imediately send hether mony and other necessaryes for the support of your army and other charge, I see not by what other way wee can so much as endeavour, with any probability of success, to prevent the revolting, famishing, or other as certaine destruction, of all that appeare for your majestic heere.

Now that your majestie hath all I can say of your affaires 404 heere, I should begg leave most humbly to lay my private condition before your feete. But when I consider your majestie's personall dangers, and the many troubles that disturbe you, I loose all sence of what I feele in present or have to feare in future for

Your majestie's most faithfull

and most humble subject and servant,

Your majestie's castle of Dublin, 8 May, 1645.

ORMONDE.

CCCLXXXVI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

HIS majestie haueing in severall letters written in his owne hand given mee comands for my direction in the treaty of peace, not mentioned in any of your lordship's letters, I haue in those particulers, and in some others depending vppon them, humbly addressed my answers and conseptions to his majestie, which will much shorten my dispatch to your lordship at this tyme.

Your lordship receives heerewith the result of the late treaty, which ended heere the 6th, and will be againe proceeded in about the later end of this moneth, or as soone as his majestic shall approve of the answers alredy given, or comanded the alteration of any of them; for that power is reserved, as your lordship will find in the conclusion of the further answers.

If his majestie shall approve of them, I conceiue it will be very requisite it be by letter directed to the councell and mee, wherein notice may be taken of and incouragement given for our continuance in vnanimously serving his majestie.

In papers appart, your lordship will find explanations of the answears made by the confederate comissioners to my demands for his majestie, the protestant subjects and clergy of this kingdom; and in my exceptions to them, in effect as much is offered for the security of the confederates as is desired, and yett noe more then must be done, (as the state of the kingdom is, and for a tyme is like to be,) though it had not been articled for. A letter to the effect of the inclosed draught warranting the giueing of such comissions is held necessary, and humbly desyred, if his majestic approve of the way.

Your lordship receives also heerewith notes that will informe his majestie how much of his certaine revenue hee partes withall in perpetuity by the answers to the 6th of their first, and to the 12 of their aditionall propositions; what part thereof was in charge, and what only in expectation before the rebellion; and some of the reasons that induced the councell to advise those answers.

A fortnight before the treaty began, the earle of Clanricard came hether, and heere stayed till the end of it. His being heere was of greate vse to the moderating of the Irish comissioners, and his goeing to Kilkeny about the tyme that their assembly is to meet, (wherevnto for the king's [service] hee is perswaded,) cannot but be of great advantage, whatsoever shal be there determined. But I hope, by the endeavour of him and some others that I haue engaged, the most considerable men at that meeting will be perswaded to moderation in matter of relligion; soe that if his majestie shall think fitt to send any enlargement of power in that poynt, I wish it should bee with all the possible secresy that may consist with the vse to be made of it, in case of necessity.

Almost at the end of the treaty, hether came the earle of Thomond, yett seasonably to give his concurrence and very good assistance to the bringing of it to the pass it is at; in behaulfe of whome and the earle of Clanricard, (who alsoe was heere,) I beseech your lordship to move his majestie, that the inclosed draughts may be framed into letters, and transmitted.

I find, by discourse with some not long since come from court, 405 that by reason of some act consented to by his majestie in England, there is great difficulty found how to frame a letter with any security to those that shall medle with it heere or there, for makeing any papist a councellor of Ireland: if any such thing be, I am glad the Irish know it not; and doe wish the question may be avoyded, if it cannot be resolved to the satisfaction of some of that relligion.

Though I have noe full knowledge of what the lord Herbert

was to bring with him, yet, by his letter to mee out of Wales, I guesse his missing this place was a great misfortune to the king's service, even in relation to the credit I found the Irish weare apt to giue to his advises and vndertakeings; and therefore, if hee be where he can get once more to the water's side, and will venture over, I am very confident the little frigat I now send to stay the returne of the bearer will land him in some safe port of Ireland.

I shall not need to tell your lordship the importance of my receiveing a seasonable returne to this dispatch now sent. I rest

Your lordship's faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Castle, 8° of May, 1645.

ORMONDE.

CCCLXXXVII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

Droytwich, 13 May, 1645.

I have received your excellence's of the 28th of March and 16 of Aprill, together with the other papers by this bearer, an officer of my lord Moore's; concearning whome your excellence will receive heerewithall a letter from his majestie. Your excellence will alsoe find heere the letters desyred by you concearning church preferments, vnto which I have only to add, that his majestie is engaged vnto doctor Fuller, bishop of Kerry, to remove him to a better bishoprick then what hee now holds; but that will be noe impediment to those whome your excellence desires to preffer: for there is since your excellence's letter another Irish bishop dead, the bishop of Clogher. But I doe not send any letter for Dr. Fuller's advauncement to that, because I think a less will content him; and I shall expect your excellence's further directions, which you think fittest to be removed to which.

I send you also heerewithall the letter formerly mentioned for the swearing the earle of St. Albans a privy councellor; wee could not sooner cleere some difficultyes in it and resolve vppon the forme.

The acts transmitted came very valuckyly soe neere the tyme of his majestie's remove from Oxford, that they cannot bee returned by this bearer; but as soone as is possible they shall.

Concearning the fort of Duncannon, I hope a good peace will

e're this haue restored it into your hands, and alsoe haue ended the controversie concearning the delivery of Carlingford port into the hands of the Irish for the transportation of supplyes into Scottland; which is a thing in noe wise to be yeelded vnto, in case the warres should continue. As for shipping, to transport the intended supplyes into Scottland, if they can possibly be procured, they shall be sent you; if not, vnless they can bee gott there, the sending of men must bee suspended; and your excellence is desired to hasten away to the marquis of Montross what armes and amunition you can, which is his greatest want.

Concearning my lord Lambart, his majestie is very glad to heere that hee applyes himselfe soe heartyly and soe cleerely to his service. Of which his majestie is soe sensible, that haueing, according to your excellence's desyre, moved him for an addition of honor vnto his lordship, I find his majestie soe well inclined therein, that I am confident I should haue sent you now the 406 warrant to make him an earle, but that there is at present a suspension for some tyme in matters of honours, for some reasons not necessary to trouble you withall; but if his lordship continue in his meritting course, hee shall speedyly receive it.

Concearning my lord Inchiquin, it weare a happy service if any allurements could regaine him, and if the presidentship of Munster will doe it, and that your excellence think it fitt, you may assure him of it: the list you mention of other persons fitt to be wrought vppon there by honours and preferments was not in your pacquet; but the king will rely vppon your judgement, and make good what invitations you shall give them.

The letter you sent mee, supposed to be sir Bryan O'Neile's, I doe veryly belieue to be his, and I confess hee hath deceiued mee in one thing, though not in another. I did not beleeve more of his honesty, but I did of his wit, then to have written such a letter soe little disguised: if wee light on him heere in England hee shall be taught more witt; and I make noe doubt but you will discipline him there, if he [comes] within your reach.

Concearning the peace of Ireland, your excellence will receive his majestie's pleasure from his owne hand; and therefore I shall not trouble you with any thing more of that subject then formerly I have done.

His majesty is heere in these partes marching to the releefe of Chester, with a very gallant army, and the prince of Wales in the west with another, equall to any the rebells have at this tyme.

Wee haue great vnanimity among our selves, and the rebells great distraction. Fayrefax is marcht with his army westward, and probably Brereton and the Scotts will ioyne against the king. This is in short our present condition, by which your excellence may judge, affayres being thus ballanced, how small a helpe would cast the scale. This is all at present more then to renue the assurance that I am,

My lord, your excellence's most faithfull humble servant,
George Digbye.

CCCLXXXVIII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond. My Lord,

YOUR large dispatch of the 8th of May vnto his majestic and my selfe is received, and, as large as it is, will require at this time but a very short answere, his majestic havinge sent you as full directions concerninge the treatye of peace in Ireland vnder his owne hand with myne of the 13th of May, as hee can or will give in that businesse: particularlye his majestic's owne wisdome fore-thought the objection that would rise from his restriction in his publike letter of the 22d Jan. 1644, concerninge the penall lawes; and therefore, before you demaunded it, hee sent you a revocation of the same, to bee communicated to the councell there when your excellence shall thinke most seasonable.

Your excellence will receive heerewith a duplicate of that dispatch, for as much as concernes the publike; but I thought it not necessarye to renew those letters for the promotion of the clergyemen, since the kinge's engagement to Dr. Fuller, mentioned in my former letter, may perhapps begett an alteration in the whole. I doe finde his majestie very well satisfyed with the prudence and caution of your proceedinge in the treatye of peace, as long as there bee no danger by that warinesse of relapsing into a warr, which must necessarily bee so fatall to all his protestant subjects there, his majestie havinge noe possibilitye of maynteyninge it. But as to that poynet, his majestie conceiues hee hath given Ormonde not only directions positive enough, but comands alsoe strong enough in severall leters, all in his owne hand.

As for what concernes the lessninge of his revenue by those 407 concessions for the settlinge of a peace, hee vnderstands that to

bee of noe consideration, in comparison of the manifest hazard of all, if a peace be not obteyned: only thus much, as to one particular poinct, his majestie bids mee tell you, that hee is much scandalized with the Irish interpretation of their 8th proposition, whereby you say they meane an equallitye of number in the distribution of offices and charges to papists natives; it beinge not onlye against reason, but contrarye to their expresse explanation to mee, when I chekt at that word equallitye, professinge that they meant it onlye in the sense of indifference; but I hope they will bee more reasonable then to insist vpon it.

I am much ioyed to heare that you are in soe good hopes of drawing the Irish to any moderation in their demands for matter of religion.

As for the secrecye in what concernes your enlargement of power, I assure you there is noe man prive to it, but those from whome nothing of his majestie's affaires is concealed.

I send your excellence herewithall the severall letters for which you were pleased to give mee direction.

As for my lord Herbert, hee made a dangerouse escape; but I hope is now well on his way towards you from Skipton in Yorkesheire.

The former bills transmitted by you could not bee dispatcht while the kinge was at Oxford; nor can these sent mee now be perfected in some weekes, the greate seale beinge at Oxford: but all the dilligence that can bee vsed in returninge them to you, with the necessarye formallityes of his majestie's assent, shall not bee omitted.

I have nothinge to add concerninge our affayres heere but the releefe of Chester, and probable advertisements, though not as yett by expresse, that generall Goringe on Saturday last hath totally routed sir Thomas Fairfax: if this prove true, wee shall have a faire prospect towards London this summer.

Beinge now heere in haste vpon our march, I chuse rather to leave many particulars of your letters either not at all or slightlye answered, then to hazard the bearer with these important dispatches by carryinge him a daye's journey further with vs into the enimyes country; from whence his passage to the sea-side would be over dangerous; which is the reason that I thus abruptlye conclude; restinge,

My lord, your excellence's most faithfull humble servaunt,

Draiton, May 21st,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

It is proposed vnto mee for the support of my poore brother Chichester, to gett him a custodium which sir Patrick Wemmes had; but I shall not move any such thinge, till I first receive your excellence's opinion.

CCCLXXXIX.—The king to the marquis of Ormond.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and entyrely beloued cousin and counsellor, wee greet you well. Hauing received and considered the accoumpt giuen vs by you of your proceedings in the treaty of peace with our Roman catholique subjects of that kingdome, wee have thought fitt not only to expresse vnto you our approbation of your conduct therein; but also in a very particular manner to thanke our counsell there for their vnanimous and cheerfull concurrence with you in the wayes of our service in that busines. Wee are not ignorant what difficultyes you have to struggle with therein, and what scandalls those malignant persons who labour to fixe them, even upon the cleerest and sincerest of our owne actions, will endeavour to cast vpon you for your best services in this kind, all which, as it doth but make your meritt the 408 more towards vs, soe wee are confident it will have no other effect then of encouraging you more and more in your duty to vs. and vnanimity in the same.

And it having been made soe manifest vnto vs from your selues, in how deplorable a condition our protestant subjects there are, in case the warre should breake out againe, wee hauing no possible meanes to support it, or protect them from hence; wee shall not need inforce any more to you the necessity, nor to conjure your vnanimous industry and diligence to procure and settle a peace there; which as it is the only possible meanes vnder God of preserving that kingdome, so is it the most probable and hopefull meanes of curing the vnhappy distractions of this. And soe wee bidd you heartily farewell.

Giuen att our quarters att Betton this 22 May, 1645. By his majesty's commaund,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCCXC.—The king to the marquis of Ormond.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloued cousin and councellor, wee greete you well. Whereas, vpon the treaty of peace you did, amongst other things, for vs, and in our name, agree with those who treated with you in the behalfe of the confederate Roman catholiques, that they should continue the possession of such of our cityes, townes, forts, and castles, which now they have vnder theire obedience, vntill there be such a settlement, as vpon the sayd treaty is agreed to be don; yet soe as they be commanded, ruled, and gouerned in chiefe by such as wee, or our chiefe gouernour or gouernours of that our kingdome for the tyme being, shall appoint. And whereas you did promise for vs, and in our name, that wee would grant commissions to, and appoint such person and persons as shal be agreed on [in] the treaty, for the executing of such command, rule, or gouernment, to continue vntill all the articles agreed on to be passed in parliament shal be accordingly passed, and that wee would issue commissions to such persons as shal be agreed on [in] the treaty for the punishing of such capitall offences as haue happened since the 14th of September, 1643, or should henceforward during the tyme aforesayd happen; and for the ordering of such things as should be for the peace and tranquillity of that kingdome, and the well ordering of the army, and the raising and prouiding of meanes for the support thereof; wee being very willing and desirous, that as well that, as whatsoeuer else shal be vndertaken by you vpon the treaty, bee punctually observed, have thought fitt by these our letters to require and authorize you to cause letters patents vnder the great seale of that our kingdome to be passed vnto you, which may authorise and give power vnto you to issue such commissions vnder the greate seale of that our kingdome, as you shall have, vpon the treaty for vs and in our name, promised to our sayd subiects, or which vpon the sayd treaty you shall hereafter promise vnto them, and such other commissions after the conclusion of a peace in that our kingdome, as you shall thinke fitt for the aduancing of the natiues of that our kingdome, without exception of any, to places of command, honour, proffitt, and trust in our armyes there, according to theire respective meritts and abilityes; and that therein noe difference be made by you between them and our other good subjects, according to the answeare

made by you in our behalfe to the eighth proposition; in which respective commissions you are to cause such graunts and non-obstants to be inserted as may remove all impediments and hinderance whatsoever, which doe or may disable any of our sayd subjects to exercise the sayd places. And for your soe doing 409 this shall be vnto you, and any other our chiefe governour and governours for the tyme being, and to all others whome it may concerne, sufficient warrant, notwithstanding any former vsage, restrainet, order, or act of parliament to the contrary.

Giuen at our court at Betten the 22d May, 1645. By his majestie's command,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCCXCI.—The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

THE incouradgment I received from your lordship to vnder-take this iorny brought me hether vpon Wesday last, and I have but newly overcome the vexation of receiving and returning visits from and to persons of very various and different inclinations, and am not yet able to give your lordship any cleere accompt of the actions or resolutions of this place; but so farre as my observation could reach vnto, your lordship shall now receive.

The answeres your lordship was pleased to give to their propositions hath bin reported to the assembly, and, as I am informed, very fairly represented, and all entertained with apparance of good satisfaction; though somehat perhaps of addition or explaination may bee fartheer proposed: but that parte which concerneth religion, being resarued to the last, was very sadly received; and indeed, my lord, the truth is, I doe find litle probability of perswading a setlement of peace, if the penall lawes, for soe much as layes a penalty or incapacity vpon them, for the exercise of their conscience, be not repealed; or if it could be compassed vpon the hopes and expectation of future satisfaction therin, yet it would leaue all men's minds soe vnsatisfied, as it would rather be a peace more in outward shew, then of reall aduantage to the kings seruice and affaires. And I must freely acknowledge I doe not apprehend where lyes the difficulty of that worke, or why men of iudgment of the king's party in ether kingdome, that desire or expect asistance from them, should be offended at it; and this I am very probably asured of, that if

the repeale of those lawes were now granted, a peace might be sodainly concluded with the ready and sincere affections of the best of the whole nation, to hasard the vtermost of their liues and fortunes in his majestie's seruice. And I am sory that some turbolent dispositions have the advantage given them in this point, to insult ouer, and worke vpon the minds of the best affected; and it would bee a greate comforte to your lordship's seruants here, that they might receive some speedy satisfaction on this perticuler, vpon which most of the whole worke depends.

It is true, my lord, there ariseth another greate difficulty concerning the churches; for though most men of judgment doe rightly apprehend that the king nether in safety to his affaires nor in point of satisfaction to himself can grant the churches and government of them to the catholicke party, yet withall they find much disturbance and tendernes of conscience in themselues to article for the restitution of them to the protestant cleargy; and this very powerfully prest vpon them by their spirituall guides, both by publicke sermons and private instructions, and examenation of the conscience; that which I find doth most imploy men's thoughts in present, is a desire that they might not be disturbed in the posession and vse of their churches, vntill the conditions assented vnto be setled by act of parlement, and that there might be nothing of article at all in this point; but the churches at that time restored to the protestant cleargy by the lawes of the land, that, as they affirme, doe sufficiently prouide for it, when they shall againe returne to their former 410 obedience, and setled vnder his majestie's gouernment; and thus the same in effect may be done to the satisfaction of his majestie and the protestant party, without scruple or disturbance to themselues; and whether any such medium may be found out and fittly assented vnto, soe as may be satisfactory to ether party, I humbly offer to your lordship's consideration. And they pretend to this advantage therby, that they shall be much better inabled to serue his majestie effectually by the supplyes they expect from abroade, which would be stopped vpon the knowledge of their consenting to that article. And now I humbly craue your lordship's pardon for this large relation, being confident that I am soe well knowne and setled in your lordship's fauerable opinion, that nothing fallen from my pen shall be subject to misconstruction, or taken for designe or perticuler interest; but will be accepted, as a plaine and true narration of what I have observed.

Sir Robucke Linch and Mr. Jeffrey Browne hath bin with me from the assembly, to giue me notice of their former dispatch and your lordship's returne, concerning the farther inlargement of the cessation, and likewise their second address vnto your lordship to the same effect, desiring that I would second it with declaring my sence and observation of pasages here, and protesting they would vse all possible dilligence to bring this greate worke to a speedy and hapy conclusion.

My lord, in this perticuler I shall only presume to say, that if there have bin any thing of delay vsed, which I canot charge them with, it hath bin in those that manadged the reporte, and not of the assembly who have with much impatience cal'd vpon it; and now it is fully brought vnto them; and to morrow, they begin their debate vpon the whole matter; and being a busines of soe greate consequence, and disputed amongst so greate a number, I doe humbly conceive it of absolute necessity, that the cessation be for some shorte time inlarged. That which, I supose, they doe pitch vpon is to the 20th of next month; whether soe long a time may be convenient, I may not take vpon me to judge of; but I doe hope some inlargement of it may produce good effects, and inable the well disposed to quiet and temper vnruly dispositions, and begett a right vnderstanding in all that are considerable; and your lordship's resolution in this perticuler, and what farther instruction or commands your lordship shall be pleased to impose vpon me, I humbly desire may be conuaved vnto me here by Saterday or Sunday at farthest; for I doe not yet know any occasion that may make my longer stay here vsefull to the present seruice. And soe humbly crauing your lordship's pardon for this confused address, I shall euer continue

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

Kilkeny, the 26th of May,
1645. CLANRICARDE and St. Albans.

CCCXCII.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.

My Lord,

SOONE after the receipt of your lordship's of the 26th of this moneth, an express sent from thence, was returned with an enlargement of the cessation to as neere the tyme mentioned by your lordship as the councell could be perswaded to consent

vnto; not that I proposed the 20th of June, but indeavoured to gaine as much tyme as I could. I was vnwilling to stay that express for my answer to your lordship's, and very little incouraged by his outward appearance to venture any thing of consequence by him.

When the answers to the propositions, which your lordship 411 sayes weare reported, and for the most part well received in that assembly, we re framed, all possible care was taken to make them soe satisfactory as not to need much debate; his majestie's occasions, as well as the condition and distraction of the kingdom, depending (for assistance and remedy) rather vppon quick resolutions then long discourses; which, if way be given thereto, may be continued uppon soe many answers by men of soe divers fancyes, affections, and interests, till all assistance that can be derived to the king, and advantage to the kingdom, by our agreement, will come to late for either. And these answers in all poynts but that of religion weare much enlarged beyond what could bee expected, not only to sweeten his majestie's necessitated caution in that, but as a testimony of his inclination to satisfy them in that alsoe, when his affayres should be in a condition not to receive apparant and high prejudice by it; which by some of themselves (whoe I believe too wyse to haue done it without warrant) was proposed as a reasonable and perswasine evidence.

It is very true, that seasonable and powerfull assistance sent to the king may take of or recompence the preiudice or danger the quallification of the penall lawes may bring vppon him; and might in part iustify, at least extenuate my fault, if I should in such case somewhat exceed my comission; but it is expected his majestic should really and imediately possess them of their desires; and that for the matter of assistance (which is the only iustifyable inducement for mee to vndertake any thing in that dangerous poynt) I must rest satisfyed for his majestic with generall complementall expressions, such as the parliment at Westminster at this tyme afford him; which certainly were not equall, or a bargaine I could make (knowing soe much of my master's pleasure and condition) without a very foule breach of trust.

There are now assembled such as very well vnderstand the power and welth of their severall contryes and corporations; how they are furnished with all things necessary for warr; which when they have computed, meethinkes they might say, what mony, men, armes, and amunition they would help the king with, and by what tyme, for his service, either into England or Scottland, over and aboue what is necessary for the reduction of such as shall oppose peace heere; that tending to their owne preservation and quiet, as well as to the vindication of his majestie's authority. And in case this be made visibly certaine, more may be vndertaken in that particular of quallification then can otherwise be soe much as thought of. For without such asurance, it is plaine the peace would be more outward and in shew then of any advantage to the king's service: as it may bee in the other case, as is apprehended by your lordship it would bee.

For the churches, I conceiue, they will not vppon soe inconsiderable a difference as a few weekes or moneths lay any rub in the way to a peace; nor should they esteeme tendernes of conscience soe peculiar to themselves, as not to think there are

some feelings of the same kind in others.

To ease your lordship of the trouble of long discourse, they may not expect that the king will retract that article; though if they can find such an answer as will leaue the churches as they weare before the warr, and please themselves too, it is all that I conceiue is expected in that poynt. For their objection, that the consenting to this article will keepe from them, and by consequence from the king, when the peace is concluded, the advantage of suplyes from abroad, I conceiue the knowledge that it will be consented to, when they are secured of what shall be given them by act of parliament, (which cannot be concealed,) will have the same effect; and besides, I doubt the prejudice and dishonour of such a retraction to his majestie is more certaine and considerable then the hopes of those supplyes.

This, my lord, is what I am able to say for the present to 412 those observations of your lordships, which I know are of farr less moment towards the satisfying of those there, then what your owne great iudgement and right affections have furnished you with; yet if any thing in this letter may conduce to those loyall and noble ends that brought you thither, your lordship may make vse of it, as the sence and cleere intention of

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Castle, the 29 of May, 1645.

ORMONDE.

CCCXCIII.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.
My Lord,

WHEN I had newly written my letter of yesterdaye's date, my man Peisley arrived, and brought with him soe much cypher that I spent almost all yesterday in finding out mysterys. I stayed my other letter in hope that I might have guided your lordship for the better effecting of that great and good worke you are about; but my letters finding the king in motion with his army, with few councellors, but those for warr, about him, I find in effect his plesure formerly signifyed, only renued by these later comands; nor could my messenger possibly haue gotten back to mee in any reasonable tyme or security, if he had further atended his majestie; soe that for the preservation of the kingdom for his majestie, and the interest of all honest men in it for themselves, wee must make the best wee can of what wee haue; to which end I must earnestly desire your lordship to continue there till some resolution be taken, as I must acknowledge without repenting it, that my humble advise was for your goeing thither.

All my answers and further concessions weare redyly approved of by his majestie, sauing that it is conceiued I have been something liberall in giveing away soe much of his majestie's rents, which yet he is content to pass over, rather then there should be a breach, in confidence that it will be made good to him in seasonable and considerable suplyes of warlick provisions.

The inclosed coppyes of letters from his majestic concearning your lordship, and the pacquet sent heerewith, came in the same vessell, though not by the same messenger, as your lordship will find by the differing dates: all the news I have your lordship has in an extract from Art. Trevor.

I find my lady duches of Buckingham is much displeased with mee; but my inocence, and the honour shee voutchafes mee to lett mee know it from her selfe, gives mee hope I may be restored to her fauour.

I haue it from a good hand that the Scotts will very shortly be abroad, and that they intend for Connaght, though perhaps my intelligencer may be mistaken in that; but that they will march, your lordship may with assurance informe those that hapily may be as much concearned to inquire after their motions as

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

My superscriptions are after that I take to come from some servant of yours; therefore your lordship will pardon mee, if I write after a wrong coppy.

If your lordship find it needfull, (as I conceive it must be,) I know you will soe dispose your affaires as to be heere when the

confederate comissioners come.

CCCXCIV.—The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond. 413

May it please your Excellence;

THOUGH I am here ingaged in a very dangerous and difficult imployment, being liable to the censure and hard opinion of all sides; yet, in obedience to your lordship's commands, I shall not departe from hence vntill the success of this greate affaire be brought to the vtermost triall; and the perplexed condition it now remaines in I shall humbly offer to your lordship's consideration.

My lord, it proues to be the setled positive resolution, not only of the whole assembly, but of all others that doe attend the success of this treaty, whatsoeuer their danger or condition shall be, that it is absolutly against their conscience to declare by any article, or signe to any thing for the deliuering of the bodye of the churches in their posession to the protestant cleargy; and doe apprehend it a very hard pressure voon their consciences to be put vpon that straine, when the lawes of the kingdome and the power and command inuested in your lordship vpon concluding of a peace doth sufficiently prouide for the performance of his majestie's pleasure in that perticuler; and, as farre as I can observe, it is the intention of the greater and the most powerfull of them, and those that would rest satisfied with the repeale of the penaltyes, to observe that saveng of St. Ambrose, I may not deliver vp my churches; but if they be taken, I ought not to resist. And indeed, my lord, as I have, and shall ever serve his majestie faithfully, and discharge the trusts reposed in me by your lordship in that behalf with all integrity and cleernes, soe I shall now freely declare my sence, that as it is my beleefe that it is not lawfull by force to opose his majestie in those interests he claimes, soe I am not satisfied in my conscience that they can well performe, or that I ought to perswade them to what is now required; and if this doe not answere your lordship's expectation, or giue you the satisfaction I desire, I humbly craue your lordship's pardon for that which is no willfull error, but only what I apprehend to be a just obligation and tye vpon my conscience. And now all depends vpon your lordship's resolution for the auoiding of this greate rocke, that threatens shipracke both to his majestie's and all men's interests in this kingdome.

My lord, in point of supply to his majestie, yesterday in their greate committy for instructions, Mr. Plunkett did declare, and it seemed to be the sence of the rest, that if the peace were brought to a conclusion, they would be ready to asist his majestie as fully as they had declared in their remonstrance; and that there should be litle more time spent therin then would necessarily serue for the men to march to the portes from whence they are to be transported; and that they should now be able to exceede their vndertakings by making some provision of shipping, which formerly they could not promise. And for the forces to be maintained here, such as should be found necessary, they would see take it into debate and consideration, that those imployed for concluding a peace (if impediments were removed) should be so instructed, as, they hoped, would give your lordship satisfaction, and make appeare their reall earnest desire to be imployed in his majestie's seruice; and that the difficulty would rather be, to keepe backe the multitude of forward spirits that would press into that expedition. And truly, my lord, I should hardly have believed the kingdome could have afforded soe many proper able gentlemen as I find here; though many others of quality be in the Munster army: and God of his infinit mercy so compose these differences, as that they may be rightly imployed for the honor and seruice of his majestie, and safty and 414 presaruation of his dominions, which shall be the indeuoire and constant prayer of

Your excellence's most faithfull humble servant,

Kilkeny, the 4th of
June, 1645.

CLANRICARDE and St. Albans.

CCCXCV.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.

My Lord,

I Must acknowledge the imployment your lordship hath now in hand wants neither the difficultys nor dangers that at such tymes oppose and waite vppon the most honest and noble endeavours; yett I may with confidence assure your lordship, that, to the best of my observation, you are heere rightly vnderstood by all those whoes oppinion are or ought to bee valeued.

To ease your lordship of the length of a letter, and the trouble of extracting clauses, which way of negotiating somtymes leaues doubtfull impressions in the minds of people prone to iealousy, I haue given my cousin Barry my particuler cleere sense to those poynts in your lordship's of the 4th present, needfull to be in some sort answered. Wherevnto I shall only add, that the rock wee are now fallen vppon touching the churches was never till now discovered to or by mee, either by what passed in publick or private heere or in England; soe that in that particuler I haue no light of instruction or power of retracting from the essence of that proposition.

In the other poynt, repeale or quallification, I have made a bould adventure; yet I must invite your lordship (as I shall doe such others as shall be thought needfull) to ioyne in the vndertakeing with mee.

My lord, I have spent soe much tyme before I could take a resolution in these difficultyes, that I have not tyme to revise my letter. I am

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Castle, 9 June, 1645.

ORMONDE.

9 at night for the honor of Mr. Barry, who promises great dilligence.

CCCXCVI.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.

My Lord,

THOUGH I hope you are now vppon your way hether, yett I conceiue the inclosed advertisements from a very sure hand is necessary to be with all possible speed made knowen to your lordship, who are threatned to have soe bad neighbours, and may happen to be where others as highly concearned may bee consulted with, for the comon good and quiet of the kingdom.

By a letter from coll. Mathew, I find hee doubts the new Scotts, in the absence of these to march, have a designe vppon the Newry, Greencastle, and a little island of great importance that I am now fortifying as fast as I can gett wherwithall. If provision be made for the secureing of those places threatned in

Connaght, and that it weare possible to send a party, though a small one, to fall into the parts from whence this army is drawen, I suppose it would call it back before it could evther take the places aymed at, or much destroy the country; but if that cannot be, the tymely removall of all things that may give them 415 incouragement or sustenance to stay abroad, is next best: but to doe both weare best of all, since I doubt there will be noe army seasonably gotten together, fitt by force to stop them. It is possible the whole force may be bent towards these places, and the other designe given out brings vs into a deeper security, which is the liklyer way to frustrate, at least to disturbe and protract the intended peace, which is the thing principally aymed at, and for which, I conceive, the gentlemen named in the advertisement are sent from London with letters and supplyes. And this I long since doubted would be attempted, as some of those that treated heere will beare mee wittnes, to whome I proposed that some forces should in such case be in redynes, prouided with pay and all other necessaryes, to meet with that danger; but how farr forth care hath been taken in this particuler, I know not.

In the last place, I conceiue it weare great providence to haue in redynes at Waterford or Wexford some provisions of amunition and victuall, to be transported by sea to Carlingford; from whence it may be issued to such forces as shall be sent, either for diversion or envasion into those partes; and in this noe tyme would be lost.

I have troubled your lordship perhaps impertinently with very confused apprehensions, such as the hast I write with would permitt mee to put together. Your lordship will be able by digesting them into better matter and forme, it may be, to make some vse of them. I rest

Your lordship's faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Castle, 14° June, 1645.

ORMONDE.

I have sent a coppy of these advertisements to the right president of Conaght, who may perhaps make some vse of them.

That your lordship may the better vnderstand what is meant by the Vnion, I have sent a coppy of what is see called.

CCCXCVII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

Beudley, the 19th of June, 1645.

THE vnfortunate losse of a most hopefull battaile on the 14th of this moneth neere Hauerborough, hath relapst his majestie's affaires into a doubtfull condition, that were before in all parts in soe prosperous a one, as there wanted nothing but a moderate successe of that day to have put an end vnto the calamityes of this kingdome, which, it seemes, God hath determined to punish further for its sins.

This bearer, col. Fitz-Williams, will relate vnto your excellence all the particulars, having ben a very eminent actor personally that day. The misfortune truly was very great; yet not such but allowes vs very good hopes of a speedy restitution to that good state wherein wee were before it; especially if from that kingdome your excellence can send vs any timely supplyes of foote, which is the only thing wee want, our horse haueing sustained little losse. His majestie's present businesse is to refresh and recrewte here in Wales about Hereford, and there to expect suplys from you, whilst generall Goreing pursues his aduantages in the west, and prepares to draw eastward that gallant army which he hath vnder his command, being effective 6000 horse and 8000 foote; soe that if by the time hee shall bee ready to march, the king may by your help bee put in a condition to take the field againe with a considerable body of foote on this side, the consequences of this disaster will have noe great extent. Wee haue allready a good ground-worke here, generall Gerard having effective three thousand foote and his majestie with him, and in his seuerall garrisons betwixt this and Leicester a thousand of his old foote gott off from the battaile, 416 and his horse ioyn'd with generall Gerard's are effective foure thousand. Wee all take it for graunted here that the peace of Ireland is concluded; if soe, I hope the Irish may bee induced to send a good suply, at least it is conceived that your excellence may spare the greatest part of your old foote from theare. And truly the king's necessitie of them is so pressing, that you must bee content rather to hazard much there by their absence, then to hazard all here by the want of them.

Your excellence is desired likewise to furnish them from thence with what armes and amunition you can, and to hasten awaye hether expresse vpon expresse with the certainty what and when wee may expect; but principally to what port you will haue vs direct such ships as wee can get here for theire transportation; of which wee hope to send some good proportion, not doubting but your excellence will also on that side procure what ships you may. As for such shipps as are alredy victualled and in redynes, they shal be directed to Carlingford, acording to former aduices from your excellence; although I believe, vpon the conclusion of the peace, some more southern port may be properer; but concerning this, I shall expect a speedy returne from your excellence.

This bearer, col. Fitz-Williams, having seru'd with much honour and estimation in France, hath quitted his employment there, out of a desire to serue his majestie, and confidence that he should be able to doe it very considerably by leauyes in Ireland, and comes especially recommended from the queene. He pretends to an eminent command vnder your excellence, in case he be able to doe those great seruices, which he promises himselfe he shall; and his majestie thinkes him very worthy of a noble charge; but for the particular, he leaves it to your excellence's judgement of the person and his power. He is likewise a suiter to the king in the behalfe of his father, that he may be admitted to be a privy councellor of that kingdom, when any Roman catholiques shall be. His majestie hauing noe knowledge of his father, and being resolued to doe nothing of that kind but by your aduice, doth recommend the matter vnto your consideration, but yett with strong inclinations to oblige the sayd col. Fitz-Williams therein, in case your excellence shall not find cause to the contrary. This is all at present, more then to coniure your excellence againe and againe that wee may heare some certainty from you with all possible expedition, resting

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCCXCVIII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

THIS bearer, sir Marmakuke Langdale, beinge now governour of North-Wales, and his northerne horse lyinge in those parts, aptlye to countenance the landinge of men out of Ireland, his majestie, at prince Rupert's motion, hath thought it might bee for his service (although sir Marmaduke bee maior generall of our horse) to spare him soe longe as that hee might conferre with your excellence on that subject. Hee is a person of whome

probablye you may have received from my lord of Strafford heertofore a righter caracter then I can give you: he is a subtle and couragious man, and I believe very heartye in his majestie's cause; nor can the mis-behaviour of his northerne horse the last battaile rob him of the honour of havinge done his majestie divers eminent services.

I have nothinge to add vnto my letter by colonell Fitz-Williams, whereof I send herewithall a duplicate, but onlye to tell your excellence that Daniell O'Neale is to beginne his journye to morrowe towards your excellence by the way of Cornwall, 417 from whence, I hope, hee will bring some good frigats with him for transportation of men. By him I shall entertaine your excellence at large of all my thoughts: in the meane while I beseech your excellence, that there may be noe time lost in lettinge vs knowe what wee may expect from thence, and when. For my part, I shall resume noe more confidence of successe in the kinge's affaires till I see your excellence in England at the head of an armye, where the generall's caution and temper may bee relyed on, as well as his courage or the souldiers hands. I must not conclude without tellinge your excellence in private, that in your conversation with sir M. Langdale it will bee fit for the marquess of Ormonde to know hee is a creature of prince Rupert's, and sent over perhapps not without some jealousy that Daniel O'Neile may be a too franke relater of our military conduct heere. But all this latter part, not as secretary of state, but as, without reserve,

Your excellence's most affectionate faithfull servaunt,

Hereford, June 26th,
1645.
GEORGE DIGBYE.

This is written in the cypher which your excellence sent mee in your owne hand.

CCCXCIX.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.
My Lord,

ALTHOUGH his majestie hath allready sent vnto your excellence, by col. Fitz-Williams and sir Marmaduke Langdall, to lett you knowe the great importance to his affaires that he speedily receive a considerable supplye of foote and artillery out of Ireland, where he believes for certain the peace e'er this concluded: such is the necessity and high importance

to his affaires that the sayd assistance should be timously procur'd, that he hath thought fitt to send Mr. O'Neile vnto you vpon the same errand, with more particular directions therein, as your excellence will vnderstand from himselfe and by his instructions. He is a person who, ouer and aboue his majestie's good opinion of him in poinct of faithfulnesse and industry in his seruice, is thought most particularly capable of doing seruice on this occasion, both by knowledge and interest with the Irish, and as being one most faithfully and entirely yours, for which part I dare be answearable. Wherefore I shall need add noe more vpon this subject then to referre your excellence vnto him, who goe perfectly instructed in all our affaires here.

I am commanded by his majestie to write vnto your excellence concerning two particulars; the one, the vice-treasurership of Ireland; for the which you have ben pleas'd to move his majestie in the earl of Roscomon's behalfe, of whose meritt, and his father's before him in his majestie's seruice, his majestie is soe sensible, that there is not any man there vpon whome his majestie would more willingly place any fitting markes of his fauour; and he wishes, for his sake, that he were vningag'd in that particular. But soe it is that he hath long since assur'd it at the queene's desyre to a very worthy, able, and meriting person, Mr. Spencer, in whose behalf he hath formerly writt vnto your excellence: and his majestie would be very loth to frustrate his fauour allready engag'd, and to breake his promise with the queene; the person recommended by her being soe fitt and soe deseruing as the sayd Mr. Spencer is. Thus much I am commanded to say vnto you by his majestie; and I may not omitt to add thus much of my owne opinion, that, as the case stands, I doe not see howe the engagement can well be dispens't with, vnlesse your excellence could procure it by an addresse to the queene vpon the procurement of somewhat else equivalent to accommodate Mr. Spencer withall. As for any jealousy 418 which may arise to Mr. Spencer's prejudice, for his relation to my lord of Leicester, I can assure your excellence that scarce any man is at greater distance with that lord then the sayd Mr. Spencer, euer since his nephewe the earle of Sunderland's death.

The other thing that I am commanded by his majestie to desire your excellence, is, to preserue your selfe vningag'd for the mastership of the wards there, his majestie hauing design'd

it vnto an auncient seruant of his, who hath suffer'd in a high measure for his seruice, sir William Kiligrewe, a person of much honesty and very good ability; concerning whome I haue particularly instructed Mr. O'Neile to speake vnto your excellence from mee, being one whome I should be very glad to haue a part in the obliging, soe farre as that he may find himselfe not disaduantag'd in your fauour by the recommendation of,

My lord,

Your excellence's most affectionate humble seruant,

Hereford, this 27th of June,
1645.

GEORGE DIGBYE.

I haue giuen O'Nele directions to entertaine your excellence very freely with many particular thinges not fitt for a letter. Beleve him, I beseech you, as a person whom I thinke much my freind; and I assure you I should not oune him for such, did I not knowe him to bee perfectly your excellence's creature.

CCCC.—The king to the marquis of Ormand.

Cardiffe, 31 July, 1645.

IT hath pleased God by many successlesse misfortunes to reduce my affaires of late from a very prosperous condition to so low an ebb as to be a perfect tryall of all men's integrityes to me; and you being a person, whome I consider as most entirely and generously resolued to stand and fall with your king, I doe principally rely vpon you for your vttmost assistance in my present hazards.

I have commanded Digby to acquaint you at large with all particulars of my condition, what I have to hope, trust to, or feare; wherein you will find, that if my expectation of releife out of Ireland be not in some good measure and speedily answered, I am likely to be reduced to great extreamityes. I hope some of those expresses I sent you since my misfortune by the battaile of Naseby, are come to you, and am therefore confident that you are in a good forwardnesse for the sending over to me a considerable supply of men, and artillery, and amunition. All that I have to add is, that the necessity of your speedy performing them is made much more presseing by new disorders; soe that I absolutely command you (what hazard soever that kingdome may run by it) personally to bring me all the forces of what sort soever you can draw from thence, and leave the

government there (dureing your absence) in the fittest hands that you shall judge to discharge it. For I may not want you here to command those forces which will be brought from thence, and such as from hence shall be joyned to them. you must not understand this as a permission for you to grant the Irish (in case they will not otherwise haue a peace) any thing more in matter of religion then what I have allowed you already, except only in some convenient parishes where the much greater number are papists, I giue you power to permitt them to have some places, which they may use as chappells for their devotion, if there be no other impediment for obtaining a peace. But I will rather chuse to suffer all extreamity then ever to abandon my religion, and particularly either to English or Irish rebells; to which effect I have commanded Digby to write to their agents that were imployed hither, giueing you power to 419 cause, deliver, or suppresse, the letter as you shall judge best for my service. To conclude, if the Irish shall soe unworthily take advantage of my weake condition as to presse me to that, which I cannot grant with a safe conscience, and without it to reject a peace, I comand you, if you can, to procure a further cessation; if not, to make what divisions you can among them, and rather leave it to the chance of warr between them and those forces, which you cannot draw to my assistance, then to giue my consent to any such allowance of popery, as must evidently bring distruction to that profession, which by the grace of God I shall ever maintaine through all extreamityes. I know, Ormond, that I impose a very hard taske vpon you; but if God prosper me, you shall be a happy and glorious subject; if otherwise, you will perish nobly and generously with and for him who is

Your constant, reall, faithfull friend,

CHARLES R.

CCCCI.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord.

I MAKE noe doubt but e're this the sad revolution of his majestie's affayres is in some measure come to your knowledge by Daniell O'Neale, or by some other of the expresses that have been sent vnto you; but over and above what they can have informed you, his majestie thinkes it necessary that I acquaint your excellence with the whole series of our misfortunes, and

not to disguise vnto you the sadnesse of our condition, or to represent our hopes greater then they are; since hee is most sure that noe difference of fortune can cause any change in your zeale and industrye for his service.

After the vnfortunate battaile of Naseby, whilest the rebells armye engaged before Leister, wee hoped that generall Goring might have leisure to redeeme that losse by a successe in the west, having all their forces of those parts soe inclosed in Taunton, as that probablye they could not escape him: when as shamefully as vnexpectedly, Leister being delivered upp without resistance, Fairfax was lett loose with his armye into the west to rescue those of Taunton. Notwithstanding, the king being here in Wales found soe greate a forwardnesse in these countrys to repaire his losses by new leavyes, that in lesse then ten dayes time wee had past over Severne 3000 foote, and had 2000 more almost readye, when vnfortunately some of generall Goring's horse beinge surprized, and some of his foote quittinge a passe, gave Fairfax an opportunity to breake in vpon them, and soe to disorder his whole army, as that hee could never rally any part of it, till hee gott into Bridge-Water; and though his losse were not of aboue 500 horse and foote in all: vett the disorder struck such a terror into the rest, as, till his men gained new heart, hee judged it necessary to retreate further into Devonsheire. Wherevoon Fairfax sitting downe before Bridge-Water, gave vs hopes that that place, beinge one of the strongest and best provided wee had, might soe entertaine and weaken his army, as to give vs time and meanes to make head againe, the prince of Wales being very hopefull of drawing a strong body of men out of Cornwall to ioyne with Goringe. But the suddaine and base delivery vpp of that place soone weakened those hopes, and struck such a terror not onlye into the west. but even into these parts, that it has almost staggard them in those resolutions which were most heartilye and vnanimouslye taken of rising against the Scotts, (but, God be thanked, they doe begin now to take some heart againe.)

Thinges goinge thus vnhappyly in the west, and the affections and courages in the people heere being soe vncertaine, and his majestie being promised by and from the soberest men in and of the north, a greate armye presentlye, in case hee could send 420 thither a considerable body of horse at this time before Pomfrett were lost, it was thought most councellable for his majestie to

have gone himselfe into the north, with his body of horse consisting still of 2000, besides those belonginge to sir Marmaduke Langdale; wherevnto wee were the more incouraged by the certainty of my lord marquesse of Montrosse's greate victory on the 2d of this month in Scottland, whoe, if hee had horse with him, were in a manner absolute master of that kingdome; the rebells having not in the feild the least body of men there. But in the very nick, when the practise of this design was contrivinge, comes the vnhappy newes of the losse of Pomfrett, which frustrates in a manner all those hopes; soe that now wee have noe choyce left vs, in case this countrye shall fayle vs in that generall insurrection against the Scotts, proposed vnto them, but either for the king to passe over in a light frigat into Cornwall, sending his horse into the north, and perhapps into Scotland, or else to retire into the fastnesses of North-Wales, there to expect forces out of Ireland, or some further wonders from the marquesse of Montrosse in Scottland; or lastly, to see if wee can keepe his person safe vpon a defensive in North-Wales, till either wee gett another winter over our heades, which may produce new revolutions against the springe, or that it please God to blesse the prince of Wales with the Cornish forces, and generall Goring's armye, with some happy successe by the rebels attempting rashly upon them in those parts, where they meane to make their defence.

This is the vndisguised truth of that low condition wherevnto it hath pleased God to bring vs, by our owne precipitation; but God can as easily restore vs, having wrought as greate miracles in this cause allready, which I am confident hee will not dissert.

One benifitt were receive by the Scotts engaging at this time before Hereford, that it gives vs leisure to pause and consult with our freinds in the west by an expresse sent thither, what course of all these vncomfortable ones may bee the best: as yett nothing is resolved on, but whatsoever his majestie shall determine, your excellence may clerely discover that the foundation of our greatest hopes is in you, whose integritye, prudence, and generosity makes mee believe that God hath designed you to bee the most happy instrument of restoring his majestie, which next the publike blessinge would bee, in relation to my owne affections, the highest happynesse in this world, vnto, my lord,

Your excellence's most faithfull and humblest servaunt,

Since the writing of this, wee have received an answere from this countye and the rest of South-Wales, that they will engage very cheerefully in what his majestic proposed vnto them for repulsinge the Scotts; and wee hope within very few dayes to have a very good armye on foote for that purpose; but not to be reckoned on of further vse then the defense of Wales.

Since the writing of this melancholy letter, a most cheerefull letter is come from the lord Hopton, assuringe that hee is at the head of 6000 Cornish foote well armed, marchinge to ioyne with the forces before Plymouth, which are 3000 horse and foote effective, all which when they shall be ioyned to generall Goring's armye, I make no doubt, sayes hee, (those are his words,) but wee shall give Fairfax as little joy of the west as Essex had the last yeare. Wee have also received certain newes from Hereford that the Scotts having attempted to assault it, have been repulst with considerable losse, and lost a peece of battery vpon a sally.

CCCCII.—Lord Digby to lord Muskery, and the others formerly deputed to the king.

My Lords and Gentlemen;

HIS majestie having long expected a conclusion of a happy peace within that kingdome, and his affaires having highly suffered by the failure of his expectations from thence, cannot chuse but wonder what the cause is of it, calling to mind those faire professions and promises, which you made vnto him when you were employ'd here as agents, and knowing well what power and instructions he hath long since given my lord lieutenant to complye with you for your satisfaction, as farre forth as 421 with any reason or honour, his majestie could in civill things, or as with prudence or conscience in matters of religion; and in this latter, as to the vtmost of what for any worldly consideration he will euer be induced vnto; soe did he conceiue it nothing lesse then what you declared vnto him, you were perswaded the catholiques would be satisfyed withall; nay, ought not in their owne interests to seeke more in the present condition his majestie was in, least any further concessions might, by confirming former scandalls cast vpon his majestie in matters of religion, soe alienate the hearts of his faithfull and loyall adherents, as to make them abandon him; which, as it would draw ineuitable

ruine vpon him, soe were you rightly apprehensiue, that when the rebells should by that meanes have prevailed here, it must soone after bring a certaine destruction vpon yourselues.

What your change of principles or resolutions are, his majestie knowes not; but he finds by the not concluding of a peace there, that your party (it seemes) is not satisfyed with the vtmost that his majestie can graunt in matters of religion; that is, the taking awaye of penall lawes against Roman catholiques within that kingdome: and his majestie heares, that you insist vpon the demands of churches for the publique excercise of your religion; which is the occasion that his majestie hath commanded me to write thus frankly vnto you, and to tell you, that he cannot beleeue it possible that rationall and prudent men (had there ben noe professions made to the contrary) can insist vpon that which must needs be soe destructiue to his majestie at the present, and to yourselues in the consequences of his ruine, that is, vneuitably to be made a prey to the rebells of these kingdomes or to a forraigne nation.

Wherefore, my lords and gentlemen, to disabuse you, I am commanded by his majestie to declare vnto you, that were the condition of his affaires much more desperate then it is, he would neuer redeeme them by any concession of soe much wrong both to his honour and conscience. It is for the defence of his religion principally that he hath vndergon the extreamityes of warre here, and he will neuer redeeme his crowne by sacrificing it there. Soe that to deale cleerely with you, as you may be happy yourselues, and be happy instruments of his majestie's restoring, if you wil be contented with reason, and give him that speedy assistance which you well may; soe, if nothing will content you but what must wound his honour and conscience, you must expect that how low soeuer his condition is, and how detestable soeuer the rebells of this kingdome are to him, he will in that poinct ioyne with them, the Scots, or with any of the protestant profession, rather then doe the least act that may hazard that religion; in which and for which he will liue and dye. Hauing sayd thus much by his majestie's command, I haue noe more to add, but that I shall thinke my selfe very happy if this take any such effect as may tend to the peace of that kingdome, and make me

Your affectionate humble seruant,

Cardiffe, this first of August, 1645.

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCCCIII.—The king to prince Rupert.

C. R.

NEPHEW, this is occasioned by a letter of yours that the duke of Richmond shewed mee vesternight. And first, I assure you, I have beene, and euer will bee, very carefull to advertise you of my resolutions, as soone as they were taken; and, if I injoyned silence to that which was noe secrett, it was not my fault, for I thought it one; and I am sure it ought to have beene soe. Now as for your opinion of my busines and your councell therupon, if I had any other quarrell but the defence of my re- 422 ligion, crowne, and freinds, you had full reason for your advice; for I confess, that speaking eyther as a meere souldier or statesman, I must say there is noe probability but of my ruine; yett, as a Christian, I must tell you, that God will not suffer rebells and traytors to prosper, nor this cause to bee ouerthrowne. And whatsoeuer personall punishment it shall please him to inflict vpon mee must not make mee repine, much less give over this quarrell. And there is a little question that a composition with them at this tyme is nothing else but a submission, which, by the grace of God, I am resolued against, whatsoeuer it cost mee; for I know my obligation to bee, both in conscience and honor, neyther to abandon God's cause, injure my successors, nor forsake my freinds. Indeed I cannot flatter my selfe with expectation of good success, more then this, to end my daies with honour and a good conscience, which obleigeth mee to continue my endeavoures, as not despayring that God may yet in due tyme avenge his owne cause; though I must avow to all my freinds, that hee that will stay with mee at this tyme must expect and resolve, eyther to dye for a good cause, or (which is worse) to live as miserable in maynteyning it as the violence of insulting rebells can make him.

Haveing thus truely and impartially stated my case vnto you, and plainely tould you my positive resolutions, which, by the grace of God, I will not alter, they being neyther lightly or suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you not in any wise to hearken after treaties, assuring you, as low as I am, I will doe noe less then what was offred in my name at Vxbridge; confessing that it were as greate a miracle that they should agree to soe much reason, as that I should bee within a moneth in the same condition that I was immediatly before the battell at Naseby.

Therefore, for God's sake, let us not flatter ourselues with

these conceipts: and beleive mee, [the] very imagination that you are desirous of a treaty will but lose mee soe much the sooner; wherefore, as you love mee, whatsoeuer you have already done, apply your discourse heereafter according to my resolution and iudgment.

As for the Irish, [I] assure you, they shall not cheate me; butt it is possible they may cousin themselues; for bee assured, what I have refused to the English I will not graunt to the Irish rebells, never trusting to that kind of people (of what nation soeuer) more then I see by their actions. And I am sending to Ormond such a dispatch as I am sure will please you and all honest men, a copy whereof, by the next opportunity, you shall have. Lastly, be confident I would not have put you nor myselfe to the trouble of this long letter, had I not a greate estimation of you, and a full confidence of your freindship to

Cardiffe, Aug. 3, 1645.

C. R.

CCCCIV.—Arthur Trevor to the marquis of Ormond. My Lord,

I am now cast into the ends of the earth, and am there inclosed with armyes and garrisons by land, and that leviathan by sea, soe as I cannot tell how to gett off; this tunne of man which I carry about mee hath a better alacrity in sinking, then either flying or swyming, and vntill I learne that art, or that Gonsales with his Ganzas fetch mee of by the way of the moone, I am here lodged vntill I pay the *vltima solutio*. If the enemy's army doe advaunce, wee must try the experiment who can swim best, and, as I am very credibly informed, and soe as I belieue it, the king hath given orders for the carrying his son into Fraunce.

Bridgewater, Bath, and Sherburne castle haue been all yealded 423 vpp to the enemy vpon easy and dishonorable termes, being all of them places of much strength. By these late new acquests, the enemyes interest in the west growes formidable; that army lyes now about Crookhorne; and whither it will turne itselfe for his next attempt is not known. Bristoll citty or Exeter is feared; Mr. Goreing's army is broken, and all his men in disorder. Hee hates the councell heere, and I find plainely there is no loue lost; they feare hee will cease on the prince, and hee, that they will take him. What will follow herevpon may be foretold without the ayde of the wisewoman on the bank. Sir Jo. Culpeper

was at court lately to remove him, to the discontent of many. In short the warr is at an end in the west; each one lookes for a ship, and nothing more.

Lord Digby and Mr. Goreing are not frends; prince Rupert yet goes with Mr. Goreing, but how long that will hold, I dare not vndertake, knowing both theyre constitutions. His majesty is marched northward with his army of horse, and some good strength of dragoners. Here the report is stronge, that the marquis of Montrosse, by his late successe vpon Bayly and his army, hath soe quieted that party in Scotland, and increased his owne, that hee is able to leave that country in defence, and march into this with a considerable strength to assist the kinge here; and vpon that assurance the kinge is marched to meet hym. The truth is, hee could stay noe longer in Wales, the puritan party beganne to be saucy.

The Welsh haue lately taken exceptions to all English gouernors, and haue procured theyre remouall out of all sitting comaunds. My lord Asteley stayes with them, (to goe out and in before them,) but noe otherwise; yet thee is hopefull, with theyre assistance, to give the Scotts a rubbe before they gett Hereford; before which they now ly; if he doe, he will spoyle the proverbe, in making a rubbing-brush of a goat's tayle. I naturally feare any thinge done in disorder, when order may be pursued; and amongst all breakings in vpon government, I dread that of the people more then the sea that hath its limitts and bounds sett. I find the question asked, Why doe the people rage? But doe not remember to haue read any answeare to it. All that can be sayd for it here is, that it is the common error; which will excuse in civill interests, but I doubt it will not fall out to be a rule of state.

The king is gone to Newark, not knowing where hee can be else. There is a treaty on foot with the Scots. I am apt to beleiue it, because Hamilton's agent did goe to them some days since with the king's leaue; though I hope the lesse good effect of it from the conjuncture. Heere is an expectation that the marquess of Ormond is to be called over to force the king's armys. Prince Rupert and prince Maurice are left behind, which certainly looks like a setting downe vntill the next yeare. Noe man is displeased with it, but he that is the looser. The truth is, all is lost for want of government. The greate officers given over to pleasure, to the ruine of the king.

My singular lord, I beseech you, please, amongst the rest of your eminent fauours to your servant, to add your pardon to hym for the vnseasonable trouble of this letter at a tyme soe litle your owne, and to continue hym in the roll of your vnprofitable servants.

My lord, I in all humblenes kisse your excellence's hands, as becomes

Your lordshipp's most dutiefull and obedient servant, Lanceston, Aug. 18th, ART. TREUOR.

Mr. End[ymion] Porter is passed lately into Cornwall. Hee is goeing for the marquess of Newcastle, and not without need; from this I am perswaded to more.

CCCCV.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard. 424
My Lord,

I am soe well acquainted with the variablenes of some there, that I easyly believe your lordship's trouble hath not been much less to know what would be fixedly insisted vppon, then to draw them to such a quicknes and moderation, as the king's eminent danger and their owne would worke in good subjects and reall lovers of their country. But your lordship (not discouraged by their waywardness or stupidity) will doubtles labour in an affaire soe suitable to your quallity, interest, and affections, as long as there remaines any ground of hope to bring it to a happy end.

To the supposed coppy of his majestie's letter to mee, sayd to be taken at the battell neare Leycester, printed at London, and by the way of Fraunce come thither; though it might be sufficient answer to instance the infinite forgeryes of that kind in London; and that the late queres and their solutions are knowen to be printed at Waterford, and not at Paris: yet because it is not easy to detect such frauds to the satisfaction of all, lett it be admitted for once, that that coppy is a true one; and yett it will be cleere by it, if that which I haue from Kilkeny be rightly taken, that I am not iustly chargeable with keepeing back from them any conditions his majestic hath given mee power or comand to consent to; nay, it is apparant that, if I had gone farther then I haue in publick papers, and what your lordship has power to vndertake, I had directly and plainly exceeded my in-

structions, broken my trust, and thereby not only betrayed the king and my owne conscience, but deluded those that treated with mee with the shadows of concessions, for the substance would have bin lost to them by my transgressing the rules given mee in any one particuler; which, I think, was acknowledged before your lordship by those that treated heere. But besides this, (which by euident consequence out of the pretended coppy, and which by other letters from his majestie is declaredly and apparantly his construction of himselfe,) the objected letter requires mee, both to make the best bargaine I could, and not to discouer my enlargement of power till I needs must; which iniunction alone cleeres mee from all that would be inferred to my prejudice by this discovery, especially if to all this be added the very last clause but one, which is a positive condition, wherevppon all the rest of the letter is grounded. And if that letter perswade such a beleefe in the people there, as to cause them to insist vppon what his majestie will not giue, (and soe disappoint the king of the expected and from hence,) or if he should, that would make his party in England to forsake him, (which too many in his declining fortune, and prest by their owne wants and dangers, are too apt to doe,) I am confident the publishers, if at London, haue gained their maine end in printing it. And that your lordship may receive some confirmation of what I haue alwaies tould you in this poynt of relligion, I send you heerewith the coppy of a letter, together with the originall, directed by his majestie's comand from the lord Digby to those that attended him at Oxford; which your lordship may comunicate with my lord of Glamorgan, my cousin Barry, and Mr. O'Neile, if hee be there still, and afterwards deliuer it or suppress it, as you shall judge fittest for the good of the service.

This letter came to my hands the 18th of this moneth, before his majestic could have any intimation from mee where the treaty stuck, or that churches weare expected by the confederate party; sir Nicholas Byron, by whom I sent my only dispatch to court since the 8th of May, goeing from hence but the last weeke.

I am not able to iudge how farr the statutes are qualifyed or 425 taken away, where they lay heavy vppon the Roman catholiques; but I am sure the printed booke of the treaty, drawen certainly with good deliberation, (but with what intention I know not,) makes those things provided against in the late concessions to

be soe farr within those statutes, that within a few moneths the law rigorously executed would have made them high-treason. And therefore, either there is more graunted then is now acknowledged, or that printed booke, and the great cry that was raysed vppon those statutes, was needles and malitious. But however it bee, I have, to the best of my vnderstanding, gone as farr in the papers your lordship had with you, (wherein the 9d. a Sunday, and some other things in civill matters, mentioned in the heads I received with your lordship's, are or shall be included, if there remaine any ambiguity in the expressions,) as without breach of trust I could; and further I know it will not be your lordship's adventure.

I did not intend that letter of mine to my lord of Muskry should have been made vse of as of a publick dispatch, nor at all as an alteration of what I had said to your lordship, in case a peace could not be had; and heerein I hope your lordship is satisfyed by a letter of mine sent in answer to their offer vppon my heedless motion, for soe indeed it was, insoemuch that I kept not a coppy of it. But heereafter I shall better weigh my adresses thither, though by this I impute nothing to my brother in that matter. Haueing by this tyme wearyed your lordship, I shall now lett you loose to wrastle with those grants, remaineing

Your lordship's most faithfull and humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 23 August, 1645.

ORMONDE.

CCCCVI.—Sir Brian O'Neile to Tirlogh O'Neile.

LOVING COSEN,

I come hether thorough many difficultyes and hazards, and thorough wayes that the diuill never past worse. 10 had written some letters hether, wherein he did indeavoure to doe mee all the ill offices hee could: hee is not, nor ever will be, any frend of ours. I found 11 very kind, but in an ill condition for power. It is strange, and without 14 giue vs help before May-day, it is impossible wee can hould out. There is a treaty of peace heere, but noe danger of it. If you take base conditions, you are vndon; there is noe trusting to these people. 10 is a knaue, and soe is his agent 17; and I feare Owen Roe and they have a plot. Therefore, if the warr goe on, he must be clapt vpp. Trust to your selves, and make your conditions now well or never. There

is none but roges heere as false as the diuill, and intend nothing but the destruction of you all. The parliament will never come to an agreement that will take effect. Now or never is the tyme. I have sent you the mercurye that setts downe the parliament's propositions, which are soe vnreasonable, as noe man could expect the like from subjects. John Barry came hether to play the knaue, an enemy to vs and to our good. The penall law is not to be taken vpp, but you must take his promise for it. The queene of Spain is dead, for whom the king doth morne. I intend to be with you my selfe, and to run your way. I hope to see you shortly. In the intrim, comend mee to all our frends. 17 is my mortall enemy vnder hand by 10 meanes, and soe he is to 15. Mr. Mahowne is executed at London lately. I rest

Yours, &c.

Keepe 15 and 16 there, if you can possible.

This is the coppie of a letter shewen and read to sir Brien 426 O'Neile at his examination, taken before vs the 26th of August, 1645, and to which his examination referrs; and at the reading of the said coppy to the said sir Brien, the figures therein were read to him by the names conceived to bee signified by them, vizt. 10, Ormond; 11, the king; 14, the Irish; 17, Daniell O'Neile; 15, earle of Antrim; 16, dutches of Buckingam, which were soe acknowledged by him.

Cha. Lambart. Sa. Mayart. Wm. Ryves.

26° August, 1645.

CCCCVII.—Dean Boyle to the bishop of Cloyne.

I have comunicated to my lord [Inchiquin] what pass'd betwixt vs at Dublin, whom I finde to bee soe much at my lord leivtenant's devotion, that it shall bee a very great difficulty, which hee will not vndertake to doe him service; yet hee conceaves that nether warr or peace can bee concluded without bringinge destruction vpon our whole party. The former exposeing to an apparent ruine; the later submittinge vs to our enimies mercy. I need not enlarge thereon. This enclosed from himselfe will manifest his thoughts better then I can; only thus much lett mee tell your lordshipp, and from himselfe, that the designe which hee heere persues is not to strengthen the parlia-

ment party in England (as it is suggested); hee vtterly disavowes it, and protests to God, that if hee sawe any likelyhood of security for the protestants heer by some forraine releife or otherwise, hee would wave all dependance vpon them, and imploye his best endeavours to serve his majestic in comands hee would impose vpon him.

I presume you heare howe farr the parliament party haue prevail'd in England, and knowe vpon what desperate termes my lord lewtennant stands, if they prove victors, which is neerly ac-My lord heer doth humbly present his service to his lordshipp; and if hee shall think him worthy to engage him in any comand, hee doubts not but hee hath freinds in England that have see much power with the parliament as shall effect any thinge that his lordshipp shall think reasonable to propound. I knowe not how these free motions may bee interpreted by his lordshipp; but were hee once satisfied that these extreames of good wishes flowe from noe other fountaines but those of love and honour to his lordshipp, they would at least prevaile for [pardon] if they would doe no more. That which makes this vast distance between our parties is the noise of the covenant; but my lord heer stands vppon noe such termes, though Scottish zeale pretend it. If a wave of safetie and honour shall bee discover'd for him to walke in, he will think himselfe happy to bee an instrument vnder that lord's comands; and this I beseech you receave from

MICHAEL BOYLE.

I shall be seech your lordshipp's best industry for my brother Harry. I am almost confident that colonell Warren will be eheer within this fourtnight. The news here is, that there is a great summe of mony landed at Galway, and a great army comming out of England into Munster. My lord expects 1000 foot and a supply of horse to land suddenly. The rest hee believes to be evoic'd out meerly in terrorem.

Aug. 30, 1645.

CCCCVIII.—The earl of Clarricard to the marquis of Ormond. 427 My Lord,

I have caused the letter of complaint perused by your lordship vesterday to be drawne vp into heades for the more cleere and

easy representing it to your lordship's consideration; and having reflected upon them with more atention then formerly I did, they offer me some occasion of doubt (though I doe very much affect the person, and am confident of his affection to me) that my lord Taaffe hath in some of these perticulers dealt somewhat seuerly with me, at least in point of friendship, if not in other respects. For though the honor of the action and the well manadging of it are atributes due to his lordship's merrit, yet I shall presume to believe in my owne behalf, that my lord, without disparagement to himself, may well allow me an ample share in the ability, and making his lordship capable of acting that seruice, and by consequence some interest in the distribution of his conquests. And indeed, my lord, if it must be beleeved in this kingdome, and soe represented into England, that my lord Taaffe by his owne power, without any derivation from me, hath reduced that prouince to the king's obedience, I canot but esteeme my self very vnfortunate, (though warrented by your lordship's comands,) at the expence of soe much time here, and the seeming neglect of those affaires, which may bring in question my honor in perticuler, and my publicke duty to the seruice of his majestie. But I doe not entertaine these thoughts with any setled suspition of his lordship's intentions towards me, but am rather inclined to believe, that my lord will esteeme it no impairing of his merrit to make it his owne declaration, from whence the force and power of acting those services (next vnder your lordship) is deriued: and whatsoeuer my owne apprehentions are, I shall in this, as in all other things, readyly submitt and conforme my self to your lordship's pleasure and judgment, and will only in present (first crauing pardon for my vnmanerly interruption to your lordship's affaires of much greater weight) humbly desire your lordship, that if my lord Taaffe shall ether come or send before I waite vpon your lordship to morrow, to gett the comand or custodium of Castle-Coote, your lordship will be pleased to pause vpon it at the request of

Your lordship's most faithfull humble seruant,

Roper's Rest, the 14th of Sept. 1645.

CLANRICARDE.

CCCCIX.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord, Denbigh, September 26, 1845.

I have received your excellence's dispatch by sir Nicholas Byron, and his majestic commaunds mee to returne you his full approbation of all your proceedings in the treaty of Ireland, of which his majestic is very impatiently desirous to heare the issue; his affayres depending soe highly vpon it, being by the strange delivery vp of Bristoll by prince Rupert, after soe many other misfortunes, brought to soe low a condition, as, were it not for the marquesse of Montrosse's successes, and the hopes of assistance out of Ireland, wee should almost dispaire. His majestic conceives that the reducement of Scottland to his obedience will have twoe notable effects of advantage in order to Ireland; the one, of making the Scotts there submitt to the peace; the other, of affording safe transportation of and landing in Scotland to such forces as may bee had from Ireland, which it would bee almost impossible to transport with any safety into England.

I have written to my lord marquesse of Montrosse vpon both 428 these subjects. Your excellence will be pleased to correspond with him, and to agree vpon particulars, since wee must sett vpp all rests to make a strong warr vpon the rebells this winter, in which their London forces will bee hardly kept, for the next spring they will swarme against vs.

This inclosed relation of our condition will lett you see the danger of Chester, which is somewhat more then is there exprest, through want of powder. The marquess of Ormonde is coniured to hasten ouer some suplies thither of amunition, and, if possible, of men. You know the greate importance of that place in relation to Ireland.

The act transmitted hither, which your excellence mentions, was vnfortunately taken by the rebells as it was carrying to Oxford; be pleased to direct how it may be supplyed.

As for what concernes your excellence's owne person, his majestie persists in his earnest desire to have you heere; for in good fayth, without flattery, wee are likely to bee in more want of such a generall then of an army; and prince Rupert's remove from all military power hath made way for your excellence to be heere in such a condition as may be for your honour, where you will be sure to have this comfort of high value in his majestie to your person, and of an entire affection to serve you in all those

that have the honour to be neere him, and in noe man living more then in

My lord,

Your excellence's most faithfull humble servaunt,
George Digbye.

CCCCX.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord, Oct. 18, 1644.

THOUGH the dispatch from mee and the boord will at lardge acquaint you with the preparations to, and whole progress of, the treaty of peace, which I lately had with those deputed from the confederate party, where it now rests, and of the adiournement of it to the 4th of Nouember; yet I shall begg leaue by your lordship to giue his majestie a more particular accompt why the treaty could not at this tyme end here in a peace, but must of necessity be againe transmitted to receiue a finall determination one way or other by his majestie's direction; who being informed of those points wheron the Irish peremptorily insist, what course, it is sayd and probably beleeued, they will take in case of disagreement, and of the present condition of his party here, will be best able to judge how farr it may be safe or dangerouse to the maine of his affaires here and elswhere to condiscend to them.

My lord, I conceiue it would be very dangerouse, if it be possible, to make peace here, without or against the aduise of the councell of this kingdome; for a peace soe made would be caled no peace, but a countenancing of the Irish by the royall authority against the English and protestants, who will certainly disobay, if the councell disauow the peace. But I suppose it is not at all to be done without them, for whateuer the agreement be, it must for the essentiall part of it be drawen into acts to pass in the parliament here; in the transmitting wherof, according to law, this councell will have their vote, and may then stop it, vnless Poyning's act were suspended, which must allsoe pass their votes. And I find by experience, that further then they see his majestie's directions for it, they will not consent to any thing of fauour to the Irish; some of them being negative in things reasonable and consented to by the king in England: and therfore it is of necessity that recourse is now had to his majestie, for directions in what hee shall thinke fitt to be further done in this busynesse.

Besydes, I have long had by me the inclosed memoriall for 429 the Irish treaty, so indorsed by his majesty in his owne hand, and brought me, as I think, by master Burke. Your lordship will find in it positive restrictions to some points, wherin it was then foreseen the Irish would principally expect satisfaction; and how farr his majesty would have mee vnderstand that memoriall to be revoked by any later comands, I should have desired to know before I had concluded a treaty vpon any conditions beyond what is admitted in it, if it had been in my absolute power effectually to doe without the councell.

In the last place, I find a clause in his majestie's letter of the 7th of July, directing mee that, in the treaty or conclusion of a peace or further cessation, I should have regard, as to the good principally of his protestant subjects, and generally of this whole kingdome, so to his advantage in relation to the composure of the distractions of that; which being the worke of greatest concernement to the king, least vnderstood by me, and whereto this peace or cessation must be subservient, I should not hastily have concluded any thing here till I had first acquainted his majestie with the conditions. And to this resolution I found it more needfull for me to hold my selfe after I received your lordship's of the 13th of August, wherby I was promised further directions vpon the event of the expedition his majesty was then vpon against the earle of Essex.

The points principally insisted on by the confederates will appeare in the ioint dispatch. Though I am made beleeue that, if they were secured against the penaltyes, and freed from the incapacityes they are lyable to by reason of the penall statutes, noe considerable party of them would oppose peace for any other of the propositions. But without such security and freedom by act of parliament, it is professed by the most moderate of them that they will vndergoe any hazard rather then subject themselues to the rigor of those lawes, which, they feare, the late foule action of some will be a meanes to let loose vpon them all indifferently. And your lordship will perceive that I have, without the aduise of the councell, gon as farr for their satisfaction in that point, as without consenting to the repeale of those statutes, or the enacting of a new one to free them from the penaltyes and incapacityes of them, I could; and yet no further then a declaration of the meaning of the statute, as your lordship will find by the lord chancelor's exposition of it.

Another point that may abide much debate is, touching the excepting of some out of the act of obliuion, and the tryall of such as shall be excepted by the lawes of the land. For this I am told they may be perswaded to except crymes, though not persons; which may doe the busynesse as well. And I belieue they may be brought to wave their desire of haveing them tryed in their new parliament, which is at noe hand to be admitted of: for though perhapps they may (as they professe they will) doe severare justice vpon such as shall be excepted; yet I conceive it is a way to punish not to be allowed of, as things stand; and I doubt the giveing way to that proceeding would rather terrific and distast, then any thing satisfie, the English and protestants.

A third point may be the suspension of Poyning's act, as to the bills to be agreed on in this treaty. But his majestic being with very great reason positiue in the denyall of that, I shall by no meanes aduise it should be given way vnto; for it would be an ill precedent, and would give cause of feare to such of the English as would not vnderstand the restriction; and I believe the Irish would not insist vpon it, but for feare the other acts, which are to be agreed on for their security and settlement, should receive a stop by the councell here, or be altered in England.

The course intended by them, in case of a rupture with his majestie, may probably be to put themselues vnder the protection of some forraigne state: for I beleeue it is vnderstood by them, that of themselues they will not be able to maintaine a 43° warr, in case it shall please God to restore his majestie to his rights in England; against which, it may be conjectured, they labour to prepare themselues, whilest they intertaine agents from, and send agents to, the French and Spanish kings, and to the pope, and keep themselues, for ought publikely appearing, to the height of their proposition in matter of religion, as that wherby they hope to gaine most credit and assistance from abroad.

The maine danger of this, I conceiue, is not in any supplyes of moneys or other necessaryes for warr they can expect; but that, if any forraigne prince be soe much at leisure as to make this kingdome his dessigne, hee may perhapps preuayle to haue some sea townes and other places of strength putt into his

hands. But of their working this, if any such there be, I doubt not his majestie has intelligence by his ministers abroad.

My lord, you have observed vnto you, in the publike dispatch, some advantages the advers party had vpon this treaty, as causes that perhapps kept them soe stiffe to their first propositions.

I shall add to those this one, that they have been assured by divers, and by some of those as from the king, that his majestic would not stick at the repeale of the penal laws.

They have bin told this first by Master Burke, and since by the lord Taaf and Mr. William Brent, the two later affirming that they had comand from the king to give them that assurance; and generally all that come from court affirme, that it was not only his majestie's sence, but held reasonable by most of his servants of that side, whether of the army or others. Insomuch that I was forced to deny the haveing any such instructions, and that in such a maner as might let them coniecture I had direction to the contrary. If I had not don this, the treaty would immediatly have been broken, and the greatest part of our subsistence (which is from their quarters by traffick and conivance at the shifts I make) would have been taken from vs; which might have produced soe great and suddaine inconvenience, as would have denyed me the short tyme now left me most humbly to begg and receive his majestie's commands.

I should now apply my selfe to giue his majesty an accompt of our condition here: but when I call to mind my letter of the 9th of July, and consider the dispatch now sent, I find there remaines little for mee to say vpon that subject. Especially now that sir Henry Tichborne and sir James Ware, who are soe well affected to the king's seruice, and soe well acquainted with the state of this kingdome, are sent to giue his majesty a true accompt of the one, and to bring vs such directions for the other as may, if not preserue, yet in the worst of our sufferings satisfie and acquitt vs, as haueing with diligence sought, and with all duty and faithfullnesse obeyed, his royall commands.

Hitherto I have given your lordship a true relation of the posture wee are in, and of the professed resolution of the confederate party, as I vnderstand them by themselves and by others, who, though they be not of their party, nor I am perswaded ever will be against the king, yet being of their reli-

gion, they may perhapps be content to share with them in the benefitts that vpon this treaty may be obtayned for papists in generall: and therfore I desire, that what I writ touching their vnanimous standing vpon the repeal of the penall statutes may be vnderstood as their declared sence, and not as a thing that I am fully assured will be vniuersally insisted on.

I shall conclude with this humble aduise, that, what resolution socuer shall be taken, it may be kept as private as possibly may be, especially from any that may give the Irish intimation of it: for it may be of great advantage to his majestic that his ministers have the first notice of it.

CCCCXI.—The king to the marquis of Ormond.

431

ORMOND,

I FINDE by yours to Digby, that you are somewhat cautious not to conclude the peace without att least the concurrence of the councell there; which if you could procure, I confess itt would bee soe much the better; and therefore I have sent heerewithall another letter to you to bee comunicated to them, which takes of those restrictions that I laid formerly vpon you in a publicke letter. But the Irish peace is of such absolute necessity, that noe complements or perticuler respects whatsoever must hinder it. Wherfore I absolutely comaund you (and without reply) to execute the directions I sent you the 27th of February last; giueing you leave to gett the approbation of the councell soe as, and noe otherwise, that by seekeing itt you doe not hazard the peace, or soe much as an affront by theire foolish refuseing to concurr with you; promiseing you vpon the word of a kinge, that if God prosper mee, you shall bee soe farr from receiveing any prejudice by doeing this soe necessary worke, though alone, that I will accompt it as one of the cheifest of your great services to mee, and accordingly you shall bee thought vppon by

[October 22, 1645.]

CCCCXII.—The marquis of Ormond to sir Philip Percival.

SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 30th of September the 27th of October, the first I had from you since that which came with

the little commodityes you tooke the paines to provide for mee. It hath been some part of my study that my frendship should not be a cumber, much less a damage to you; and if it haue prooved otherwise, I am yet somewhat satisfyed in that, I conceiue, it proceeded rather from the malice of some, then any fault of yours or impertinent adress of mine.

Sir, I thank you for your observations, but cheefely for your frendly intention in imparting to mee, with whome, I assure you, they have as much credit as can be given by any man to But there was noe great need of the narative part; for, saue a few of those consequences that followed his majestie's late maine misfortunes, wee weare fully and, I beleeve, more truly informed in the condition of things there, then you have been, either of persons or passages heere. The gentleman [the M. of Ormonde] you mention, and of whoes welfare, it is not doubted either by him or mee, but you are aboundantly carefull and solicitous, remembers himselfe very affectionatly to you. him still where he was, that is, resolved with what danger soever, and to the best of his knowledge, to discharge the trust reposed in him; and I have heard him lately say, that in the oaths hee hath taken, (which are the same taken by others, who perhaps are of a differing opinion,) he finds not his faith and alegiance tyed to the king's fortune, but to his person and Yet I have heard him alsoe say, that even in his way he hath preserved more footing for the interest of Ingland, and been the occasion of subsistence at least to as many protestants as any that hath most bragged thereof or pretended therevnto. Withall, I am sure noe man whatsoever wishes the peace of England more heartyly then hee, though it weare such a one as would promise noe safety to him, and though, it is conceiued, he had more particuler cause to be vnsatisfyed in the 432 printed declaration touching Holland shipps, then it may be was necessary to the busines then in agitation; but that stickes not either with or vppon him.

Sir, to be short, my opinion of him is, that he will rather chuse to suffer by being deserted by, then to preserve himselfe by deserting of, the king; yet he is more a frend to himselfe and his then to refuse any way that may stand with honour; and I doubt not hee knowes how to valeue such an act of frendship, as the proposeing to him or adviseing of him to any such way.

To conclude, be confident that with my good will your letters, nor any of them, nor your advises to mee, or your mentioned frend, shall doe you prejudice; but are, and shall be, received and made vse of with all possible care of, and acknowledgements to you; and soe I rest

Your very faithfull frend,

[October 29, 1645.]

My Lord.

CCCCXIII.—Mr. Humphrey Galbraith to the marquis of Ormond.

I MET most of the officers of the ould British in Clandeboys, and find in all an earnest desire that this warr weare caryed on with your all allowance and concurrence; whereof when I gaue them hopes, as from the mouth of a confident of yours, (if fitt cautions weare provided reciprocally for avoyding future iealousyes,) they are overioved, and aproved well the cautions I shewed them. But vppon further debate how meanes might be had, there apeared none but from the parliament; heerevppon wee found a necessity to try how farr the parliament agents heere would approve of this. For this effect my lord Mountgomery came with mee to them: there I made choise to sound sir Rob. King first, as being my ould acquaintance, and, as I hoped, a faithfull servant to you. I found him indeed make large profession of regarde, and this gaue mee the confidence to vnfould my selfe; yet not vntill faith interposed; nor did I speake, but as from my selfe. I cannot now descend to the particuler disputes that past; but this was the result. I found the designe of sir Rob. King and complices bent wholy to make a party heere for the parliament, and therefore altogether vnwilling to condiscend to the second article; nor doe I beleeve they can doe any thing without the parliament. However, they are very desirous to enterteyne the motion, and see what may further be effected; but vntill the Scotts comittee, whome they dayly expect, come to them, they can doe noething positiuely; and when they come, they resolve to desire mee to take the paines to attend you, and soe wee parted. After that the lord Mountgomery came with mee to Mountroe, whom wee found fully affected that way, and wished he had knowen my desire 2 moneths sooner, but now he is cast in the [stayes] for want of meanes to cary on without the parliament's helpe and allowance; but hee will consider of it.

I am now this morneing going on for Dery, where I hope of a kinde welcome; for I doubt not but that sir William Steward, sir Robert Steward, and coll. Mervyn will redyly comply; but it is a great disadvantage that Derry is not as it was in coll. Mervyn. This is all I can say in the present, you shall shortly haue a better and further accoumpt. In the meane time, I beseech be carefull of my deere frend, Dublin and Drogheda, for before I came to these parts, there was a strong endevour by sir Robert King and his comerades to haue surprised them with profession, that that service would be more acceptable then the takeing of Kilkeny; but I believe that was wisely diverted by the lord Mountgomery and others; yett it is not fitt to be se-433 cure. I am now straightned with tyme, and can say noe more, but that I am

Your faithfull servant,

Carrickfergus, the 14th of November, 1645.

Hum. Galbraith.

CCCCXIV.—The king to the marquis of Ormond.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and entirely beloued cousin and councellor, wee greet you well. It hath been no small prejudice to our service, that (through the occasion of the vnhappy distractions of these times) we have not since sir Nicholas Byron's arrival received any advertisement at all from you of the state of our affaires on that side, whereby we might the better know how to forme our resolutions and govern our proceedings here," which now depend much upon what you have done, or are like to do there. Wherefore wee held it necessary to hasten this expresse to you, requiring you with all speed as well to give us particular knowledge what we may with certainty rely upon for our assistance in Ireland, as to let you vnderstand, that unlesse we may receive from thence an ayde of at least 10,000 horse and foote well armed, to be landed in some part of England by or before the first of March next, a peace with our Roman catholique subjects there will not bee of so much advantage to us, as a continued cessation. This being our condition here in relation to Ireland, our expresse command is, that you seriously endeavour

either the present conclusion of a peace there according to your former instructions; with a positive and certaine assurance of the aforesaid assistance by the time prefixed, (for which we expect that you be as well satisfied of their abilities and meanes to perform what shal bee by them on that behalf vndertaken, as of their engagement and obligation to do it;) or if, in your judgment and knowledge of their condition and affections, you find our said subjects either unwilling or not able to send us such a considerable assistance by that time, wee will that you immediately advertise us thereof, and in the mean time forbear to conclude a peace, or to break off the treaty or cessation, untill having advertised us particularly what assistance may be expected from thence, and what conditions they desire from us, you shall receave our further pleasure and directions therein. In this we expect that you expedite to vs an exact and particular accompt of your proceedings with all possible diligence; for which these our letters shal bee your warrant.

Given at our court at Oxford, the second day of December, 1645.

CHARLES R.

OUR expresse pleasure and command is, that you keepe very secret these our directions without communicateing the same to any person whatsoeever, other then to lord Digbye, if he shall be with you,

By his majesty's command,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCCCXV.—Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond. 434
My Lord,

HIS majestie hath comaunded me by this to acquaint your excellency, that hee intends to send his sonne the duke of Yorke with the first opertunity into Ireland; wherof albeit his majestie conceaues it fitting to give your lordship this tymely notice, that you may not bee surprised with the suddaines of it; yet hee comands that your lordshipp keepe it inviolably secret, and to carry it soe, as thoughe you shal be tould it by others, whoe vpon his highness's moueing hence to Worcester, which he will doe this weeke, may imagin it is with designe to go for Ireland, yet your lordship is to take no notice at all of it. When the

duke shall arriue on that side, your excellency will receiue by his highnes his majestie's directions and further pleasure concerning him. In the meane I rest,

My lord, your excellencie's most humble servaunt,
Oxon, 8° December, 1645. Edw. Nicholas.

My lord, in order to the duke of Yorke's transportation, his majestie would have your lordshipp to send over capt. Bartlett's shipp to Beaumaris as soone as may bee, with ten barrells of powder to bee left ther for the vse of Chester; which is to bee the pretence, but your lordship is to give him comaund to stay, and expect there some directions from the king. I am,

My lord, your excellencie's most humble servaunt, 8 Dec. 1645. Edw. Nicholas.

CCCCXVI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Muskery.
My Lord.

VPPON the short discourse I had yesterday with Mr. Welsh, who then gaue mee both your letters of the 11th of this moneth, I finde that hee is fully instructed in all the poynts treated of for the conclusion of a peace. But I doubt hee comes not prepared to give my lord Digby satisfaction, in the wayes and certainety of sending the king soe seasonable and considerable supplyes as the condition of his affaires doe in present require: which to vnderstand and promoove was the sole end of his lordship's comeing hether; whatever other coniectures are or haue been made And to the end, hee may with more cleerenes and assurance giue his majestie an accoumpt of those aydes soe long expected and depended on, his lordship hath now written to those that attended his majestie at Oxon, and that have since treated with mee heere, with all speed to take a journy hether; which I conceiue will likewise conduce much to a cleere vnderstanding of all partyes in the whole frame of the busines now in hand. And if this be held fitt, I am of opinion a fitter choise cannot be made then of Mr. Plunckett and Mr. Browne. My lord, I haue sometymes tould you, that as the suplying of his majestic could not but be vnderstood an inducement to the gracious eare and answers, that by him and for him haue been given to your propositions; soe there could be nothing more essentially necessary for secureing vnto you those things, that by his goodnes, and in

expectation of a sollid support, you have or shall receive from him, then that the succors be now made visible, and heereafter vigorous. Soe that I hope these two gentlemen, whoe have had soe continued a part in the transaction of this busines in England, and in the management of your affaires heere, will need little or noe tyme to be instructed there for giveing of full satisfaction in this maine poynt heere; which being done, I cannot (by what I 435 have yett heard from Mr. Welsh) conceive where there can be any obstacle in the way to a peace, and to all the blessings of honour and advantage that it will bring to this nation.

When I have said this, I shall not need to be seech your lordship not to think of stirring from Kilkeny till you see a settlement of this affaire one way or other, whatever your present or private suffrings may bee by your absence from home. And soe I rest

Your lordship's most affectionate brother and servant,

Dub. Cast. 15° Decembris,
1045.

ORMONDE.

CCCCXVII.—Mr. Humphrey Galbraith to the marquis of Ormond.
Sir.

MY first, if it be come safe, did discover the good approbation which my propositions did generally receive from all the chiefe of both armies; but withall, their great feares of an impossibility to proceed accordingly, vnless the parliament comitee (and the parliament by them) could be persuaded lykewise to approve. It did also shew how averse I did find the comitee, notwithstanding all arguments could be vsed of advantage, and how I did intrust major Roiden (in regarde of his neerenes in place and affection) to mediate yet further with them, and to certify My second since that did informe a resoyou of his success. lution of meeteing intended e're this of the chiefe officers of Vister at one place, where I was hopefull of a good conclusion. But that meeteing is retarded hetherto, by what meanes I cannot ascertaine; but I have reason to suspect that it is by the practise of a malitious instrument come lately from Dublin, who doth in all things comply with the comitee, and laboureth violently lykewise with the oficers of both armies, especially Monro, the lord of Ardres, and sir James Montgomery, to cross my This much I vnderstand by colonell Geo. Monroe, who telleth me withall, the chiefe arguments he vseth are drawne

from strong affirmation of his owne knowledge of your innate malice against the Scots in generall. This, how false soever, comeing from such a man, cannot but take some impression, and be a great lett to the worke in hand. Therefore it was the advyse of coll. Geo. Monroe, both to sir Rob. Stewart and me, that wee might endeavour with you, that you might be pleased, by a letter of your owne hand directed to himselfe, (I meane colonel Geo. Monroe,) to take notice, that you vnderstood there were some evill instruments who did labour to possess all Scots, that you did interteyne an implacable prejudice against them, and that therefore you haveing noe other way to vindicate yourselfe from such secreet wounds, where you could not know from what hand they did proceed, had made choyse of him (as one who was lykelyest to converse with all parties concerned) vnto whom you might address your just and necessary apology, presumeing that he would not only himselfe interteyne a better opinion, but lykewise gaine the lyke from all others of his nation, either here or in Scotland, with whom he should have occasion of discourse upon that subject; and that all of them might be persuaded of the sincerity of your affection to that nation, and of your endeavour to serve every of them with your best offices of friendship, as opportunity should be presented, and their owne cariage should merit, without all difference of nation, vnless to their advantage (or what else you please to this purpose.) But coll. Geo. Munroe prayeth, that if you wryte, there may not be in 436 your letter a sillable which may insinuate any particular confidence in him. This letter you may send either to sir Rob. Stewart or me, who shall see it delvvered, and doubt not to returne a good accompt of it.

There is dayly expectation of mony and amunition from the parliament; if these were received, it is probable the army here will not soe much observe the comitee as hetherto; for all of them almost dislyke the designe to ingadge them in the cause of the parliament; and the Scots see cleerely enough a purpose to waiken them all they can, and they are not ignorant of their reasons in doeing soe, for fear of a breach in the end twixt the parliament and the Scots, either for meum et tuum, or for the too much suppressing of the king, or for the difference of presbitery and independents, or for all three. Now upon all these considerations, I have good hopes of a good issue, if you can with patience brooke the expence of a little tyme; yet dare I not, for

feare of the issue, give you any farther encouragement, then what your owne judgement can better collect from my ingenuous and simple relation of mater of fact, and present condition of things.

In the meane tyme, I must still persist to begg your favorable construction of whatever cometh from

Your faithfull friend and servant,

Magavelin, the 21 Decemb. 1645.

Hum. Galbraith.

[This letter is directed to Mr. James Browne, merchant, London.]

CCCCXVIII.—The marquis of Ormond, etc. to Mr. secretary Nicholas.

SIR,

HOW desirous soever wee are in his majestie's affaires to bee guided in our councells and actions vnder the prudent conduct of his gracious directions, yet when any suddaine accident occurrs, threatening apparent danger to his majestie's honor and service, which cannot admitt a deferring for soe long a time as is requisit to expect a signification of his majestie's good pleasure there; wee judge it safe and agreeable with the duty of faithfull servants to his majestie, as to hasten advertisement to him, soe (in the meane time, whilest wee expect his gracious pleasure) to bee watchefull seasonably to interpose his royall aucthoritie, towards preventing (as farr as wee may) the dangerous inconveniences and mischiefs which might otherwise happen.

Hence it is, and considering also the present conjuncture of affaires both there and heere, that wee have been necessitated (without application first had to his majestie) to adventure on some proceeding in this matter, which wee are now humbly to offer to his majestie's royall consideration.

On the 26 of December, wee beeing assembled in councell, our very good lord the lord George Digby, his majestie's principall secretary of state, came vnto vs at this board, and tould vs that hee had very much to saye against Edward earle of Glamorgan which highely concerned his majestie; and therfore desired that the said earle might bee called before vs at this board, that in his lordship's presence hee might declare what hee had to saye.

Wee then sent for the said earle, whose person I the liev-

tenant had about two houres before caused to bee secured, to prevent intervening accidents, (yet with as much respect to him as might bee,) vppon knowledge first had of that which the lord Digby purposed to declare at this board touching the said earle.

The earle beeing come, the lord Digby (in his lordship's presence) declared that hee had so much matter come to his hands against the said earle, as hee was enforced in our presence to charge the earle with suspition of highe-treason; and therfore 437 mooved vs that (for his majestie's honor and service) the earle's person might bee secured, vntill vppon humble representation made to his majestie of the state of the matter, wee might vnderstand his royall pleasure therin.

Then (the earle beeing withdrawen into the next roome) the lord Digby produced a writing which came to his hands two or three dayes before; which writeing conteines,

First, A coppy of articles of agreement made and concluded vppon, by and between the said earle, as it were in pursuance and by vertue of his majestie's aucthoritie, vnder his signet and royall signature on his majestie's behalfe, of the one part, and Richard lord vicecount Mountgarret and others therin named on the behalfe of his majestie's Roman catholicque subjects, and the catholicque clergie of Ireland, on the other part.

Secondly, A coppie of certaine other concessions (besides those conteined in the said articles of agreement) made to that party by the said earle, as it were by his majestie's aucthority, wherin is recited in *heec verba*, A coppie of a pretended aucthoritie from his majestie to the earle, said to bee dated the 12th of Marche, 1644, to treate and conclude with the said confederates. And lastly, A coppie of an oath sworne by the said earle to the said confederates.

That writeing, conteining all those particulars, beeing read at this board, the lord Digby then declared, that any such pretended aucthoritie from his majestie must bee either forged or surreptitiously gained; or if possibly the said earle had any culor of aucthoritie, that it was certainely bound vpp and limited by such instructions and declarations of his majestie's intention therin, as could in noe wise licence the said earle to any transaction of that nature; for most confident hee was, that the king, to redeeme his crowne, his own life, the lives of his queene and children, would not grant vnto them the least peece of concessions soe destructive both to his regalitie and religion. And wee

who have the honor to serve his majestie heere are well assured, that such and soe great is his majestie's piety and wisdome, and his care of the preservation of the protestant religion and the happines of this his kingdome, as hee would never give warrant or aucthoritie for granting those things. And considering that his majestie may, vppon this occasion, expect our sense of a matter soe neerely relating to this his kingdome, wee humbly crave leave to declare to his majestie, that the said writeing conteines matter of highe scandall to his majestie in his honor and justice, of infinit detriment to him and his royall posteritie in point of regall powre, royall authoritie, revenue, interest, dependence, jurisdiction, and government; and that in soe highe a degree, as to import noe less then an absolut giving vpp of the king's ecclesiasticall supremacy within this kingdome, and in liewe of it, introducing the fullnes of papall powre, of vast prejudice to all the protestant clergie; and that not only to their vtter ruin in point of subsistence, but also to the absolut taking away of their churches and ecclesiasticall estates, possessions, rights, interests, jurisdiction, and government. Of mighty hinderance in point of profit, right, and interest to very many of his majestie's subjects of this kingdome; besides many other great and generall mischiefs and confusions which must have followed thervppon, as well in the civill as ecclesiasticall government, and (which wee well knowe his majestie values above all) of most highe and vnspeakeable prejudice, and indeede vtterly destructive to the protestant religion heere, wherof his majestie hath the great and highe honor, next vnder God, to bee the principall defendor and true mainteiner. And therfore wee confesse wee were strucken with most wonderfull horror and astonishment to finde soe sacred a majestie soe highely scandall'd and dishonor'd; and the perplexity and trouble of minde which it begott in vs were much increased in that wee found that there are many coppies of that writeing dispersed into severall hands, and one coppie also said to bee found with the dead bodie of the late popish titulary pretended archbishop of Tuam, when hee was 438 slaine about three months sithence neere Sligoe in the province of Connaght, in a skirmish there between some forces of the Irish, and some forces of the Scotts in the province of Vlster.

Wee then (in discharge of our duty to his majestie) could doe noe less (the said earle standing soe deepely charged, and in a matter of soe highe and transcendent a nature) then to give warrant for his lordship's committall to the custodie of the constable of his majestie's castell of Dublin in the condition of a close prisoner vntill further direction from vs; in which condition hee continued (yet with needfull attendance and accomodation) from that 26th of December vntill hee was examined, and vntill hee sent vs the originall counterparts of the said writeings, past betwixt him and the said other persons, and the coppy of the said oath sworne by his lordship to them; which things hee sent vs on the 30th of December, and then hee was sett free from his close imprisonment: but hee still remaines a prisoner in the castle, having the liberty of the house, vntill wee receive his majestie's pleasure concerning him.

A coppy of his examination taken by our direction before certaine members of this board, and of the interrogatories framed by our appointment on which hee was examined, and a coppy also of that writeing whervppon wee proceeded with him; as also coppies of the said counterparts and oath delivered in by his lordship; wee humbly offer heere inclosed for his majestie's viewe.

And heere wee humbly crave leave to observe to his majestie, that vppon comparing the writeing on which wee proceeded with those delivered vs by his lordship, wee finde,

First, that the said counterparts are neither signed nor sealed by the lord vicecount Muskery or Dermot O'Brien, though both are named in the bodie of the instruments as parties to them.

Secondly, in the coppie of the oath sent vs by his lordship, theise words, viz. (or his pleasure knowen,) are added in the conclusion, which words are not in the coppie conteined in the writeing on which wee proceeded; and those words (though fewe) doe make a wide difference in the sense, as wee humbly conceive.

Thirdly, that the coppie of the oath which his lordship sent vs is without date, wheras the coppie wee went by is dated the third of September, 1645.

Fourthly, that there are between the coppie of the oath his lordship sent vs and the coppie wee proceeded on, some fewe other differences of words, and between the counter parts sent vs by his lordship, and the coppies of them wheron wee proceeded on, some differences also of words, seeming in both to bee errors casually in the writing of them; which yet doe not so much alter the sense, but that they remaine (taking all together)

agreeable in substance with the original counter-parts and coppie of the oath sent vs by his lordship.

Also in the same instrument they say, that sundry matters necessarily requisit to bee condescended to by mee the lievtenant for the safetie of the confederat Roman catholicques, were not hetherto agreed vppon; which they saye retards the conclusion of a firme peace and settlement in the kingdome. Wheras the confederats well knowe, that in his majestie's gracious concessions, given them by mee the lievtenant, all things requisit to bee by mee in his majestie's behalfe condescended to for their safetie hath been condescended to by mee: soe as it is manifest that the retarding of the peace is noe way on the part of mee the lievtenant, but ought rather to bee attributed to that vnderhand dealing of the said earle, wherby that party have been encurraged to hope for such concessions as they themselves had before receded from, as wanting confidence to insist on matters soe vnreasonable.

Likewise some expressions there are in the said instruments to this purpose, that the earle of Glamorgan hath heere vppon the place seene the ardent desires of the said catholicques to assist his majestie against all that doe or shall oppose his royall rights or monarchicque governement, and that the said earle discerned the alacrity and cheerfulnes of the said catholicques 439 to embrace honourable conditions of peace, which may preserve their religion and other just interests. Whervnto wee say, that what the earle sawe or discerned in them, wee knowe not: but sure wee are, that the conditions of peace offered them by mee the lievtenant on his majestie's behalfe are such as in dutie to his majestie, and in wisdome to themselves, they ought not to reject; and consequently were most fitt for them to embrace with all humble duty and thankfulnes to his majestie, rather then to insist on such conditions as they have drawen from the said earle; which, as they are accompanied with all the inconveniences and mischiefs heerin formerlie mentioned to his sacred majestie, to his royall posteritie, to this his kingdome, and to the protestant religion therin, soe wee are very confident, and that yppon grounds of most certaine assurance, that his majestie in his highe wisdome will adjudge them to bee such, and consequently inconsistent with his honor and justice, and with the happines and welfare of this his kingdome and people.

Many other things of extraordinary presumption there are in Ormond, vol. vi. z

this transaction of the earle of Glamorgan's; as, the misrecitall of his majestie's commission to mee the lievtenant, aucthorizing the treatie of peace heere; the vncomely admission to the lord Mountgarrett of the vsurped stile and title of lord president of the supreme councell, &c.; and other particulars also; which beeing see much exceeded by the height and weight of the other matters in that writeing conteined, wee forbeare to enlarge any further vppon them.

And in the last place, wee humbly crave leave to observe to his majestie, that as those confederats were publicquely treating with mee the lievtenant as his majestie's commissioner, and during the same time privatly treating with the earle of Glamorgan, and had interteined a nuncio from the pope, as by our dispatche of the 25th of November to the lord Digby wee formerlie humbly made knowen to his majestie, which nuncio still continues with them; soe, since our said dispatche, there is come vnto them a messenger said to bee sent to them from the king of Spaine; but what is in consultation between them and that nuncio of the pope's and that messenger from Spaine, wee cannot yet learne; and how comelie it is that such treaties with forreiners should bee held by them at the same time they are in treatie with his majestie's commissioner, wee humbly submitt to his majestie's highe wisdome.

And now having humbly represented to his majestie the true state of this matter, soe farr as it appears vnto vs, wherin our proceeding hath been to noe other end then as to endeavor to the vttermost of our power to vindicat his majestie's honor, soe to labour to prevent the other dangerous consequences of those writeings, and in both to discharge the dutie of faithfull servants to his majestie, wee doe in all humilitie submitt the same to his excellent judgement, most humbly beseecheing his majestie to bee graciously pleased to signific vnto vs his royall pleasure heerin, that therby wee may bee guided and governed in our proceeding in this important cause. And soe wee remaine, from his majestie's castell of Dublin the fift day of January, 1645,

Your very assured loving frends,

Roscomon.
Ger. Lowther.
Rob. Forth.
Ja. Ware.

Cha. Lambart.
Fr. Willoughby.

Cormonde.
Ant. Midensis.
Arth. Chichester.
Tho. Lucas.

CCCCXIX.—The marquis of Ormond to Mr. secretary Nicholas. 44° Sir.

I hope some of those letters I writt to you since I received yours by Robert Smith are come to your hands; and then I am hopefull you will finde cause to acquit mee from any neglect of you, or dis-esteeme of your fauour and frendship, though I have not made my dispatches to you soe frequently as heeretofore. If those letters have miscarryed, as I doubt many of mine have, and that soe you want my ingenious iustification, I shall beseech you suspend any oppinion to the prejudice of my great value of you, till it shall please God to make the wayes to his majestic more secure then hetherto they have bin, and then I feare they now are.

You will receive in the dispatches from the councell heere, and from the lord Digbye, a full accoumpt of the treaty, and generally of all the king's busines heere, and of the late proceedings with and by the earle of Glamorgan; wherevnto I can add nothing worthy your trouble. I shall only desire you to move his majestie to be graciously pleased to signe to a letter according to the inclosed draught, for the advauncement of sir Edward Butler of the Grange, to the degree of a vicount, and to fill the blottings out with his name. Hee is a person of exceeding good affections, and of an estate able to suport that dignity, besides a particuler service I expect from him to his majestie vppon this fauour done him. Sir, I am

Your most affectionate humble servant,

His majestie's castle of Dublin, 9° Jan. 1645.

ORMONDE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

THE state of the treaty of peace in this kingdom, the interuption it hath met with (when wee beleeved it not farr from a conclusion) by meanes of the privat transaction betwixt the earle of Glamorgan and those that treated with mee, also the course that vppon notice thereof wee your majestie's servants heere thought needfull should be taken with the said earle for vindication of your majestie's honour, wysdome, piety, and iustice, together with what els can possibly be sayd of your affaires in generall, are, as I humbly conceiue, in severall dispatches from your privy councell heere to Mr. secretary Nicholas, and

from the lord Digbye to your majestie, and him soe fully and faithfully represented, that there remaines noething for mee to add, but my continued, and to your majestie vnprofitable, profession of my being

Your majestie's most faithfull

and most humble subject and servant,

Your majestie's castle of Dublin, the 9th of January, 1645.

ORMONDE.

CCCCXX.—The marquis of Ormond to the duke of York.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNES;

HAUEING received intelligence of your being at Worcester, and a dispatch now goeing to his majestie, I hould it my duty to acquaint your highnes with a report brought hether, or perhaps framed heere, that your intention is to come into this kingdom; a thing soe impossible that I can give noe credit vnto it. Yet I hould it my duty, as well to his majestie as your highnes, to informe you, that as yet there is noe peace concluded heere, and that thorough an accident lately falen out (wherein the earle of Glamorgan hath a part) his majestie's affaires heere, and all his 441 servants, are not only vpon very great vncertainty, but in apparant and continual danger of surprise and distress, as well by the Irish as by the covenanters in the north and other parts of this kingdom. All which is now advertised to his majestie; and therefore if any such intention of your highnes comeing into this kingdom should be (which I take to be impossible), I humbly offer, whither your highnes may not hould it fitt to expect his majestie's further pleasure, which he may declare vppon the knowledge he will receive of the state of things heere by the dispatch that goes heerewith, before any such dangerous adventure of your highnes person as you must in such case vndergoe in your comeing, and dureing your highnes aboad heere. I humbly beseech your highnes to pardon the impertinence of this first adress to your highnes from

Your highnes most faithfull and most humble servant,

His majestie's castle of Dublin, the
19th of January, 1645.

Ormonde.

CCCCXXI.—The king to the marquis of Ormond.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right entyrely beloved cousin and councellor, wee greet you well. When wee made our dispatch to you of the second of December last, wee weare in hope to have had a personall treaty with the two howses at London, vppon our severall gratious messages sent to them to that purpose; and for the better effecting of a good and firme peace with our subiects heere, (which wee hoped would induce the like with our subjects in Ireland,) wee thought it requisite then to give you order not to conclude a peace on that side, but on such tearmes as wee expressed in our said dispatch. But wee now finde, by the said howses answere to the said messages and otherwise, that notwithstanding their great professions for peace, they will not give eare to a treaty for an accomodation. Wherefore, as before wee gaue you directions not absolutely to conclude a peace, except within the tyme therein limited you might be certaine to procure a considerable assistance for vs, soe now wee expresly comand you to conclude a peace, soe that it be according to those instructions wee haue alredy given you. But if there shall be (contrary to our expectation) a treaty, you may be assured that wee will be carefull that nothing shall be heere finally concluded by vs concearning Ireland, without acquainting you therewith, and receiveing your advice therevppon. Wee resolved to have sent our deare sone the duke of York into Ireland. but as he was redy in order thereto to part from hence to Worcester, the towne of Hereford was by treachery surrendred, by which meanes, and the continued siedge of Chester, the passage in these partes are obstructed. As wee haue for the present layd aside that intention, which wee shall resume againe when wee shall see a fitting opertunity; wherefore you may now spare the sending of any vessell to Anglesey for that service, as wee formerly directed. It much imports our service, that wee receive very frequent advertisement from you of your proceedings, and the state of our affaires on that side, from tyme to tyme; in which wee desire you to vse all possible dilligence.

Giuen at our court att Oxon this 19th of January, 1645.

By his majestie's comand,

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

CCCCXXII.—The marquis of Ormond to the king.

442

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

YOU have bin graciously pleas'd of late to rewarde some that haue ether serued your majestie actually, or sufered for you eminently in their persons or fortunes, with new creations, or with adition of honour in this kingdome. That coll. Arthur Chichester hath missed such a marke of your majestie's fauour, I conceive to have bin through his owne modesty, and my not representing his personall merit. If hee out-live his father, hee will bee in among the foremost of the viscounts of this kingdome in place, and, I am sure, beyond them all, except one, in fortune, though hee bee for the present deprived of the later for his faithfullnes to your majestie's crowne, the same meanes whereby his vncle got both it and his honour. Hee hath serued your majestie against the Irish rebellion since the begining of it, and when, through an almost generall defection of the northerne army, hee was noe longer able to serue your majestie there, hee came with much hazard to take his share of the suferings of your servants here, and with them to atend for that hapy time, that, wee trust, will put vs in condition to contribute more to your service then our prayers. If your majestie shall thinke fit to aduaunce this gentleman to an earledome, I conceiue that of Dunegall, a county in the prouince of Vlster, wherin hee should haue a good inheritance, is fitest; which I humbly ofer to your majestie's consideration, as a parte of the duty of

Your majestie's most faithfull

and most humble subject and servant,

Your majestie's castle of Dublin, 19° January, 1645.

ORMOND.

CCCCXXIII.—The marquis of Ormond to Mr. secretary Nicholas. Sir,

I RECEIUED your leters of the 3 and 8 of December vpon the 13 of this month, and have now in the leters enclosed here within, besought his majestie's pardon for my long sylence, and given him the last acoumpt I am able of his comands signefied in his owne leters of the 1 and 2 of December. Wherewith presumeing you will bee made aquainted, I shall herein touch vpon noething I have sayd in my leter to the king, nor am I yet able to

say any thing of the state of his majestie's affaires here, more then you have in a dispatch directed to the lord Digbye, and by his lordship sent hence since his arrivall, a duplicate whereof as to all the materiall partes of it goes now alsoe. There hath bin indeed a rumor often here of the marquis of Argyle's comeing hether for the ends expressed in your leter of the 3d of December; but I am sure that on the 5 of this month hee was not ariued, and doe much doubt, if hee should come with purpose to draw ouer those called the New Scots, whether hee would preuaile or noe, soe well they are pleas'd with, and soe sure they accoumpt themselves of houlding those places they posesse, though belonging for the most parte to his majestie's good subiects. I have not yet heard, otherwyse then by your sayd leter of the 3d of the last month, of any such motion as you intimate was in preparation for mee at London, nor doe I beleeue they hould mee ether worthy of or tractable by such an adresse; yet, least any such atempt should bee made vpon mee, I humbly desire, with what convenient speede may bee, to bee directed by his majestie how I may best receive and manage it for his seruice. One of the 3 councellors named in your sayd leter, namely sir Robert Meridith, is already at liberty, as parte of the exchange given for the freedom of the lord Brabazon, sir 443 Henry Tichborne and sir James Ware; the other two, vpon a petition of theirs, were by aduice of the councell, vpon the returne of the sayd lord Brabazon, & cet. set at liberty vpon baile, in which condition they stood when the 3 last mentioned councellors were taken at sea. Sir Adam Loftus is not now in towne, but I shall send for him, and by the next give you an accoumpt what hee and sir Will. Parsons will vndertake in the mater of exchange; which hetherto they have still waved. And thus I haue done with yours of the 3d December.

That of the 8 hath in it only one aduertisment, that of his majestie's resolution already taken, and I supose in parte executed; soe that I know not how comely it may bee for mee to ofer any thing that may seeme contrary to a determined councell, in a thing of soe high nature, which hath doubtlesse aimes of aduantage to his majestie of other relation then to this kingdome, beyond which I have seldome taken the boldnes to interpose any conceptions of mine. Nor were it now needefull, the lord Digbye, with whome only I comunicated that leter, haveing sayd soe much ypon that subject. I shall therefore only by you

humbly aduertise his majestie, that in this place, as it yet stands, there is nether meanes fiting for the suport of his highnes the duke of Yorke, nor any probable assureance of his safety; nor that there can bee any probable assureance of ether, till not only a peace bee concluded, but in some degree setled here; and that in the last place Bartlet's ship, expected for his highnes transportation, was long since partely surprised, and partly betrayed into the hands of the rebells; and that there is now here noe vesell fit or safe for such a seruice; yet if his majestie continue his resolution, and his highnes shall ariue here, I shall, to the vtermost of my power, punctually obsearue his majestie's comands concerning him, esteemeing it a great hapines that his majestie houlds mee worthy soe great a trust, which is all I shall take the boldnes to say in that particular. Only I send you a copy of my leter to his highnes, written vpon notice of his being at Worcester, hopeing it may finde him there, where his majestie's pleasure may soone bee signefied vnto him, if the knowledge of the vncertaine state of things here shall induce him to change his royall pleasure.

[19th Jan. 1645.]

CCCCXXIV.—The marquis of Ormond to the king.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

THOUGH I might (with truth) offer in excuse of my silence. since the tyme of sir Nicholas Byron's departure hence till the date of a dispatch directed to the lord Digbye, and by him sent over since his arivall heere, (which I must confess to have been too long,) the many impediments that in this harbour, and on the other side, lay in the way to your majestie, and some other difficultyes, not easily to be believed by any but such as haue been wittnesses of the extreame penury of this place; yet, as to a more certaine and never faileing refuge, I humbly cast my selfe vppon your majestie's goodness for pardon of that fault, wherevnto, in a great measure, I ascribe the difficultyes that I humbly conceiue are imposed on mee by your majestie's letters of the first and second of December, which I received the 13th of January. Not that I have had, or ever will have, such aprehension of the danger your majestie's comands can bring vppon mee, as to scruple at the redy performance of them; whereof I

haue given such testimonyes, as though in themselves triviall, and to your majestie of less advantage then I hoped they would bee, haue yet brought mee to certaine beggery, and mee and mine to very probable ruine. Nor haue I a thought like a wish that those proofes had not been given, whatever may be the consequences of them to mee, or the least inclination to be otherwise preserved, then by and with your majestie's power and 444 interest. But when I find your majestie's pleasure so expressed to mee, that there seemes no roome left for my justification (for what I shall attempt for your majestie's service) by the casualtyes soe incident to such tymes as these, and to your majestie's present condition, that it must be atributed to a wonderfull providence of God if they be escaped, and that there remaines not time sufficient for mee to have recourse to your majestie for a gratious interpretation of the hardnes of the litterall sence, then, I say, I apprehend with much trouble the streight I am in, and that in relation only to the prejudice my resolutions may bring vppon your majestie, and the vnsuccessfullnes of what I shall determine vpon my duty and faith.

To shew that by those letters I am thus streightned, I humbly offer to your majestie's consideration how your pleasure is signifyed in your letter of the second; which, though dated a day after your majestie's of the first of December, I vnderstand as first in your intention; that of the first mentioning an enlargement as to tyme and number beyond that of the second-Where I beseech your majestie be pleased to consider, whither one but reasonably wary might not doubt himselfe vnwarranted to proceed in a matter of this weight according to that of the first; which being intended as an inlargement to that of the second, is not only first dated, but wanting in other held necessary formalityes.

Your majestie, in your letter of the second of December, comands with all speed to have particular knowledge, what assistance you may with certainty rely on from hence, and your majestie declares, that vnless you may receive from hence an ayde of at least ten thousand horse and foot well armed, to be landed in some part of England by or before the first of March next, a peace heere will not be of soe much advantage to your majestie as a cessation.

This question, though not new vnto mee, is yet so farr beyond my skill to answer with satisfaction to your majestie, and without apparant danger of heereafter appearing to have betrayed your service by folly or vppon designe, that I dare not with confidence pitch yppon any proportion of assistance for your majestie to rely on from hence; much less with certainty to assure your majestie, that at least ten thousand horse and foote shall from hence land in any part of England by the first of March next. For besides the casualtyes at sea, which noe man can foresee, I am very much a stranger to what store of mony, arms, or shipping the Irish haue or can procure, or by what tyme; neither can I take vppon mee to answer for their affections. But I am of opinion, and that in some cleernes, that they are able, before the first of Aprill next, to draw to the water side six thousand foot armed, halfe with fyre armes, and the other halfe with pickes; that for the transportation of those numbers they may provide shiping sufficient; and I conceiue, though their duty and affections should not lead them to your majestie's assistance, that yet their owne interest ought in all reason to induce them to it: which is all I am able to say to those parts of your majestie's letters of the first and second of December, comanding mee to lett you know what you have to trust to in poynt of assistance from hence.

To those parts of your majestie's said letters comanding mee seriously to endevour the concludeing of a peace vppon positiue and certaine assurance of the assistance in them mentioned, and according to my former instructions; I humbly answer, that for the former reasons, I conceiue it imposible to haue from the Irish any such positiue assurance of their assistance in all the circumstances of it as seemes to be required; yet if I can conclude a peace at all, I will endeauour that it be vppon condition that they shall doe all that can be expected from them towards your majestie's hauing the assistance of six thousand foote soe armed, and by the tyme in your majestie's of the first of December expressed; and that otherwise your majestie shall not be bound by what shall be concluded.

And if such a peace cannot be obteyned as shall satisfy mee 445 that your majestie's intentions are complyed with, I will endeavour to keepe the cessation and treaty on foot till I have advertised your majestie, with the best assurance I can, what assistance may be expected, and what conditions will satisfy them; though there can be nothing imagined more irksome or dangerous to all your majestie's faithfull servants heere, then the lin-

gring miseryes they suffer, and the hazards of surprise by treachery they are exposed vnto by continueing the treaty and cessation with the Irish.

Your majestie's most faithfull and most humble subject and servant,

Your majestie's castle of Dublin, 19 January, 1644.

ORMOND.

CCCCXXV.—The king to the lord lieutenant and council.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and entirely beloued cousin and councellor, and right trusty and wel-beloved councellors, wee greet you Wee have seen and considered the dispatch directed from you and our councel there to our right trusty and welbeloved councellor sir Edward Nicholas, one of our principall secretaries of state, concerning the earl of Glamorgan's accusation, and your proceedings therevoon. And as wee could not but receaue the one with extraordinary amazement, that any man's folly and presumption should carry him to such a degree of abusing our trust, how little soever; soe wee could not but bee very sensible of the great affection and zeale to our service which you have express'd in putting our honour (see highly traduced) into soe speedy and effectuall a way of vindication by the proceeding against the said earle. And although wee are soe well assured of you and the rest of our councel's entire confidence in the justice and piety of our resolution in what concernes the maintenance of the true protestant religion, and particularly of the church and the revenewes thereto belonging, and our constant care of our good subjects of the same in that our kingdome, as wee doe not thinke it needfull to say any more vnto you vpon that subject then what hath been sufficiently declared by the practice and professions of our whole life; yet, to the end that your zeale may bee the better instructed in that particular, whereby to satisfy such of our good subjects as might bee apt to bee misledd by the subtilty and malice of our enemyes, wee haue thought fit to let you know the whole trueth of what hath past from vs vnto the earle of Glamorgan, whereby hee might in any wise pretend to the least kind of trust or authority from vs in what concerned the treaty of that kingdome. The trueth is, that the pressing condition of our affaires obliging vs to procure a peace in that kingdome, if it might bee had vpon any termes safe to our honour and conscience, and to our protestant subjects there; and finding also that the said peace could not bee geyned but by some indulgence to the Roman catholiques in point of freeing them from the penaltyes imposed vpon the exercise of their religion, as although justly and duly wee might graunt, yet happily in a publique transaction could not bee without some scandall to such our good subjects as might bee apt to bee wrought vpon by their arts, who did continually watch all advantages to blast the integrity of our actions, wee thought fit, over and aboue our publique powers and directions to you our lieutenant, to give you private instructions and powers to assure the said Roman catholiques in a lesse publique way of the said exemption from the penaltyes of the law, and of some such other graces as might, without blemish to our honour and conscience, or prejudice to our protestant subjects, bee affoorded them. With the knowledge of these secret instructions to you, wee thought fit to acquaint the earl of Glamorgan at his going to Ireland, being confident of his hearty affections to our service; and withall, knowing his interest with the Roman catholique party to bee very consider-446 able, wee thought it not vnlikely that you might make good vse of him by imploying that interest in perswading them to a moderation, and to rest satisfyed, vpon his engagement also, with those aboue-mentioned concessions, of which in the nice condition of our affaires, you could give them noe other then a private assurance. To this end (and with the strictest limitations that wee could enjoyne him, meerely to those particulars concerning which wee had given you secret instructions, as alsoe even in that to doe nothing but by your especiall directions) it is possible wee might have thought fit to have given vnto the said earle of Glamorgan such a credentiall as might give him credit with the Roman catholiques, in case you should find occasion to make vse of him, either as a further assurance vnto them of what you should privately promise, or in case you should judge it necessary to manage those matters, for their greater confidence, apart by him, of whome, in regard of his religion and interest, they might bee the lesse jealous. This is all, and the very bottome of what wee might haue possibly entrusted vnto the said earl of Glamorgan in this affaire; which, as things then stood, might have been very vsefull to our service

in accelerating the peace, and whereof there was soe much need, as well for the preservation of our protestant subjects there, as for hasting those necessary aydes which wee were to expect from thence, had wee had the luck to imploy a wiser man. But the trueth is, being very confident of his affections and obedience, wee had not much regard to his abilityes, since hee was bound vp by our positive commands from doing any thing but what you should particularly and precisely direct him to, both in the matter and manner of his negotiation.

Wherefore our pleasure is, that the charge, began by our secretary according to his duty, bee thoroughly and diligently prosecuted against the said earle. And soe noe way doubting of your and our councel's further care there correspondent to your beginning in a matter soe highly concerning vs, wee bid you heartly farewell.

Given at our court at Oxford this 31th day of January, in the 21th yeare of our reigne, 1645.

By his majestie's command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCCCXXVI.—Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond and council of Ireland.

My Lords,

HIS majestie having, with the lords of his priuy councell here, heard and duely weighed your lordships to mee of the 5th present concerning your prudent and graue proceedings in the businesse of the lord Edward Herbert of Ragland, soe highly importing his majestie, hath comanded mee to send your lordships his royall thankes, as well for your affectionate expressions of your tendernesse of his honour, as your just resentment how scandallous and disadvantagious such the said lord Herbert's proceedings might have been to his majestie's affaires and service here and on that side, if the wise course your lordships haue taken to vindicate his majestie had been deferred. Your lordships will by the king's owne letter herewith sent receaue the particulars of all that his majestie can call to minde or imagine hee may have done or said to the lord Herbert in that businesse. And since the warrant whereby his lordship pretends to bee authorised to treate with the Roman catholiques there is not sealed with the signet, as it mentions, nor attested by either

of his majestie's secretaries, as it ought, nor written in the stile that warrants of that nature vse to bee, neither referres to any instructions at all, your lordships cannot but judge it to bee 447 (at least) surreptitiously gotten, if not worse; for his majesty saith hee remembers it not. And as the warrant is a very strange one, soe hath been also the execution of it: for it is manifest the lord Herbert did not acquaint the lord lieutenant with any part of it before hee concluded with the said Roman catholiques, nor ever advertised his majestie, the lord lieutenant, or any of his councell here or there, what hee had done in an affaire of soe great moment and consequence fower moneths before, till it was discovered by accident. This doeth not sound like good meaning, and I am sure is not faire dealing. But his majestie having by his letter to your lordships left the charge against the lord Herbert to bee prosecuted by your lordships, I shall saye noe more of that vnhappy subject.

His majestie commands mee to acquaint your lordships, that hee likewise thankes you for your care in demanding justice of the Roman catholiques, as well for the barbarous murther of John Joyce and those who were with him in his majestie's castle of Wickloe, as for reparation of the buildings there by them burnt, and restitution of what was taken from the murthered persons. And his majestie approves very well of your care to repaire those buildings which were there burnt. I shall not now add any more to your lordships trouble, but the tender of the humble service of,

My lord, your lordshipps most humble servaunt,

Oxford, 31° January,
1645.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCCCXXVII.—Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

YOUR lordship's of the 9th I received the 24th present, being the only letter that hath come to my hands from your excellency since Robert Smith went hence, or in many months before; and I am very glad to find that I have still a place in your lordship's esteeme, which I shall endeauour to preserve, though I cannot merite.

His majestie did very readily and graciously condiscend to the conferring of the honor your lordship desired on sir Edw. Butler,

for which your excellency will herewith receive his majestie's warrant and directions.

Wee are all here much amazed at the newes of the lord Herbert's imprudent action, (to say no more of it,) which hath most extreamly prejudiced his majestie and his affaires here.

Your excellency and the councell there will herewith receive a full and particular relation from his majestie of all that he can call to mind concerning that buisines; wherein, as the lord Herbert hath dealt very unworthily with his majestie, soe it is beleeued that euen the Roman catholiques themselues will condemne him for his imprudent proceeding therein. For if his pretended warrant had been authentique, yet to doe any thing thereupon without your excellency's privity was a madness rather then a folly, and the concealing so long what he had done argues somthing worse. The king hath commanded me to aduertise your lordship, that the patent for making the said lord Herbert of Ragland earl of Glamorgan is not passed the great seale here, soe as he is no peere of this kingdom, notwithstanding he stiles himselfe, and hath treated with the rebels in Ireland by the name of earle of Glamorgan, which is as vainely taken vpon him as his pretended warrant (if any such be) was surreptitiously gotten. And I am sure that honor cannot be conferred on him vnder the signet, (as firmly as under the great seale to all intents and purposes,) as his lordship's pretended warrant and power is alleaged to be, though there be no signet to it.

I intend herewith to send your excellency copies of his majes-448 tie's many gracious messages to the two houses at Westminster; but nothing will satisfy them, as I believe, but an vtter subversion of the auntient government of England, which I hope God will not suffer.

It were necessary that his majestie knew, as soone as might be, what he may expect from Ireland; whence it is heere beleeued noe great store of forces can be had, if that peace weare there concluded.

Those at London cannot agree in the choice of a lord deputy for Ireland; some haue voted (as I heare) the lord Lisle, others would have the lord Inchiquin. Cromwell (who is lieutenant generall of the army in the west under sir Thomas Fairfax) hath been offred by the two houses to be sent ouer generall of an army into Ireland, but he hath refused it, resolving first to see the independants settled in their hoped for government in Eng-

land, that party being here much stronger then the presbyterian; though this latter, with the help of the Scotses, do yet keepe the revnes in their hands.

His majestie's intention to send the duke of Yorke for Ireland was by the loss of Hereford and other accidents layd aside, as your lordship hath been formerly aduertised by the king, so as there is no use for a ship to be sent to Anglesey for that purpose, as was by his majestie formerly directed. I shall readily obserue your excellency's commands here, in all particulars for his majestie's service, or wherein I may by my endeauours expresse how much your excellency's integrity is honored by,

My lord, your excellencie's most humble seruant,

I hope your excellency will thinck it necessary to cause all his majestie's gracious messages and offers sent to the 2 houses, &c. to be reprinted in that kingdom; and not only published in all parts there, but also from thence sent into Scotland, and such parts of England and Wales as we have not meanes to convey them from hence; which will (I am perswaded) doe the king right, and open the eyes of all his good subjects, to whom his majestie hath been represented a long time in a false glosse.

Oxon, 31 January, 1645.

CCCCXXVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Glamorgan.

My Lord,

I have not otherwise heard of the audience given to the nuntio there, then by your lordship's of the 8th of this moneth; nor doe at all vnderstand what ground there is for the expectation your lordship mentions of advantagious conditions by meanes of her majestie, wherin if your lordship please to give mee further light I shall accoumpt it an encrease of my obligation to your service.

My lord, my affections and interest are soe tyed to his majestie's cause, that it weare madnes in mee to disgust any man that hath power and inclination to releeve him in the sad condition he is in, and therefore your lordship may securely goe on in the wayes you have proposed to your selfe to serve the king without feare of interuption from mee, or soe much as enquireing into the meanes you worke by. My comission is to treat with his

majestie's confederate catholique subiects heere for a peace, vppon conditions of honor and assistance to him, and of advantage to them; which accordingly I shall pursue to the best of my skill, but shall not venture vppon any new negotiation for aigne to the powers I have received.

I hope the supplies your lordship labours for with soe much 449 dilligence will yet come seasonably for the releefe of Chester, notwithstanding the rumours raysed heere of the takeing of it; but of this and the rest of the 10,000 men I can say noe more then I lately have done in a letter I comended to Mr. Browne's conveyance. I rest

Your lordship's most faithfull kinsman and most humble servant,

Dublin-Castle, the 11th of Feb. 1645.

ORMONDE.

CCCCXXIX.—The king to the marquis of Ormond.

[Sir E. Nicholas's cipher.]

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right entyrely beloved cousin and councellor, wee greet you well. Haueing well weighed your letter of the 19th of January, wee are very sensible of the hard condition you are in, and therefore doe not wonder to finde you troubled at the strict comands wee haue sent you; which was to shew you the necessity of our condition, but no ways to obleege you to doe further then a discreet and prudent minister ought to performe. You conceive very truly, that there was a mistake in the date of the letter written with our owne pen to you, which should have been dated after our other; but, howsoever, you may be assured that our intention was not to tye you to the litterall, but the true meaning of our letters. It is not possible for any king to have more confidence, not only in the fidelity and affection, but likewaies in the industry and judgement of a minister, then wee haue of you; and therefore wee thought good by these our letters to assure you, that if you can conclude a peace, according to the latter parte of your letter of the 19 of January, you shall doe vs very good and acceptable service.

Giuen at our court at Oxon the 17th day of February, 1645.

By his majestie's comand.

CCCCXXX.—Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

I have receaved your lordship's severall letters of the 19th of Jan. last, by coll. Butler; with which I have acquainted his majestie. I heare no more of the rebells purpose to treate with your lordship, but believe by their voteing the lord Lisle to be lord lieutenant of Ireland, they doubt you are too faithfull and prudent a minister to be wrought vpon; and so they laid that designe aside. I am advertised that they have given the lord Inchequin much trouble and discontent, in preferring the lord Lisle before him to that great office.

I have by the king's command written at large concerning the reason of his majestie's intention to send the duke of Yorke into Ireland, which was to send him the safer into France, if your excellency found it not safe or convenient for him to continue in Ireland. And I assure your lordship, now that designe is layd aside, the king is reduced to that extremity, as he knows not how to dispose of the duke with safety, which gives the king no little trouble. The king was glad your lordship's letter to the duke was by you soe well disguised; for his highnes knew nothing of the king's purpose therein.

The lord primate is not dead, and though in ill hands in 45° Wales, yet wee hope his piety will by God's mercy preserve him yet longer an ornament to the protestant church and honour to his function.

I have by this sent your excellency a full dispatch of all other particulars you desired. As for the bill of graces which your lordship sent hither vnder the greate seale of Ireland, it is in the hands of the king's learned councell heere, and had been sent by this bearer, but that he durst not now, since the loss of Chester, adventure to carry any thing of soe great a bulk, the passages being all soe full of the enemye's souldiers.

Your excellency will receaue from the king's owne pen, I believe, what you may expect of directions from him. Wee are heere now busy in gathering the king's forces together, the king intending by the begining of the next moneth to take the feild; and wee hope he will haue 5 thousand horse and dragoons and foot ready to march with him by that time.

The houses have not as yet sent his majestic any answere to his message of the 29th of January last; they pretend reformation, but theyr designe is the extirpation, not onely of episcopacy, but of monarchy itselfe.

I sent full answer to your lordship's first dispatch concerning the earle of Glamorgan two severall wayes the last of January.

I have by this sent a triplicate of the king's answere to the letter his majestic receased from your lordship and the councell there, least the former should miscarry. The king expects to heare speedyly what is like to be the issue of your present treaty at Dublin.

God prosper your endeavours; see prayes,
My lord,

Oxon, 18° Febr. 1645.

Since my writing this, his majestie hath received advertisement that the lord Char. Somerset, sonne of the marquess of Worcester, hath taken Swansey, and is very faire for taking of Cardiff, and reducing of all South-Wales; some of the principall men of power in Glamorganshire being come in to his lordship, and the most of Brecknockshire having declared that if hee shall come thither they will all rise with him for the king.

CCCCXXXI.—Sir Edward Hyde to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

THOUGH wee finde it here most difficult to heare from Ireland, (his highnesse having received noe dispatch, or the least account of the affayres of that kingdome, since his comming from Barnestaple till the 6th of this moneth,) yet I feare our ill newes from these parts will finde a speedyer conveyance to your lordshipp.

The forces of the enemy being soe great in Cornwall, and his highnesse being resolued not to bee shutt up in Pendennis castle, on Munday night last hee set sail from thence, and on Wedensday arrived here in a place very strong of itselfe, and capable of being easily made impregnable; but as full of present wants and disaccommodations as can bee imagined. One of the great benefitts his highnesse reckons the neighbourhood to you, and desires your lordship to finde some meanes that hee may heare from you: and truely, if your Irish merchants could bee encouraged to trade hither, they will bee sure to receive ready money;

and if they bring timber, ruggs, and any provisions of victuall, they will make good marketts, besides the accommodating the

place.

The prince very earnestly desires your lordship to send him 451 three companyes, of 100 in each company, for his guards, armed, if possible, with firelocks, otherwise with musketts; and for the transportation of them hither his highnesse will speedily send a shipp to Dublyn, against which time hee hopes the men will bee ready.

The day the prince came from Pendennis hee received a letter from my lord of Glamorgan, dated at Waterford the 28th, in which his lordship assures him that there is a perfect peace concluded, and 6000 men ready to bee transported into England; which being soe different from the intelligence wee receive in the prints from London, and in some late letters from Oxford, putts us here into new amazement. Having never yet the good fortune to knowe whether the cypher I presumed to send your lordship (I thinke by sir Arthur Aston) came safe to you, I dare not write more particularly, though your lordship will easily conceive his highnesse's condition and service would require a franker intercourse; which I hope your lordship will finde some meanes to create, that the prince may receive the benefitt of your lordship's correspondence, and my selfe the great obligation of being acknowledged,

My lord,

Your lorshipp's most affectionate and most_obedient seruant, 8 March, 1645. EDW. HYDE.

CCCCXXXII.—The king to the marquis of Ormond.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloued cousin and councellor, wee greet you well. Wee haue been at a great losse divers weekes for want of advertisement out of Ireland, and our condition is now very low and sad, by the late disbanding of our army in the west, (which, if succors of foot had arrived in tyme from Ireland, might have been preserved to our most certaine advantage,) and by the defeate given to the lord Asteley and the forces hee was bringing from Worcester to joyne with such as wee have in these parts; soe as wee have no face of an army

left, nor visible meanes to relieue Exeter, Newark, and other our beseiged garrisons. In this perplexed state of things, wee haue yet once more sent to Westminster our gracious message, a copy wherof you shall have herewith, and may observe thereby that wee haue left nothing vn-offer'd that may bee conceaued conducing to peace. Wee have thought fit to advertise these particulars to you with speed, and that our sone the prince is gone into Denmarke, as in case of necessity wee appointed him to doe; that you may stop the sending over of foot, which would be lost, if they should now come, wee haueing noe horse nor portes in our power to secure them. And for the rest of our affaires in and concerning that kingdome, you are to take your measures hereby, how to order and dispose things there for the best; wherein wee rely vpon your approved great fidelity and wisdome. And soe for the present bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our court at Oxford the 26th day of March, 1646.

By his majestie's command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCCCXXXIII. - The king to lord Digby.

452

DIGBYE,

Oxford, 26 March, 1646.

SINCE my last to you by colonell Buttler misfortunes have so multiplied upon me that I have beene forced to send this (to say noe more but) strange message to London: yet whatsoeuer come of me, I must not forget my friends, whereur they are. Haveing little tyme, I comaund you to excuse mee to Ormand for not writeing a particuler letter vnto him, meaning that this should serve for you both.

As the state of my affairs now stands, forces from Ireland (except they were much greater than I beleiue can bee sent me from thence) will do me more harme than good: and yet I much desire that the peace there were made. Indeed if my condition were such as to make any thing of an equal treaty with the rebels, I could then wish that that peace were at my disposing: but now my case is such, that if I be not beforehand bound up by my word, I shall be forced (and that without contradiction) to cast that kingdom loose for a prey, either to rebels or foreigners. Wherefore, if it bee not already, I wish this way to bind my hands, lest against my judgment I do my

self harm; but withall that Ormonde stop any forces from coming over, and employ them for the reducing that kingdome into a perfect obedience; by which it is possible that it may please God to restore the king the other two, or be a retreat for my self.

Now for my owne particular resolution, it is this. I am endevouring to get to London, soe that the conditions may bee such as a gentleman may owne, and that the rebels may acknowledge me king, being not without hope that I shall be able so to draw either the presbyterians or independents to side with me for extirpating one the other, that I shall be really king again.

Howsoeuer, I desire you to assure all my freinds, that, if I cannot live as king, I shall dye like a gentleman, without doeing that which may make honest men blush for mee. I confess that my sonnes absence, (though I know not particularly where hee is, more then that I am confident hee is safe, and out of any rebell's powre,) which is of greatest securitie for mee, makes me not the less bold; and I could wish that the duke of York were in some such place as Ireland, notwithstanding the opinion of wiser men. I will conclude with this assurance, that whatsoeuer becomes of mee, by the grace of God I will neuer forsake the church, my freinds, nor my crowne, nor bee other then

Your assured, constant, faithfull freind,

CHARLES R.

Upon second thoughts, I find it very possible to have use of Irish forces, albeit they were but 3 or 4000, and would do nothing to impossibilitate ayde from thence; but, if it be possible, have them ready against I send you word, which (by the grace of God) you shall not faile to have this next weeke, and that positively, what you are to do.

CCCCXXXXIV.—Mr. Secretary Nicholas to the marquis of 453
Ormond.

My Lord,

SINCE the duplicate from Dublin by sir Alan Butler, who returned hence with answere about the 18th of February last, (whereof sir William Byron earried a duplicat some few dayes after,) there hath come no letter from Ireland, whereby wee haue been many weeks in great ignorance of what hath passed

there. That neuertheless is the least evil of two; for not only Chester, but lately the whole west (that is, the army we had there) hath been miserably lost for want of that succour that we have so expected from that kingdom. Foot we wanted in Cornwall to help our horse; if those had come, we should have been in a condition to drive Fairfax out of the west. That failing, and likewise some chief men among the Cornish, our forces disbanded, almost daily, out of discontent; the rest, debauched by the specious arts of the enemy, who (wee heare) daily breaks conditions with them. The prince of Wales with his council passed into the isle of Scilly, and are gone thence, as wee conceiue, to Denmark, as the king had ordered, in case of necessity. Pendennis, Exeter, and Barnstaple are the only houlds we now have in the west; and it cannot be expected we should have them long, there being no visible relief for them in this kingdom, and as little apparance to have it from abroad, without horse, and without ports to secure it. For to that disaster in the west it hath pleased God to permitt the addition of my lord Astley's defeat on Saterday last at Stow on the Would, as he was coming from Worcester, with about 2000 foot and horse, to join with the forces hereabouts. Lord Astley is prisoner at Warwick, sir Charles Lucas at Compton-house: about 400 horse escaped hither with the lord St. Paul, and some few foot; the rest all taken or slain, all his carriages and baggage lost. The handfull of horse now hereabouts is all the force the king hath left, save what is in the few remaining garrisons, most of which are blocked up or besieged. In this sad posture your lordship may imagine how difficult it is for the king to resolve what to doe: but to shew his constant passion for peace, hee hath newly sent to Westminster a most satisfactory message, (as wee conceive it,) if any thing be so to them; whereof your lordship will find a coppy herein. What operation it hath had, wee expect to heare.

Mr. W. Murray is prisoner in the Tower, but not yet further proceeded against; by which, and by the publication of the late ordinance for choosing lay-elders throughout England and Wales, it is collected that the presbyterians prevail yet: in this they are curbed, that they cannot yet obtain the presbytery to be settled de jure divino, the point now in highest contestation. I am,

My lord, your lordship's most humble seruant,

26° March, 1646.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CCCCXXXV.—The earl of Clarricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

THIS place affording me more time of recolection then the sodaines of my departure and the important affaires there in agitation would allow me, I shall humbly offer some perticulers to your lordship's consideration.

I presume that, imediatly vpon my arrivall into Connaght, I 454 shall be importun'd personally and vigorously to oppose and resist the invasion of the Scotts, and the attempts of the malignant garrisons of that prouince; for which I have nothing of instruction or authority from your lordship, nor any thing to guide my proceedings therin, farther then what I can deriue from my commission for the gouernment of the county of Gallway, which confines me within the limmitts of that county. And though it should still be your lordship's resolution to conferre the place of lieutenant-generall vpon me, which I must acknowledg my self in all circumstances most vncapable of, more then what a firme zeale to the service of his majestie shall inable me to performe, I know not whether that will be a sufficient warrent for me, without spetiall order, to asume any power within my lord president's gouernment: and if his lordship in his present condition find it fitt for his vndertaking, I shall esteeme it a very great hapines to keepe within my own iurrisdiction, knowing my own disability, and being well acquainted with the vnruly dispositions of that province. So that without your lordship's express authority, no perswasions of the other party shall preuaile with me to appeare with them, otherwise then by sending asistance to them. But if your lordship shall by your commands ingage me in any farther imployment, I shall humbly desire that some better officers may be chosen for me then yet appeares in our partes; and I doe espetially desire and offer to your lordship's fauer coll. Fra. Trafford; otherwise I must be driven to hazard my self and the safety of those partes in vnskillfull hands, or loose the affection of the people there, by making it my owne acte to displace any allready in command. I find my self much grauel'd vpon the consideration of some perticulers, which, if my memory had serued, would have bin most proper for discourse. I doe imagine by some words lett fall by a friend of mine, that the nuntio will shortly make some addresses to me, and prouide mony for the prosecution of the

warre in Connaught; or else that I shall be inuited and ernestly importun'd to write vnto him, vpon asurance of his performance therein. And there is some coniecture that he may visit the towne of Gallway, and pass by some houses of mine; and how to behaue my self in any of these, being loath to loose his money, doth much perplex me: besides that, I shall suffer in the opinion of the people by any publick neglect towards him. And if it be not a strange presumption in me, I should humbly desire that your lordship, not in the way of your place and authority, but vpon the personall interests your lordship hath in your faithfull seruant, would be pleased to afford me some aduice, being confident that your lordship's cleere indgment may find out some fitt mediums to ease him of his treasure, without any dangerous scandall, which my weake capacity cannot reach vnto.

I must still begg leaue to importune your lordship concerning sir John Reade; and though I doe very much comiserate his hard condition in the later end of his age, yet I am inuited to this boldnes more in reguard of your lordship's ingagement therin: for he affirms that he did put your lordship in mind to preuent their gaining those areares of the king's allotted to him, and that your lordship did warrent him, and giue him asurance that you would be carefull of it; which, if so, doth, as I conceiue, press very farre vpon your lordship to giue him satisfaction. I shall therfore humbly offer it to your lordship's consideration, that if those of Kilkenny-cannot be preuailed with, whether your lordship may not thinke it fitt in your dispatches to the king to moue for some dirrections from thence, that they may be prest to discharge that debt vpon the publication of the peace. So, humbly kissing your lordship's hands, I am

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

Lexlep, the 29 of March, 1646.

CLANRICARDE.

CCCCXXXVI.—The king to the marquis of Ormond.

455

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and intirely beloved cousin and councellor, wee greet you well. Having vsed all possible meanes by sending many gracious messages to the two houses of parliament, wherein wee haue offered them all they haue heertofore desired, and

desired from them nothing but what themselues since theise vnhappie warrs have offered to procure, our personall treaty with them for a safe and well grounded peace; and having, instead of a dutifull and peaceable returne to our said messages, received eyther no answere at all, or such as argues that nothing will satisfy them but the ruin, not only of vs, our posterity, and freinds, but even the monarchy it selfe: and haueing lately received very good security, that wee, and all that doe and shall adhere to vs, shall be safe in our persons, honnours, and consciences, in the Scotts army; and that they shall really and effectually joine with vs, and with such as will come in vnto vs, and joine with them for our preservation, and shall imploy their armyes to assist vs to the procureing of a happie and wellgrounded peace for the good of vs and our kingdomes, and in the recovery of our just rights; wee haue resolved to put our selves to the hazard of passing into the Scotch army now lying before Newark. And if it shall please God that wee come safe thither, wee are resolved to vse our best endeavours, with their assistance, and with the conjunction of the forces vnder the marquess of Montross and such of our well-affected subjects of England as shall rise for vs, to procure (if it may be) an honnourable and speedy peace with those who have hitherto refused to give eare to any meanes tending therevnto. Of which our resolution wee held it necessary to give you this advertizement, as well to satisfy you, as all our councell and loyall subjects with you, (to whome we will that you communicate theise our letters,) that faileing in our earnest and sincere endeavours by treaty to put an end to the miseryes of this our kingdome, wee esteem our selfe obleiged to leave noe probable expedient vnattempted to preserve our crowne and our freinds from the vsurpation and tyranny of those whose actions declare soe manifestly their designe is to overthrow the lawes and happie established government of this kingdome. And now wee haue made knowne to you our resolution, we recomend to your speciall care the disposeing and manageing of our affaires on that side, as you shall conceive most for our honnour and service, being confident that the course wee haue taken (though with some hazard to our person) will have a good influence on that our kingdome, and deferr, if not altogeather prevent, the rebells transporting of forces from theise parts into that our kingdome. And wee desire you to satisfy all our well-affected subjects on that side of our princely

456

care of them, whereof they shall receive the effect as soon as God shall inable vs. Wee desire you to vse some meanes to let vs and our councell at Oxon heare frequently from you, and of your actions and conditions there. And soe God prosper your royall endeavours.

Given at our court at Oxon, the 3d day of Aprill, 1646. By his majestie's command,

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

CCCCXXXVII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

I ARRIUED heere yesterday about twoe of the clock in the afternoone. I was mett out of towne by my lord of Muskerye, by Owen O'Neale, and by colonell Butler, my lord Montgarrett's brother, and some others. Soone after their leauinge mee at my lodgings, I was visited by all that, I thinke, are in the towne of the supreame councell, whome I finde soe passionately affected with our designe, that I am likelye to bee their greate favourite by it; insoemuch as, I think, my lord of Glamorgan growes jealous of my supplantinge him in the fauour of these twisfogs. Whate're the matter is, his lordship is in greate indignation against mee, and went out of towne halfe an hower before I It seemes his lordship thinkes himselfe vndercame into it. ualued by my last propositions to him. But to returne vnto our businesse. The councell with greate cheerfullnesse vndertakes to furnish mee with all I desire, and in the way desired: the 300 men are to bee vnder Milo Power, and three such captaines vnder him as I shall approue. I beseech your lordship to hasten mee downe your commission vnto Milo Power, to commaund them, and to obey such orders as hee shall receive from mee. I shall bee furnish't on Sunday next with 500l. out of your moneys, they vndertakinge to repay it your excellence within a fortnight. I receive it from them as vpon my owne score, goinge vpon this seruice, without other relation to the prince of Wales; it being too inconsiderable a summe for his name to bee vsed in, and perhapps not fitt as yett to bee accepted by him from them. They have writt effectually to my lord of Antrim concerning his frigatts; and my lord of Muskerye and I shall goe to-morrowe to Waterford, to see in what condition and forwardnesse for sea

they are. They will likewise finde a shipp of prouisions for the men. I hope to finde the frigatts soe prouided, as that I may bee goinge by the middle of the next weeke at farthest. Thus much for that businesse.

I finde my lord of Glamorgan has fayled them for matter of shippinge, especiallye of shipps of warr for their conuove; without which, the officers and soldiers are unwillinge to venture. Besides, they are soe daunted with the prince of Wales his disaster and flight, as they tearme it, to Sillye, that they doe in a manner mutinye against their goinge, as apprehending themselues sent to sacrifise; vnlesse there may bee some more certaintye of a secure landinge place for them, and of a coniunction of horse on the other side; wherein, as wee haue reason to thinke things stand in England, I cannot say but they have reason. I suppose that they having fayled on their parts, they haue taken the best way of excuse they could, by imputing it to the crossnesse of the winds to the shipping which they expected; there beinge a prouiso in the defeasance relative to that impediment: wherby your excellence will bee furnish't with the best pretence to those you have to deale with there, for holding that businesse of the peace in suspence vpon the same tearmes where now it stands, till such time as you shall see the effect of my journey, which if it succeed will furnish you with just grownds of an avow'd change of councell in what concernes the time and manner of the supplye for England. Onlye, in the meane time, it being of soe vast a charge to the councell heere to keepe the armye where now it is vnimploy'd, and those of Bonratti fortifyinge dayly that place, and another lower vpon the riuer, as if they expected a suddaine supplye out of England, I should thinke it very necessary that your excellence would give them leave to employ their men in that seruice till such time as their shippinge come; which they may pretend to expect, reserving onlye 2500 or 3000 men to bee suddainlye sent for the securing of Anglesye and his majestie's garrisons of Wales, as soone as your excellence shall have learnt in what state his majestie's forces are there to receive them. For as soone as that can bee knowne, I thinke 457 this a most necessarye worke, and the more necessarye, in case you doe resolue to stay all the rest of the armye vpon those grownds, whereof wee haue formerlye discours't. I haue noe more to add at present, but onlye to desire your excellence, that you will hasten your directions one way or other to your mustermasters here. I thinke it is not at all materiall, now the confederates haue fayled of their part, whether they goe to muster them at the places desired by the councell heere or not; but I thinke it most necessarye that the men should not bee held long together vnimployed, soe chargeablye to them, and soe vnusefullye to the publike.

I humblye kisse your excellence's hands, restinge,

My lord,

Your excellence's faithfull humble seruant,

Kilkenny, Aprill 3d, at twelue at night, [1646.]

-CCCCXXXVIII.

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCCCXXXVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

YOURS of the 3d of this moneth I received this day about noone; and am glad by it to find that your lordship's safe arivall there is accompanied with soe good a reception, and such faire hopes of those necessary furtherances you expected thence for the prosperous accomplishment of what you goe about. And I am not sory, that since lieutenant coll. Moore (that went hence yesterday with a letter of mine to your lordship) must faile of his expectation of comanding the 300 men, the lot is fallen vppon my frend Milo, to whome I have directed heerewith such a comission as your lordship desires for him; leaving you and your best rethorick to appease the wrath of the disappointed comander. I feare your lordship will find it a harder task to perswade my lord of Antrim out of his frigatts, the rather that my lord of Glamorgan is gone before you to Waterforde, whose oratory he will perhapps more listen to, as more suteable to his capacity, then any thing you can descend vnto. But if you overcome that difficulty, I shall hould the work haulfe done, and with more cheerefullness endeauour to keepe things heere in a condition to answer the good event of your vndertakeing; though I doubt I shall find some difficulty to make these heere to vnderstand a continued westerly wind such an impediment as is within the letter or construction of the defeasance. For it will be easily found out, and said they could hardly want a pretence to keepe their men, if an easterly and westerly winde both may serve the turne; and your lordship may please to remember that the suply of the king and this defeasance, makeing it a condition of the peace, were the maine arguments, indeed the only, that could beat downe the objections of those that found fault with diuers of the articles; which also will be remembred, and perhaps by him that declared for signeing in relation only to the king's assistance, and in obedience to the king's comand, which hee tooke vppon my word. For I never shew'd him the letters prescribeing the numbers the king expected, and the tyme when he looked for them. But with the help of the expected supply of mony, and vnder collour of the cessation, (which is to continue longer then I hope you will be in your iourney,) I doubt not but I shall keepe things from an open breach.

For sending those men or any part of them against Bunratty, I dare give neither advice nor leave to them. But I dare tell your lordship, that if they finde themselves vnable to performe according to their vndertakeing, it is a great weakenes in them, for a fruitelesse expectation of makeing the world believe they had done their partes, to loose soe much tyme and mony as may be better spent and imployed, both for themselves and the king, 458 if your lordship's busines take effect. For vppon that depends all my hope, that this kingdom can be vsefull to the crowne of England, at least for the present. I shall imediately send over to my lord Byron, to know the condition of those partes, and according to what I shall receive from him, direct the sending over of the numbers named in your lordship's; and for the comissaryes, the tyme limited by their last instruction being soe neere expired, I shall direct them to return hether, but soe as they shall be redy to returne when from the confederates I shall heare that their men and shipping are redy, if it be in any reasonable tyme. I am ever

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dublin-Castle, 5 of Aprill,
1646, late at night.

Ormonde.

CCCCXXXIX.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Muskery.
My Lord,

IN answer to yours of the 3d of this month, which you say was written by direction of your councell, you may please to let them know, that as there are many reasons induceing mee to wish this nation hapy in themselues, and considerable to others; soe I have (not without hazard to my selfe and ruine to my private

fortune) laboured to make it soe, euer since his majestie gaue mee probable meanes to effect my purpose, by trusting mee first with the gouernement of this kingdome, and then with his comission to treate for a peace. But I must acknowledge to your lordship, that I had cause to beleeve that this later trust was not without some expectation in his majestie before now to haue received from this kingdome such an assistance as might (if seasonably sent) have kept him out of those streights whereunto, it is conceived, hee is now reduced. Which your lordship, and those that have treated with mee, can witnes I always vrged, and that, with all possible earnestnes, as a necessary adjunct to the peace, and a meanes, not only to secure it, but to make this people truly considerable in the maintenance of that power; from whence, and from whence only, they were reasonably to expect performance, protection, and what els could bee expected from a gracious prince opertunly assisted by his subjects: and I know his majestie did soe farr rely theron, that I cannot beleeue hee hath as yet consented to any conditions destructive to the powers hee hath given mee to conclude with your party; which if hee had, it is certaine the parliament would have given free passages to the bringers of such news. And this confirmes my beleef, that your first doubt is yet groundlesse. In the next place, if it bee graunted that the king hath not yet yeelded to what the parliament propounds, and that still hee hath a party, I conceive noething can bee cleerer then that, in duty to him and in relation to your owne saftys, you ought, notwithstanding all those hazards and discouragements at sea, at landing, and after landing, to atempt his succour. In duty to him, you ought to endeuour to keepe him from being vterly subdued, and cast out of his kingdome of England, or into some woefull condition in it. In relation to your owne safetys, it is certainely prouidence to fight at your enemie's charge, and in his country; and if it bee coolly considered, I beleeue, it will bee found as likely a way to cleere Ireland, as it is euidently a help to his majestie in England.

To conclude, as I may at noe hand decline your vndertakeing to serue his majestie in England; soe nether shall I refuse your ofer towards it in this kingdome. But as occasion shall bee ofered, and I enabled, will cheerefully endeuour to preserve his interest heere, and the lives, libertys, and fortunes of all those 459

that shall therin joyne with mee, euen with the vtermost hazard of my life. And soe I rest

Your lordship's affectionate brother and seruant,

His majestie's castle of Dublin, 6° Aprill, 1646.

Ormonde.

CCCCXL.—The marquis of Ormond to the king.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

THE treaty heere is at length brought to this conclusion: all matters of relligion are submitted to your majestie; in other things your regall power is preserved, and your majestie is obleeged to nothing, vnless you be asisted in the proportion and tyme sett downe in your letter of the first of December last; as appeares by the copy of an instrument signed and sealed by their comissioners, and heerewith sent. The tyme is allredy elapsed, for want of shipping; but I am confident the men weare and still are redy: soe that the busines of Ireland is intire, and to be yett moulded as may best sute with the maine of your affaires. I have sent to the lord Byron to know the state of North-Wales, and whether 3000 men, for whome there is shipping, may be vsefull and safely disposed there; and according to what I shall receive from him will send or stay them; being in despaire of receiveing your majestie's comands soe seasonably as is requisite. I can have the Irish army put vnder my comand, which, though it tend to my security, I have not accepted, being ignorant how it may consist with your majestie's resolutions, or conduce to your service, with which I meane to prosper or perish, as

Your majestie's most faithfull and most humble subject and servant,

Your majestie's castle of Dublin, the 7th of Aprill, 1646.

ORMONDE.

CCCCXLI.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

ACCORDING to my resolution exprest vnto you in my last from Kilkenny, I came hither to Waterford on Saturday night, accompanied by my lord of Muskerye, sir Robert Talbot, Mr. Bagnall, and Jeffery Browne.

Our first worke was to make our addresse vnto my lord of Antrim for his frigatts; but soe farr from good effect, that wee discouer cleerely in him a desire rather to hinder then further any thinge that shall bee propounded, as aduantagious to Ireland; especially vnder any kinde of relation to your excellence, or indeed to the supreame councell, it being hard to tell against which of the twoe hee discouers the greater animositye. But, God be thanked, it falls out soe, that the important service I am going about is not likelye to suffer much by his auersnesse; for heere are twoe excellent frigatts besides, sufficient to transport all my men, which wee hope will bee readye to sett sayle by Friday at the furthest. If it please God I come to Silly before the prince of Wales bee gone thence, (which I doe not much apprehend,) I make noe question but I shall returne within few dayes a very wellcome person to Ireland. For indeed I finde the aduantagious consequences of the thing very rightly apprehended, and a generall resolution in the confederates to submitt all to your excellence. They intend to send away the money to your excellence vpon Tuesday next, and doe very earnestlye expect an answere of my dispatch from Kilkenny, with your permission to employ some of their men against Bonratti, from whence the mischeefe gaines dayly grownd vpon them. But I must againe take the libertye to presse vnto you my opinion of the necessitye of sending 3000 men to secure Anglesye, and the king's garrisons in Wales, as soone as possiblye you can haue 460 gained any intelligence from thence. For, besides the importance of it in order to the landing of such forces as shall herafter bee sent ouer from hence, I doe not know how, without it, either the king's remayning horse can possibly bee preserued, or indeed his person have any safe retreate where to secure itselfe this summer.

Here at Waterford I haue mett with my lord of Glamorgan, whome I finde (as hee hath reason) a very sadd man, and withall highly incensed by some about him against mee. But for this latter part, I believe his good nature, and the reasons which I haue given him, have well settled him in a good measure of kindnesse; which my lord of Muskery and the rest did thinke very necessary to the carryinge on of businesse vnanimouslye. Hee tells mee now, that hee is resolved to expect nothing in his owne particular from hence till hee hath actually brought you hether twenty shipps of warr, his brave traine of artillery, 10,000

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

musketts, 800 barrells of powder, and 40,000 pownd in monye, which hee assures wee shall see done before the last of June. And in that case hee makes noe question but your excellence will thinke him worthye to lead an armye from hence. Lord increase our faith.

Some tell mee that the nuncio is offended that I would not visit him; and others whisper exceptions, that I would not addresse my selfe publikelye to the supreame councell; but yett I am well satisfyed, that this businesse I am going vpon has sett mee very right with the later. But whether that were or noe, as long as I am perswaded that they resolue wholye to submitt and be gouerned by your excellence, they should bee much in my fauour, whoe am vnalterablye and wholye

Yours,

Waterford, Aprill 7th, 1646.

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCCCX LII.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Montrose.

My honored Lord,

BEFORE I received the honour of your letters of the 5th of November and 29th of December, wee had gotten notice of the disaster befallen some of your lordship's forces, thorough the treachery of some seemeing frends. But it came to vs, as all reports of that kinde doe, with disadvantage to his majestie's party. This gentleman, that brought mee one of your lordship's, has been where hee could learne more of the condition of this kingdom (and will relate it to your lordship) then I can safely write; being in doubt that the cipher sent by sir Robert Spotiswood was with him taken. I shall only tell your lordship in generall, that there are heere strong partyes for the parliament, which are dayly encreased by their successe in England; that the power at sea is almost entirely theirs, and that they bragg of great armyes they will send over hither this summer. All this your lordship will easily judge to be greate impediments to the assistance his majestie hath comanded mee to send your lordship; but yet they are not such as shall at all discourage mee from endeavouring it, nor soe great, but that I hope your lordship will finde some fruite thereof before the season end; though I hould it little lesse then a treachery, not to lett your lordship freely know the obstacles that are in my way, that you

may accordingly fitt your selfe to receive it, if it come, and not to preiudice the king's affaires, deservedly comitted to your management, in case it should faile in the expectation. My lord, without more ceremony, I am

Your lordship's most humble and faithfull servant,

Dub. Cast. 9° April, 1646.

ORMONDE.

CCCCXLIII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

461

My LORD,

I resolued to stay your footeman till I were past all accidents to stay mee; and now from the shipp I returne him with this accompt, which is due from mee to the supreame councell, that the delayes that have beene, both in my dispatch and in sending your excellence the moneys agreed on, are not to bee imputed to them, whoe in both haue exprest as much warmth and reallitye as was possible; both businesses having suffered onlye by my lord of Glamorgan's fayling them. But I hope your excellence's supplye will come time enough to repaire and sett things right there, as I make noe doubt but by God's blessing I shall finde the prince still at Silly, or at the Isle of Jersy at the furthest. If Barkelay's frigatt returnes suddainlye, and that your excellence have not some other very pressing employment for her, it were very good that shee were sent towards Sillye with advertisement what parliament shipps lye before Dublin, where certainlye it were to bee wisht that the prince should land; although it bee now the more indifferent to mee, in regard I haue sufficient engagements from whome I desired them, in case hee shall land in the Irish quarters. I may not conclude this point without telling your excellence, that since my coming into these quarters I have been much obleedged by my lord of Muskery, and that Mr. Browne hath taken such excessive paines heere in my businesse, as it is impossible for mee to thanke him sufficientlye without your helpe. I beseech your excellence lett him finde your sense of it. Since my being in the Irish quarters I finde that which makes mee goe on in this service with much cheerefullnesse, that is, a vniuersall not only disposition, but euen passion in the Irish to bee vnder your gouernment; insoemuch as I thinke it will bee impossible for any to hinder them from it, almost vpon any termes. God Almighty blesse and prosper you

in that greate worke which lyes now before vs, and mee noe longer then I am with all faithfullnesse

Your excellence's most affectionate humble servant,

From shipboard, this 18
Aprill, 1646.

George Digbye.

Nich. White goes along with mee the journey, and hopes your excellence will pardon his not taking leaue of you, having had noe thought of it till hee came hither. As for Oliver Fitzwilliams, I would not suffer him to goe, his vncle Preston desiring his assistance in the seruice of Conought.

CCCCXLIV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My LORD,

ON the 28th of this month I receiued the enclosed leters, which will let you see the king's condition and resolution; the one, as sad and low as rebellion can bring it; the other, gallant and kingly euen to admiration. God continue it. You likewyse see his pleasure touching this kingdome, and know how dificult it will bee for mee soe to reconcile his seuerall directions, as by them to warrant what hee would have mee doe, or to bring those I am to aduise with to a concurrence with mee. But if your lordship succeede in your designe, I shall not want authority, such as will satisfie, though not secure mee; nor shall I want power to effect what shall bee iudged fit to bee done, if I bee not much mistaken; but if your lordship faile, I am crest fallen.

My lord Byron is in great distresse and hazard; and though the king seemes to forbid the sending of men thither, yet if I can get them seasonably sent, I will venture at it, knowing how much it will secure the prince to have those places that remaine in North-Wales in safe hands; and of what vse it may bee to have an inlet to England. I am in treaty with the parliament comissioners, in hope to keepe them of our quarters, to satisfie some wavering mindes, and in full assureance to make advan-462 tage of it; their insolence is such vpon their late successe.

I wish your lordship all the hapines you can thinke of in your voyage, and to your selfe; being, and that for euer,

Your lordship's most faithfull and humble servant,

His majestie's castle of Dublin, 26° April, 1646.

ORMONDE.

I have put these papers into yours and sir Edward Hyde's cipher.

Your lordship will soone know the transcriber of his majes-

tie's mesage to Wesminster.

The papers are in the lord treasurer's cypher, and not in sir Ed[ward] Hyde's; your lordship will find a reason why I keepe the originall with mee.

CCCCXLV.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My LORD,

THE begining of your lordship's of the 6 of this moneth, which I received yesterday, abundantly satisfyes for the later part, which gives a very sad accoumpt of the condition of that province, and mentions the succours designed for it, with more vncertainty then could at this tyme of the day haue been expected. Vppon the first rumor of your lordship's being beseeged, I bethought mee how, in the state I am in, I might be of any kinde of vse to you; and findeing that I had nothing of strength to apply to your seasonable releefe, I held it my part to procure from the councell, and to direct to your beseegers such a message as might lett them see wee accoumpted their attempts vppon your lordship as done to our selves, and should endeavour to bring them to reason for it. And of this, I conceiue, good vse may be made, if from the confederates I can have performance, which I have cause to doubt, having heard nothing from them, nor from Mr. Plunckett, since his goieng hence, which was on Tewsday was fortnight; though I have by severall letters prest for a full resolution from them. As your lordship was promised that Preston should be redy to assist and receive orders from you, soe was I put in hope that Owin O'Neile, with a strong party, would long since haue been in the field to haue received orders from mee; but hearing nothing of him or his, but complaints of the irepaireable spoyle comitted by his men in their march northward, I have seut him a letter, a coppy whereof your lordship receives heerewith, as you shall the answer I shall haue, as soone as I can send it. In the meane tyme your lordship may, by my letter to him, observe that I shall make noe scruple to make vse of any forces whatsoever to defend the king's authority, now in danger to be wholy subverted in all his dominions. But if I find I cannot be assisted vppon tearmes of honnour, I leave your lordship to consider what remaines for mee to doe or resolve on, more then to perish in or quitt the

station the king hath placed mee in.

The letter, which I hope your lordship hath received by Cuningham, I intended should have gon by coll. Trafford, who was most redy to have ventured thorough all hazards to have gotten in to you. I doubt not but he will yet be of great vse to your lordship, and will find a reception worthy his meritt and affections. I wish your lordship's continuance of health, and increase of strength every way, and am constantly

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. the 9th of May, 1646.

ORMONDE.

CCCCXLVI.—The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE:

THE greate torments I have sustained by a most violent sicknes, the weake condition I still remaine in, and the many sad distractions and misfortunes that have lately befallen me, must pleade my excuse, if I faile in my expressions of returning due acknowledgments vnto your excellence and the state for your greate and extraordinary fauers and care to releeue and presarue me from the danger I was in. But it hath pleased God so to protect me, the enimy who inuaded this county, and more perticulerly any thing that had most relation to me, wanted at first the iudgment, and since the couradge, to asault this place; giuing me opertunity so to prouide for my safty as to keepe them at a distance, and after some sleight attempts, to rest satisfied with breaking downe my parke pales, and burning my lodge, and so afterwards proceeding to their poore base designe of burning forsaken villages, which they have compassed throughout most parte of this county, and I beleeue destroyed much corne; but durst not attempt any stone walls or places of strength, nor gained any considerable preyes of catle.

If the enimy had stayed here vntill the ariuall of your excellence's declaration, without question their contempt and disobedience would have evidently appeared; and though it was intended for my presaruation, and I doe so humbly acknowledge it, yet I must confess it doth somwhat disturb and perplex my thoughts to observe therin, that those whom I conceived my self bound in duty to opose, having all or most of them taken the covenant, assumed power and government contrary to his majestie's authority, and quite oposit to his royall grants to others, constant violaters of the cessation, and frequent invadors of my estate and adherents; and, if I be not much mistaken, such as rather expect submission from their soveraigne then any inclination to submitt or treate with him or any that derive their authority from him, doe seeme still to be accompted loyall subjects, and within the compas of obedience to your excellence's government; and that, by implication, the breach of cessation doth likewise seeme to be allowed them, at least not corrected, so they had forborne their attempts vpon me.

Being now reduced into the condition I am in, give me leave with an asured confidence to call vpon your excellence and the state, even in the king's behalf and for justice sake, that sir Cha-Coote, who commanded in cheefe the forces here vnder the title of lord president of Connaght, with an addition of this county to it, may be forthwith declared and proclaimed a rebell and traitor according to his desart; and all such as shall hereafter asist or adhere vnto him. For the matter hath now proceeded so farr as certainly thos atributes must be fixed ether you him or me, pardon me, if I should farther affirme, vpon your excellence: for vpon some messuages that [passed] between vs, he sent me word by my kinsman Mr. Garret Moore, that now I auowed my self to be of my lord lieutenant's party, he must profess and declare himself my enimy. By which your excellence may diserne the cause of my suffrings, judge what his words and actions merrit, and setle some speedy course, that persons of honor and fidelity may not be destroyed for their obedience, and others presarued and strengthened under the shelter of your excellence's authority, at least conjuance, who have given such evident testimonyes of their dislovaltyes.

If what I have proposed doe not agree with the present constitution of state affaires, of which I acknowledg my self totally ignorant, I shall humbly desire to be better instructed 464 how to behave my self, and how I may best express my loyalty and obedience, having allwayes indevoird to walke in a right path, and yet find my self astray, I know not by what meanes. And if this freedome have given your excellence any occasion of

distast, I claime the priueledge of a looser, and haue for my protection the setled resolution of an exact obedience to what your excellence shall declare vpon this subject; the king's seruice and interests, your excellence's honor and authority ingaged, and the publick safty depending therupon, being of much greater concernment in euery circumstance, then can any wayes befall the person or priuat fortune of

Your excellence's most humble and faithfull servant,

Portumna, the 10th of CLANRICARDE.

May, 1646.

CCCCXLVII.—The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

THE inclosed is intended by me for a publicke acknowledgment of your lordship's fauer, as it was accompanyed with the concurrence of the counsell; to which I have added my apprehention of the meanes then vsed for my presaruation, together with a proposition for the more effectuall prosecution of the intended service here. Whether it may be fitt for your lordship to condiscend vnto it, I will not presume to iudge; but most confident I am, it moues not improperly from a person soe highly dishonir'd and iniurde as I haue beene, by an insolent viper that gloryes in the destruction of his presaruer, and braggs of the iustnes of his cause; the Irish hauing bin proclaimed rebells by the king's authority, but nothing declared against him or his associates: which begetts a hope in me that your lordship will find it most necessary to proceede imediatly against him; otherwise, though my danger be eminent, or rather my ruine acertain'd, I shall make that choice, rather then appeare in the head of an army against any whom your lordship shall not thinke fitt to declare as enimyes to the king, and persons disobedient to your gouernment.

I send your lordship a letter I received from major generall Taaffe, which I conceive of greate concernment, and worthy your lordship's spetiall consideration; and a confirmation of that gentleman's inclinations I have besides received from very good hands; and if your lordship shall please to impose any commands vpon me in that perticuler, I shall very punctually obay and observe them.

Generall Preston was with me this day, and gives me asurance that his army, consisting of 3000 foote and 300 horse, at any time I shall appoint them to march into this province, shall be in a redines for it; but his traine of artillery would not be ready vntill the next weeke. Wherupon receiving intelligence that the enimy were vpon their retreite home, and supposing, by the informations come vnto me, that the northern forces will returne back to their owne garrisons, when they have left sir Cha. Coote at Roscomon, I held it the best course, vntill his ordinance was ready, to dispence with the present advance of his army, in reguard they are mantain'd by the contrey on the other side, and his two months meanes for prosecution of this service not to be broaken vntill his ariuall into the province.

The confederat counsell at Limricke hath appointed him to be vnder my comand, with the rest of their forces in this prouince, and desired me by their letters to ioine my forces with them, and take the whole command vpon me. But before I vndertake so difficult a charge, it concerns me humbly to desire that I may be declared generall of this prouince by your lordship's publicke 465 authority, or else his majestie's former commission dirrected to me, or that command which the commissioners proposed to your lordship before my departure from Dublin.

I have received some intimation from Limricke that dispatches are sent thence by Mr. Plunkett to your lordship, and principally concerning the speedy publication of the peace; and I have bin privatly importun'd to second it with my humble addresses and perswasions. I know it a busines of that weight and difficulty, as the consideration of it hath very much disturbed my thoughts, and even broaken my rest; and I find that, if some such cours be not speedily taken, the kingdome will be sodainly and totally ruin'd, past all hope of recovery. And what my memory hath put together vpon this subject, though yet confusedly, I shall indevoire to offer to your lordship's consideration with as much cleernes as I can.

The power of concluding the peace is vnquestionably inuested in your lordship, (as I conceiue, without limitation,) and vnder the greate seale.

The restriction that limmits your lordship to certaine conditions is but by privat letters, and his majestie's affaires hath bin liable to great alterations since those were dirrected to you, and all access vnto him, to know his farther pleasure, or to give

him a right information of the present state of affaires, now made impossible.

The question, I conceiue, will be, whether your lordship, without breach of trust to his majestie, and hazard of your honor and safty, can conclude a peace, the conditions being not performed to which your were limitted.

I humbly offer to this objection, that at so greate a distance, and when all application is debarred, whether it might not be a greate prejudice to princes, and destructive to all governments under them, if so greate a minister as your lordship should not sometimes asume the power to vary from your instructions, according to the necessityes and exigents of the time.

It may, I presume, be farther affirmed, that the confederat party, in order to what was required of them, had prouided shipping for transportation, and drawne a considerable body of men to the sea side, whether to the just number is, I conceiue, to nice a scrutiny in these distracted times. And it then appeared, there was no army of the king's in the field to ioine with them neere those partes to which they were to guide their course, nor no harbour left to secure their landing; so that their going would have bin only the destruction of so many men, and nothing of asistance or presaruation to his majestie. And at that time likewise hapned the reuolt of the earle of Thomond, and his inuitation of the Scotts vnto this prouince, and, if they had bin able, to his asistance att Bunratty, being purposly designed to divert the transportation of those supplyes to the king, and was an accident that could hardly be foreseene or probably suspected.

I must acknowledg that the hazard and danger to your lord-ship is great every way; but the one is present, and the destruction of a kingdome; the other appeares at a distance, and may be prevented or diverted by severall accidents and alteration of the times. And I presume your lordship canot receive cleere satisfaction, whether the king's dirrections, invironed with soe many dangers, and by that meanes somtimes inforced to comply with the passions and humors of others, were allwaise agreable to his owne inclination and resolutions. And according to my apprehention, and the principles I have bin instructed in, your lordship will not only be acquitted both by the lawes of God and nature, but, I conceive, tyed and obliged to vndertake the most probable wayes for the presarvation of your self, your famely,

your friends and contrey; espetially when I am most confident it canot be rationally demonstrated, that a breach here, or a continuance of our vnsetled condition, can in the least circumstance conduce to the seruice of his majestie, who is so irrecoverably lost in the opinion of his rebellious subjects, as that no action of 466 his, how greate or glorious soeuer, but will receive a condemnation from them: and to indevoire to gaine them to him by any complyance of those that are faithfull to his service, must be, in my poore opinion, as vaine a labour as to containe water in a cive; but on the other side, by a speedy setlement, reduceing this people to their obedience, your lordship will not only probably presarve a kingdome for his majestie, but be perhaps inabled therby yet seasonably to asist him before all is lost, or else in time be a powerfull and hapy instrument in his restoration.

Two objections I have made to what I now propose: first, that your lordship should runn a desperat venture, without any advantage to you, they still expecting to keepe a power and some forme of government amongst themselves, vntill all conditions were setled by act of parlement; the other, that concluding a peace in this maner, your lordship could not securely vndertake the performance of what you promised in the king's behalf.

To the first, it was with some confidence priuatly afirm'd vnto me, that vpon your lordship's publication of the peace, the generality of the whole kingdome would declare themselues to be solly and intierly vnder your lordship's gouernment; and that some, if not all, of their counsell, would follow the same course; and for the other, if your lordship would promis to vse your best indeuoire, and with the concurrence of your faithfull seruant vndertake, and positively declare your self bound and obliged to see them performed, they would rest fully satisfied therwith.

I am not now able to ad any thing more to thes weake conceptions of mine, but to offer vp with them, faithfully deuoted to vour seruice, the person, fortune, power, and interests of

Your excellence's most humble and affectionat seruant,

Portumna, the 11th of May,
1646.

CLANRICARDE.

CCCCXLVIII.—The marquis of Claricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

YOUR letter of the 9th I received the last night, after I had finish't my dispatches of yesterdaye's date sent herewith, and that, with the former sent by Cuningham, doth give me such cleere and evident testimonys of your lordship's constant favers and extraordinary care of my presarvation, as I have cause rather to reioice then any wayes repine at my late misfortunes, since they have bin a meanes to convay vnto me such great asurances of your lordship's intire affection. And though mine can admitt of no addition, being formerly rais'd to the height by your lordship's eminent vertues, and the familiarity and friendship you vouchsafed to afford me, yet it stirres vp a restles ambition in me to find out the occasions, and obtaine the ability, as well actually as by profession, to appeare considerable in your service.

Being informed that Mr. Plunkett departed from your lord-ship very highly satisfied with your lordship's proceedings and resolutions, I was most confident, vntill the receipt of your lordship's letter, that he had likewise given you full satisfaction in the promised supply, and had payed ready obedience to all other commands of your lordship. I hope his present repaire vnto you will make amends for all former omissions, and produce some timely remidies for the recourry of this gasping kingdome.

The copy of your lordship's letter to generall O'Neile did afford me a greate deale of comfort, observing therin your lordship's freedome in giving your advice and instruction for the suppressing of those whom I may iustly call wicked and insolent 467 enimyes; and I take it for a preparative to a more publick declaration against them. But I am very doubtfull of the person to whom your lordship's letter was dirrected, and am confident that those who range abroade vnder the title of his soldiers have bin much more destructive to this kingdome then the Scotts, or other parlement forces as yet in the kingdome. It is now certainly in his power to performe good service, and I wish I may be deceived, and that he may desarve your lordship's good opinion, and then mine shall not be wanting to him.

Vpon receipt of a former letter from your lordship in behalf

of your cornet, Mr. Crafton, the enimy gathering into a body in the county of Roscomon, and seeming to be malitious to him, the better to presarue him, and the more firmly to ingadge him, he received the mony from me your lordship mention'd out of a small stock design'd for Dublin to pay old scores, and after sent your lordship's letter to Limrick in expectation of repayment. But Mr. Darcy was pleased to returne only a scornfull answere to my steward, that his lord and his mony were easily parted; and sir Luke Dillon affirmed that Crafton was but a disembler, and had preved vpon him. In my opinion it is a strange mallice and high presumption in them to oppose your lordship's presaruation of one English gentleman that hath relation to you; and I much doubt sir Luke's former miscariage and ill vsuage of the English garrisons in the county of Roscomon hath bin the principal occasion of all the miseryes and destruction that hath befallen Connaght since the cessation. By a dispatch to morrow, I shall be very free, or rather seuere, with my two old friends vpon that point.

One of my officers, captaine Hugh Kelly, was vnfortunatly taken, maintaining a passage against the enimy vpon their first atempt vpon this county. I have tried all wayes for his ransome and enlargement, but can no other wayes prevaile but by exchange for captaine St. George at Athlone. I am not ignorant of the distinction betweene one taken in fight, and another imprisoned for treachery; but, if your lordship doe not intend to iustifie him, I humbly desire, if it may well be done, your lordship's dirrections to my lord president to allow of the exchange, mine being indeed a very excellent officer, and most espetially for the service of those partes.

I am now preparing for the remouall of my wife and famely to my house of Terrellan neere Gallway, for their better safty, and, if danger grow generall, to be neere their transportation; and if you will not doe righteous things at Dublin, I must craue your lordship's pardon if I doe personally see them setled in another climat.

I had allmost forgotten ernestly to desire your lordship imediatly to recall your orders and aduice to generall O'Neile for his repaire into these partes, having no want of his asistance, and being very confident, if generall Preston keepe touch with me, wee shall very speedily cleere this province of the enimy, and then will be my time of consolation, when it shall hardly

be in your lordship's power to keepe of from you the personall attendance of

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

CLANRICARDE.

The reporte of sir Robert Stewart's advance into the county of Roscomon proued false.

Portumna, the 12th of May, 1646.

CCCCXLIX.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clan-468 ricard.

My Lord,

YOUR letters of the 10, 11, and 12 of this moneth I received on the 15th, and soone after Mr. Plunkett arrived heere, with instructions from Limrick, soe many and most of them of such a nature as required some tyme to come to a full vnderstanding of them; and more was needfull for mee to take resolutions vppon them, such as should be finall, according to their desire and expression. Yet at last I had conceived such answers as I thought fitting for mee to stand vnto, and was redy to have giuen them to him: but on the morning I had appointed for it I received dispatches out of England from his majestie, importing his resolution to goe into the Scotts army then lyeing before Newarke, and from other hands certaine information that he was thorough much danger gotten thither. This change of things in England, I conceived, might occasion some alteration in my answers and resolutions, as to the manner I should propose for the king's service, and the settlement of this kingdom; and therefore vinderstanding that there was a meeting of the comittee of instructions to be at Limrick, I perswaded Mr. Plunket to hasten thither, promiseing that by the end of the next week at farthest I would send vnto them (by some instructed and authorised) my full sence of all he had proposed. And vppon these tearmes yesterday wee parted; and about Tewsday next I intend to send my brother Hamilton or Jack Barry, or both, vppon that affaire; and at the same tyme will send your lordship coppyes of all, and what further is necessary in answere to your severall letters. In the meane tyme, I begg your pardon, and beleefe of my constant being

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dublin-Castle, 22° May, 1646.

Ormonde.

I send your lordship a coppy of his majestie's letters to mee in print, for soe I vnderstood his will it should bee.

CCCCL—The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

Vpon the 24th, to my infinite comforte, I received your excellence's dispatch of the 22d, giving me asurance that his majestie hath gained so much liberty and liklyhood of future prosperity, as to be safly arived in the Scotch army in England. And by the relation of others I am informed it hath allready wrought good effects in the north, and must in all probability worke a greate alteration in all partes of his majestie's dominions. And I humbly conceive that, vpon your lordship's present resolutions, and the fitt and timely complyance of the confederat party, doth wholy depend the recovery and hapy setlement of this yet languishing kingdome; and that if this opertunity be lost, or not carefully manadged, nothing can bee expected but disability to serve the king, and ruine and misery vpon the nation.

If it should so vnfortunatly fall out, as that the confederats should be refractory, or not rightly vnderstand what your lord-ship shall require of them, in order to the king's seruice and their owne presaruations; and that therupon, ether by instruction from his majestie, or the iudgment your lordship shall frame vpon the present state of affaires, there must be a necessity to make vse of power and compulsion to bring them to a right temper, your lordship will be pleased to consider my dangerous condition here, and trust me with timely notice of those resolutions, that I may prouide for the safty of my self and famely; 469 otherwise those forces designed to be vnder my comand will be fitly placed and drawne together to destroy me. And certainly I shall not call vpon sir Charles Coote's asistance for my defence.

The long stay of my mesinger at Dublin made me confident your lordship would have sent me authority and instructions, according to my ernest desire and humble requests, or at least somewhat of incouradgment to proceede in the service I proposed. But your lordship not taking notice of any parte of my dispatches, doth very much perplex me, and would have produced ill effects here, if the vnweildines of gen. Preston's artillery, and the slow proceedings of Gallway for the aduanceing of monyes, had not given me a few dayes respitt both to importune and receive your lordship's setled resolution. For indeed, my lord, though for any thing yet appearing to me, I am likely to suffer some disgrace by being intitled a marquess without patent; certainly I must not runn that hazard and danger as to be a generall without commission, and against those that are not declared enimyes to his majestie. And therfore if your lordship vpon other considerations do find it vnfitt or vnseasonable to authoris me for that imployment, I shall humbly propose that my forces may be admitted to the asistance of generall Preston, and that your lordship will lay your commands vpon my self to waite vpon you at Dublin, vntill these misteryes shall be disclosed, and imployments and commands publickly auowed.

I have made choice of my cousen Garrett Moore to present these addresses to your lordship, and to give you information of my condition and the present state of affaires in these partes; and that, without putting your lordship to the trouble of to much writing, I may by him receive what your lordship shall please to impose vpon or imparte vnto

Your excellence's most humble faithfull seruant.

Portumna, the 26th of May, 1646.

CLANRICARDE.

CCCCLI.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My Lord,

I RECEIUED your letter of the 26th of this moneth on the 28th by Mr. Moore; by whome, as well as by that letter, I finde your lordship expects a suddaine accoumpt of your former dispaches, and my settled resolution touching the powers you hould necessary to have from hence, for your takeing vppon you the comand of the forces to be imployed in the province of Connaght. To all which I shall deliuer my sence, with what cleereness I am able, and with the freedom that my respect and vowed affection to your person and service may justify, hopeing you will either finde reason in what I write, or indulgence for errors proceeding from one that will stand convinced of them when you shall declare them such. And that I may cleerely discharge my selfe of the great arreare I am in, I shall begin with your lordship's

of the 10th of May, intended by you to have been comunicated to the councell as your sence of the meanes vsed by mee and them ioyntly for your lordship's preservation. I shall give your lordship the reasons why I have not yet held fitt to imparte that letter to them.

First, I believed it would not have produced the proclaimeing of sir Charles Coote and his adherents rebells and traytors. Next, I doubted it would have given them some collourable if not just ground to aprehend their care of and expressions touching your lordship, not soe well taken as perhapes they had reason to expect, nor themselves and their cariadge in the trust reposed in them by his majestic rightly vnderstood.

That it would not have produced such a proclamation, I was 47° of opinion, first, because it was needlesse; all those actions of theirs, expressed by your lordship, not onely proclaimeing but realy makeing them such, and iustifyeing resistance and all other acts of hostillity against them, in such as are armed with power, beyond all the proclamations in the world. For if I be not mistaken, (as I may easyly be in matter of law,) it must be a man's owne cryme, and not even the king's declaration that can make a rebell or traytor.

In the next place, I doubt whither it would have been held safe or prudent, at that tyme, in the great want and weakeness wee weare in, and dureing soe great vncertainty of agreement with the confederate party or of help from them, by such a proclamation, that could not bee seconded with suteable power, to draw on his majestie's authority, and on ourselves that mannage it, danger and derision from a party then only strong in the feild; whilest former experience could make vs expect little or noe other effect it would have in the confederates, then to heighten the exorbitance of their expectations and demaunds, when they should see vs so engaged and necessitated to a relyance on their strength for our supporte. A third reason (which I confesse could not then have come vnder consideration) is the late turne in England, which, by all rules of providence that I can fashion to my selfe, requires that wee expect whereto soe greate a change will tend, before soe new, great, and (for ought vett appeares to mee) soe ineffectuall a denounceing of warr proceed from vs; which yett forbidds vs not in a more silent way to prosecute our foresetled resolutions for our owne safetyes.

That the imparting to them your lordship's said letter might Ormond, vol. vi. c c

haue given them cause to feare that their desire to serve your lordship was not well taken, but themselves and their proceedings misvnderstood, I doubted, by considering some expressions in your lordship's letter; as, where your lordship sayes that those who have comitted the outrages, and assumed the authorityes beforementioned, seeme to be accoumpted loyall subjects, and that the breach of cessation seemes to be allowed them, at least not corrected, if they had forborne your lordship. as I conceiue noe such construction can be reasonably made of any thing past from mee and them; though that warrant directed to your then beseegers was held fitt, since it must either procure your lordship's deliuerance from the perrill wee tooke you to be in, or ad to the measure of their disobedience, and, by consequence of their punishment, when his majestie's authority should recover the vigor to inflict it: and though wee esteemed not our selves equally concearned in the invasion of your lordship and of the confederate party, being as yett in such case noe further oblegged to them by the articles of cessation then not to protect such us should invade them.

Another expression, that I feared would have confirmed such a beleefe in the councell, is where your lordship desires some speedy course may be settled that persons of honour and fidellity may not be destroyed for their obedience, whilest others, giveing the forementioned testimonyes of their disloyalty, are preserved and strengthned vnder the shelter of our authority, at least conniveance, implyeing them guilty of the greatest and most punishment-deserveing crimes, that can be objected against any ministers of state. Wherevnto they could not but have retourned such answer for their owne vindication as might have bred a greater distance betweext your lordship and them, then, I judge, can consist with the king's service, and consequently with your lordship's intentions. Thus farr in answer to yours of the 10th of May, and of soe much of that of the 11th as relates to it.

To the rest of that of the 11th your lordshipp receives heerewith his majestie's comission vnder the greate seale, a better authority for your lordship to take vppon you the comand of all the forces raised, to be raysed, or that shall be sent to your assistance into that province, then can com from mee without a special letter from his majestie, considering the pattents alredy on foote, which can only be superseded by like subsequent graunts from his majestie.

I haue from the gentleman's owne hand named by maior gene-47 I rall Taaffe received good assurance of his inclinations to be of the king's party, as soone as provision can be made for the safety and subsistence of his men; without which it weare fruitless, and a kinde of treachery to him, to draw him from where he makes a shift to live. But if your lordship can prevaile with the confederates to assigne him a certaine mainetenance, (which by their vseage and opinion of captain Crofton I have cause to doubt,) I shall quickly make adresses to him to the north, whither, I heere, hee is retired.

Mr. Plunkett arrived heere about the tyme I received the letter I am now answering; and his busines indeed was, among other things, to propose the speedy publication of a peace, but not without the addition of those concessions made by my lord of Glamorgan, against which the king hath declared soe justly and soe openly, that I may not admitt they should come in at the end of any bargaine of my makeing. Some other propositions of equall wildness hee made, which I have extracted, and heerewith sent your lordship, that you may judge how endless a labour it is like to be to come to a conclusion with men that sett noe limitts to their proposeings. Yett, that nothing be left vndone on my part, I shall returne the best and most satisfyeing answers I can frame, even to those vnexpected motions, which, according to my promise in mine of the 22, had bin with your lordship and them before now, but for the intervening, first of the newse out of England, and since of a sadd accident, that had like to have bereft mee of three children at once, but by God's great mercy tooke from mee only the yongest.

In this letter of the 11th your lordship doth rightly state, and (I must acknowledge) make a most solid iudgment of the state of the treaty as it now stands; saue that touching their preparations towards performance of their vndertakeings for his majestie's assistance in England, the accidents preventing the same, and the want of safe landing and a conjunction of forces on the other side, much may be sayd to the weakning of their plea, if it weare held needfull. But as your lordship hath put together all that may possibly induce and probably excuse a goeing beyond or beside his majestie's instructions, as the matter lay then before you, and haue vppon the matter perswaded mee in the necessity of concluding a peace, in relation to the king's service, and the

safety of his servants and interests heere, soe haue you made the only essentiall objections that then lay against it in your lordship's view, if these propositions made by Mr. Plunkett weare not knowen to you. And those objections are, I conceiue, too weighty to be removed by any privatt or conjecturall affirmations, vppon which noe man can be further challenged then of a misvnderstanding of men's inclinations, though perhaps really the fault may be in his want of will to haue his opinions reduced into reall certainty. And therefore if your lordship shall think fitt, to avoyd all future disputes, to propose to such as are of beleefe that vppon publication of the peace the generality of the kingdom will declare themselves to be soley and intirely vnder his majestie's government, that they will beforehand ingage themselves, not only to lead the way, but to endeyour with all their power to draw others after them; when I shall know who they are that will thus engage, I may then iudge of their power, and accordingly reckon the hazards I am to encounter with, more or less, which may alsoe be an enducement to mee to engage my selfe in the other particuler.

To your lordship's of the 12 I conceiue there needs noe other answer, then that I shall write to my lord president for the exchange of captain St. George for your lordship's officer, and that there is noe feare of Owin O'Neile's troubling that province

vppon any injunction of mine.

Your lordship's of the 26 remaines to answer; which before I enter into, I must lett your lordship know, that since the arrivall heere of his majestie's letter (since printed) I have heard 472 nothing out of England or Scottland, where some say the king is: nor do [I] certainly know what effects his comeing to that army will produce in the north, though more then a weeke since I dispatched one to Monroe, with a coppy of his majestie's letter, accompanyed with one of civility only from mee.

Your feare of being surprised in a breach with the Irish confederates, I conceiue, your lordship will lay aside, when you have read this letter, and shall know that the cessation is continued till the 13th of July next. But if any accident should happen that in my apprehension would lay you open to any thing of danger, I should not faile to give you tymely notice of it.

The reason why I have not sooner given your lordship this accoumpt I hope your lordship will soe farr approve, as to be-

leeve it could not proceed from any want of desire in mee to give you all possible and tymely satisfaction in whatever comes from you to mee.

For instructions, which, I conceiue, your lordship expects should accompany your authority, I can for the present only referr you to your comission, which in generall directs your lordship against whom to imploy the forces you shall gett together, the number, provision, and present posture whereof, as well as of the enemy, being vnknowen to mee, I know not what particular instruction to giue. And now that your lordship hath a comission strong enough, which, I conceiue, all that in this kingdom are loyall, will not stick publiquely to avow and acknowledge, I suppose your lordship expects noe approbation from mee that your forces should be admitted to the assistance of generall Preston.

Haueing by this tyme tyred your lordship, you must yett giue mee leaue to assure you that I am and ever will be

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 30 May, 1646.

ORMONDE.

CCCCLII.—The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

THE receipt of your letter of the 30th of May makes me much ashamed to have bin the occasion of putting your lordship to soe greate a trouble; and to prevent any increase therof, it begott a resolution in me this day to begin my iorny, and to have personally waited vpon your lordship. But my present state of health doth soe evidently impaire, that my strength is no wayes answerable to my mind, or agreable to the condition of these times.

I am fully conuinced by your lordship's iudgment vpon my dispatch of the 10th of May; and it shall be my instruction for the future not to deale with statesmen when passion and reuenge for late received iniuryes are predominant, and worke powerfully vpon the imagination. Yet if there might have bin a separation made therin betweene your lordship's interest and that of others, which I presume your lordship believes was my aime, and that vse might have bin made of my bouldnes and presumption therin to put them to a grant or deniall, which

would have bin in some sorte of equall satisfaction to me, I should not have feared those displeasures grounded vpon that, which I then conceived to be the truth, and my self necessitated to be free and cleere therin. Pardon me, my lord, discourse vpon this subject rubbs the soare afresh, and drawes me to inconveniencyes I resolved to avoide; without any farther dispute, I humbly submitt to your lordship's censure.

When I proposed, amongst other authorityes, the sending of the king's commission to me, which I long since resigned and left in your lordship's custody, I had indeed forgotten the clauses that had relation to my lord Willmott, and made me vpon the 473 matter but his vice president, and my lord Dillon nothing; and finding the power granted me but in generall words to prosecute traitors and rebells, though your lordship doth rightly obserue that it is the crime and not the declaration that proues them guilty, yet I doe humbly conceiue, (espetially the many divisions of partyes now in the kingdome consider'd,) vntill they be declared by such as have authority for it, it goes beyond the strength of my commission to asault or pursue them as traitors or rebells by forces not yet publickly anowed; and by my suffrings I conceiue my self to much a party to be iudge of the offence, though I may be commanded to be an instrument in the punishment. And when your lordship shall be pleased to reflect vpon the date of my commission, I suppose it will be disputable to whom it had then relation: and, not to hould your lordship to long vpon this point, give me leave to express my resolution, that vntill your lordship find it fitt and conuenient to give me a new commission, or somwhat of publick declaration, that I may take the command in chiefe vpon me of these forces for the present expedition into Connaght, against those that have not only frequently broaken the cessation, but violently asaulted me and others included within your lordship's quarters, lett my honor and fortune be neuer soe much ingaged, and my self liable to many harsh constructions, I must not venture to take that charge vpon me; but shall yet rely soe farre vpon suppositions, as to send my forces to generall Preston's asistance, and frame my self to that quiet course of life most proper to my present condition, much ether of busines or exercise being very painfull to me.

For what I propounded to your lordship concerning the speedy setlement of this kingdome by the publication of the

peace, I can no farther iustifie ether the matter or expression, then to asure your lordship I have not the least notion of those propositions sent from Limrick, more then in generall that they desired the proclaiming of the peace; and that whatsoeuer appeared before your lordship from me vpon that subject proceeded from a setled entire duty to his majestie, a reall and constant affection to your lordship, and an ernest desire to aduance the publick good and safty of this kingdome in a right obedience to his majestie's authority.

I must acknowledge that those who have indevoir'd to put a confidence in me that the generality of the kingdome would returne into an intire obedience vpon publication of the peace, are not of that leading power and quality in the contrey as that your lordship can with a full security ground your resolutions therupon. But they are such as I am much satisfied with in point of honesty, judgment, and knowledge of the persons and inclinations of those that are of greatest power of that party. And for the gentrey of this prouince and a considerable parte of Leinster, by my owne observation, I make no question of their conformity. And as it is confidently related to me, I have much to say euen of the desires and intentions of some of their supreame counsell, which at this distance I know not how to express, to give your lordship cleere satisfaction. But I hope the returne of those your lordship imployes to Limricke, and Mr. Plunket accompanyeng them, which, as I am informed, is intended, will cleere all difficultyes, and settle a right vnderstanding: if not, your lordship may be pleased to insist positiuely vpon this point, which will determine their endless disputes and dubious propositions. And I am much inclined to beleeue that truth will out, and themselues acknowledge they canot subsist any other way; though if they should faile in what your lordship hath allready granted, I am fearfull that desperation may drive them to very destructive resolutions, by which, however they might be vanquish't, yet it would not be, as I conceiue, according to the present iuncture of affaires, of any aduantage to the king's seruice, or security to your lordship. And I have somewhat more then conjecture to ground my beleefe that your lordship is well satisfied that the king is still desirous of the peace of this kingdom, though he failed of 474 the supplyes at the time appointed; which, in my weake judgment, takes of much, if it doe not wholy remoue your lordship's

hazard in the proclaimation of the peace, though the conditions were not seasonably performed.

These perticulers, crauing pardon for their length and weaknes of expression, are humbly offer'd to your lordship's consi-

deration by

Your excellence's most faithfull and constant humble seruant,

Portumna, the 3d of June, 1646.

CLANRICARD.

CCCCLIII.—The king to the marquis of Ormond.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trustie and right wel-beloued cousin and councellor, wee greete you well. Hauing long with much griefe looked upon the sad condition our kingdome of Ireland hath beene in these diverse yeares, through the wicked and desperate rebellion there, and the bloody effects have ensued thereupon; for the setleing whereof wee would have wholy applyed our selves, if the differences betwixt vs and our subjects here had not diverted and withdrawne vs:

And not having beene able by force (for that respect) to reducet hem, were necessitated, for the present safetie of our protestant subjects there, to give you power and authority to treate with them upon such pious, honnorable, and safe grounds, as the good of that our kingdome did then require. But for many reasons, too long for a letter, we thinke fitt to require you to proceede noe further in treaty with the rebells, nor to engage vs upon any conditions with them after sight hereof. And haveing formerly found such reall proofes of your readie obedience to our commands, were doubt not of your care in this, wherein our service and the good of our protestant subjects in Ireland is soe much concern'd. Newcastle, 11th day of June, 1646.

By his majestie's command,

LANERICK.

CCCCLIV.—The marquis of Ormond to the king.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

IF wee can obteyne free passadge for messengers by the way of Scottland, you will shortly receive a large dispatch from

hence, from mee single, and from mee and your councell joyned. The substance of all will be an acknowledgement of the receipt of your majestie's of the 3d and 4th of Aprill to the lord Digby and mee. The printing of that of the 3d, written in secretary Nicholas his hand, with reasons for it. That there is noe peace heere, nor can be, vnless your majestie shall comand it, and the conditions wherevppon, now after your comeing to the Scotts army; reasons for this, such as I presume will satisfy: the present state of your army and servants very sad and dangerous; the necessity of speedy directions from your majestie, to prevent the vtter dissolution of your government heere; accoumpt of an overture of treaty with the parliament commissioners; the reasons for it; our humble desire to be remembred and protected, as your constantly loyall and faithfull subjects and servants; with our prayers to God for your majestie's happynes and prosperity now and ever: and soe also concludes at this tyme

Your majestie's most faithfull and most humble subject and servant,

ORMONDE.

I have not been able to serve this gentleman, sir Timothy 475 Fetherston, according to your majestie's comand and his merritt in your service.

Your majestie's castle of Dub. 12 June, 1646.

CCCCLV.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My Lord,

I AM as much troubled to finde by your lordship's of the 3d of this moneth that you reteyne some feeleing of your last fitt, or apprehend the accesse of a new one, as I am abundantly satisfyed to observe that my freedom with your lordship hath mett with an interpretation soe suitable to my intentions of respect vnto you.

I confess the comission I sent your lordship was not such as I could have wished you, and that I believed not you would make vse of it, but for want of power in mee to give you a better, and in case of a pressing necessity; both which, as I tooke it, being mett at the tyme your lordship sent for it, gave mee incouragement to send it.

I have not heard from Jack Barry or my brother Hamilton since they went hence to demaund the positive resolution of the Lymerick councell, whither they intend to insist vppon the publication of the earle of Glamorgan's agreement with them or noe; and vntill I doe, the busines of the treaty must rest at a stand. As soone as it shall recover motion by any returne from them, your lordship shall againe heere from

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 12 June, 1646.

ORMONDE.

CCCCLVI.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord, Paris, June 17. St. No. 1646.

I believe wee may vye with one another in care and trouble for my long stay from your excellence; but I hope in God to be with you within few dayes after this, with such fruites of my iourney as shall make you think it well imployed, if it please God you have been but able to prevent ill-accidents there, and to keepe things in the state I left them till my returne. I intend to begin my iourney to morow towards Jersey, where my frigat stayes for mee; but withall I thought it necessary to send vnto your excellence the nearest way this accoumpt of what effect you may expect of my negotiation, if it please God I get safely to you; and if otherwise, receive from mee the best measures I can give you how to governe your selfe most to the advantage of his majestie's affaires and of your owne honor and interests; the later of which, I shall not need tell you, is, next the first, the deerest thing to mee in the world.

Att my comeing to Jersey, I found cleerely my misfortune in haueing come too late to Silly, both in the certainty of my power to haue brought the prince thence into Ireland, and in the impossibility of doeing it where I then was, there being such an invincible aversion in the prince's councell against that designe, as nothing could haue overcom but the feares they weare in in Silly, or force, which I had not power to apply in Jersy: besides, I found them strengthned at that tyme against it by arguments taken from the vncertainty how my proposition might sute with the king's new designes, of which there was noe more then knowen, then that hee was resolved to gett out of Oxford. Over and aboue this, they armed themselves against mee with the

queene's vehement pressures, and some expressions of the king's pleasure for his comeing into Fraunce, notwithstanding that themselves weare almost as averse from that as from Ireland, 476 Vppon the whole matter, I thought it necessary to try if I could meete with more reasonable people in Fraunce then at Jersey, and strengthen my selfe from thence. Att my comeing hither, I found the queene very earnest in her desires to have the prince heere, but rather out of an vnsatisfyednesse of his safety at Jersy, and ignorance of the condition of Ireland, then out of any passion or designe relative to Fraunce; for when I had once giuen her a true state of affaires in Ireland, I found her very redy to embrace whatsoever vppon a judicious debate should be found most essentiall for the preservation of that kingdom, and the layeing the solidest foundations for his majestie's assistance, it was not thought fitt to come to any resolution in the poynt without consulting the cardinall, who now doth give such testimonyes of the reall desires of Fraunce to restore the king, as the queene hath greate reason to resigne her selfe vpp much to his councell. By that tyme I came to waite vppon his eminence it was knowen that the king had put himselfe into the hands of the Scotts, grownding his hopes in them vppon the negotiations and powers of Fraunce with the Scotts, which had in a manner engaged it selfe to declare for the king, in case he should iovne with the Scotts, and likewise to sett vpp their rest to preserve the Scotts firme to his just interests.

I thought it not the worst season to press home vnto him my proposition concearning the prince's goeing into Ireland, adding, that it might bee an excellent meanes of strengthning what was begun with the Scotts, by begetting an vnion between them and the Irish by the prince's presence in Ireland, and the powerfull mediation of Fraunce betweene them, and that it would be a very good tryall of the reality of the Scotts intentions; which if they weare sinceare towards the king, doubtless they would not be nice of strengthning themselves by such a conjunction. I found the cardinall as sencible of the reason of what I proposed as I could possibly wish, and hee instantly condiscended vnto the necessity of the prince's presence in Ireland, and of France's engageing it selfe immediately in the procureing a present coniunction betweene the Scotts and the Irish, and a resolution from the Scotts not to embrace any accommodation, but vppon a joynt comprisall of the Irish, and a ratification of the peace there;

and to assure mee of his reality heerein, hee gaue present order for a dispatch to that purpose vnto Montrueil their agent with the Scotts, and for another to Mr. Du Moulin their agent in Ireland, to assure both your excellence and the Irish of this resolution of Fraunce; which dispatch I have to bring with mee; and I assure you also that this poynt is made a prime instruction of the extraordinary embassador that is now sending into England vnder pretence of mediateing an accommodation.

As for the present putting in execution the prince's goeing into Ireland, though hee fully consented vnto the vsefullness of the thing, yett he scrupuled at the possibillity of effecting it tyme enough before the conclusion of the peace in Ireland, which was of necessity to be hastned, and least it might be somewhat too suddaine, before the Scotts weare enough declared, and give them some pretext to fly of in case they were not soe firme and right as was hoped for heere; but that if there could be any other meanes found out to goe thorough with the peace in Ireland suddainely, and to conjoyne the protestant party with the Irish, he thought it might be best for the present, and easylver effected, to bring the prince's person first hither, from whence he should be at full liberty, and haue at all tymes all convenyences to transport himselfe withersoever the advantage of his affaires should call him; and for this freedom there is a sollemne and publick engagement giuen by the queen, cardinall, and councell of Fraunce. I, findeing his inclinations on the one side, and on the other the impossibility of getting the prince from Jersy into Ireland without bringing him first hither, tould his eminence that I was of his oppinion, but that there was only one way possible, besides the prince's present repaire thither, to settle the 477 peace of Ireland, which was by a firme assurance of the prince's comeing thither as soone as possibly might be, and in the meane tyme a sume of mony, whereby to satisfy, till his comeing, the protestant souldiery, and thereby to give your excellence the power to displace those officers whome you had cause to distrust. Hee tould mee, that as the assurance of the prince's goeing into Ireland, when it should be possitively necessary, would, when once he weare heere, absolutely be in his owne and our queene's power, soe, as great as France's present necessityes weare, if a moderate sume for the present would suffice, I should not want that to dispose of in what way I should think fitt for the king's service in Ireland; and accordingly he presently gaue order for

10,000 pistoles to be payed mee, which I have received, and shall bring with mee to employ as your excellence shall comand, noe way doubting but if wee can compass to gett the prince of Wales suddainely hither, as I am confident wee shall, wee shall haue his person in Ireland whenever wee shall think it necessary; and in the meane tyme, by pretending it necessary, though it should not be possitively see, be able to draw a constant supply of monyes out of France for the forbearance; for I finde that although they have made a very frank and satisfactory engagement for his freedom to dispose of himselfe when he shall be heere, yett they doe soe much desire to haue him, as that they will be willing to purchase the continuance of possession at a very good rate; and truly I cannot yet vnderstand but that when hee shall be heere, and your excellence have received from him and the queene joyntly assurances of their adhearing to you, and engagement from them of theire seeing the king make good your engagements in Ireland, a constant supply of mony may be more vsefull there, and his presence more vsefull heere; and which of these you shall think best, I am very confident you may build vppon. Over and aboue this, I have great reason to be confident that wee shall be able to procure a constant supply of monyes from Roome, without any other engagement for it then such advantages to the catholiques as every honest protestant will be willing to affoard them, as well in England as in Ireland, to purchase by it such advantages to the king. Vppon which occasion I must not omitt to tell you that which hath been one of my cheefest ioves since I came hither, which is, that the queene hath been infinitely just to your excellence, and soe farr from entring into any treaty with the pope concearning Ireland, notwithstanding the nuntio's impudence to publish what he did at Kilkeny, that shee would never suffer sir Kenelme Digby to hearken to any thing on that subject, and her majestie haueing received some propositions from the pope concearning Ireland, her answer still was, that the busines of that kingdom was allready in those hands that we re best able to mannage it, and that whatsoever was sought for there must not be expected from any but your excellence. Yea, soe farr went her majestie, that when the nuntio of Ireland past this way, and made an address to her majestie, assureing her that hee had orders to governe himselfe in the affaires of Ireland as shee should direct, shee would not see much as once admitt him to her presence, or owne him in the least degree. This, I assure your excellence, is punctually true; yett I beseech you to forbeare expressing any thing against the nuntio till I haue waited vppon you, more then in satisfying those whome you shall think necessary with the knowledge of this truth.

Haueing given your excellence this true state of things heere, it is necessary that you be likewise enformed how things stand with the king in England, according to our yesterdaye's intelligence; which is in short this: that the Scotts are likely to faile both ours and France's expectation, and to make vse of the king's person only to force him to what they have aymed at, with the parliament all this while, insoemuch as you are to consider the king at present among them in shews and formallityes treated as a king, but really worse then a prisoner; for besides the guards about him, and strict observation of his person, hee hath noe kinde of liberty of minde, since all power of expresing any thing but what they will have him is taken away; Ash-478 burnham being chased from him, and not a person permitted about him, by whom hee can either receive or transmitt any thing to or from those whom he would have know his minde. This only wee haue had the happynesse to know from him, when he foresaw the condition he was likely to bee in, that hee desires that the prince his sone, the queene, and all his faithfull servants, should in yntly governe themselves according to what they shall iudge to be the true interests of his crowne and posterity, and not according to what in his forced condition may outwardly be made appeare as his pleasure; and I am confident that if there be a possibility of his conveying any thing of secret to you, your lordship will receive his express pleasure to this This is that which I think my selfe bound to lett your excellence know this way, in case any misfortune should befall mee, as that which I hope you will pursue, though I weare not of the world, being you are now the person vppon whom all the eyes of the world are sett for the conduct and mannagement in cheefe vnder the prince of Wales of the interests of the crowne of England. If it please God I come safe to you, I make noe question but I shall bring those assurances with mee as shall remoue all scruples: if God should otherwise dispose of mee, I am confident that vppon these grounds your excellence makeing

your address to the queene and the prince, you will finde them never a whitt the less firme and steady to you; in the way of which I doe recomend vnto your frendshipp my lord Jermin, as a most entire and worthy person, and to whome you are alredy highly obleeged. My greatest feare is least before my returne to you the king should have been forced by the Scotts to sett any imbargo vppon the peace of Ireland; but though he have, I hope you will be able to keepe things faire till I come, and that then, haveing received such further assurances as I shall bee able to give you of the king's condition, of the queene and prince's resolutions, and of the grounds layd to carry them thorough, noe such imbargo will be any hinderance to you to pursue vigorously that course which you shall indee prudent, iust, and honourable, and wherein, if God give mee life, you shall be accompanyed inseparably by,

My lord, your excellence's most faithfull and most affectionate humble servant.

I have divers things to have added, which would have swelled this letter to too vast a bulke; and therefore I have comitted them to this bearer Bennett, the young gentleman whom I have spoaken to you of before, who is now returned to mee out of Italy, wither I had sent him, and is one whose discretion and fidellity I doe infinitely trust.

CCCCLVII .- The queen to the marquis of Ormond.

Mon cousin,

St. Germain, ce 20 Juin, [1646.]

IL est peu nessesaire que je vous dise rien des sentiments que jay de vos seruices, ny de la resolution qui me demeurera perpetuellement de vour faire paroistre lestime que je fais diseux et de vostre personne, ayant entretenu Mr. Digby amplement sur ces subjects, et layant charge de vous en parler. Je vous diray touchant le traite de la paix dhirlande, que je lay veu auec la mesme satisfaction que le Roy monseigneur a temoygne den auoir; et que je saye que vous ne pouues faire rien qui luy soit plus agreable que de la conclure: vous en donnant des assurances de mapart, atandant yey tou les jours mon fils, que jay envoye querir; lequel vous temoygnera la mesme chose que moy et que nous porterons le roy a en confirmer la conclution, vous assurant aussy que nous ne nous separerons jamais de vos interest. Je

me remest a Mr. Digby de dire dauantage sur ce subject, vous priant de le croyre, et particulierement des plus fortes assu-479 rances quil vous donnera que je suis auec cinserite

Vostre affectionnee cousine et fidelle amie,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

CCCCLVIII.—Sir Edward Hyde to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

YOUR lordshipp have bene longe since informed where my lord Digby founde the prince, and from thence have pardoned my not acknowledgement of your greate favour to mee for the impossibility of præsentinge it to you. I confesse, in that coniuncture of tyme I thought the remooue from Jarsy to Irelande to be very fitt to be deliberately waighed before attempted; but I would have chosen it much more cheerefully then this that is imbraced; which I hope will be a memoriall of my weakenesse. For it is my misfortune to differ in opinion from those with whome I have hitherto agreed, and especially with my best friend, who, I hope, will not render me the lesse fitt for your charity, though I may be for your consideration. Indeede ther is not light enough for me to see my way, and I cannot walke in the darke; and therfore I have desyred leave of the prince to breath in this islande a little for my refreshment till I may decerne some way in which I may serue his majesty. I hope your lordshipp shall neuer meete with any interruption in the exercise of that deuotion which hath rendered you the enuyed example of three kingdomes, and that I shall yet finde an opportunity to attende upon your lordshipp, and have the honour to be receased by you in the capacity of,

My lord,

Your lordshipp's most humble and obedient servant,

Jarsy, this 22 of June,

[1645.] EDW. HYDE.

CCCCLIX.—The marquis of Ormond and council of Ireland to the king.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE;

WEE humbly craue leave to advertize your majestie of some occurents heere, which came to our knowledge after wee had

prepared our letters to your majestie of the ninth of this month, now sent by this bearer sir Thomas Armstrong, and which wee humbly conceaue are necessary to bee made knowen to your majestie.

When wee were preparing that dispatch, wee foresawe the very greate dificultie of sending it safely to your majestie, otherwise then by the way of Scotland. And therefore on the fourth of this month, wee directed our letters to generall major Robert Monroe, who comands the forces sent hether out of Scotland, desiring to knowe whether or noe hee would give a safe conduct for our messenger, that soe hee might with the more safety passe by the way of Scotland with our letters to your majestie.

On the then next day, the fift of June, generall major Monroe with his forces encountred Owen Roe O'Neile with his forces neere Benbur in the county of Tirone, in the province of Vlster, and in that fight generall major Monroe's forces were routed and defeated: the particulars whereof hee hath not been pleased to signify to vs, nor can wee from the diversitie of reports thereof, brought vnto vs by severall wayes, frame such an exact relation of the particulars as wee desire to doe without prejudice to any for your majestie's information; but wee beleeue you haue it 480 fully from the north of Ireland, where the fight was, and where the perticulers are much better knowen then vnto vs.

On the eleventh wee received letters of the eight of this month from Arthur Annesley, esq., generall major Robert Monroe, and collonell William Beale, wherein they mention that defeate; yet in a generalitie; and they therein call vppon mee the lieutenant to declare against the rebells heere; but then, neither in those letters nor otherwise, giving any answer to our said letters of the fourth of this month, concerning the safe conduct desired by vs for our messenger to bee sent to your majestie; which letters wee then vnderstood were come to generall major Monroe's hands before hee sent vs the said letters from him, and the rest of the eight of this month.

Vpon consideration had at this board of their said letters, wee by our letters of the twelvth of this month gaue such answere therevnto as wee judged most fitt and safe for your majestie's service, wherein wee agains moved for the safe conduct for our messenger to your majestie.

On the fifteenth wee received letters from them of the four-Ormond, vol. vi. D d

teenth in answere of ours of the twelvth of this month, whereby wee finde that safe conduct denyed vs; yet on the sixteenth of this month wee gaue such answere to those letters also as wee conceived most agreeable to our dutie in relation to your majestie's service; coppies of which severall letters from vs to him and them, and from them to vs, wee humbly offer heere inclosed for your majestie's viewe.

And nowe, having from the ninth of this month to this present deferred the sending away our letters to your majestie, hoping to have gained that safe conduct which is now denyed vs, wee are enforced without it to hazard the sending of our dispatch to your majestie, wherein wee humbly craue your majestie's pardon, considering the necessitie therein imposed on vs.

And although wee held it not fitt, nor in any degree suitable with the eminencie of that trust which is deposited with vs by your majestie, to declare to him, or those other persons with him, any reason for our not declaring at this time against the rebells, other then the necessitie of our consulting your majestie therein, (which also wee mentioned to them, the rather in hope soe to gaine that safe conduct which is now denyed vs.) yet, to deale cleerely and plainely with your majestie, as in dutie becomes vs., our further reasons are,

First, our extreame wants of all requisits of warr, expressed in some degree in our letters to your majestie of the ninth of this month, which wee hope will with these come to your majestie's hands.

Secondly, if wee were supplied in all those wants, yet, considering that by your majestie's authoritie I the lieutenant, by advice of this board, had before receipt of their letters agreed on a cessation of armes with the others vntill the thirteenth of July next, as wee haue declared to your majestie by our said letters of the ninth of this month, wee could not therefore, without violating the honor of your majestie's word given by vs in that cessation make any such declaration in present.

Thirdly, we considered, that albeeit the still further renewing of cessations from time to time will in short time weaken and much decay our strength, espetially while the souldier is vnprovided for, as now hee is, yet, vntill by your majestie's appointment wee bee enabled to prosecut a warr, if such shal bee your majestie's pleasure, wee must resolve to vndergoe the inconvenience of cessations, soe to avoid greater mischeife; and particu-

larly it wil bee necessarie to renewe the present cessation for some further time beyond the thirteenth of July, to the end in that interim wee may bee soe releeved, as may enable vs to preserve your majestie's interests and royall soveraigntie heere.

Fourthly, if wee should at this time make that declaration which they desire, wee being soe disabled as wee are to prosecut a warr, wee foresee cleerely, that then wee should drawe against vs heere more forces of the Irish then in our present 481 condition wee are enabled with meanes to resist; which might much endanger this place, the peece of most importance in this kingdome, and consequently all your majestie's loyall subjects heereabouts.

Thus have wee humbly represented to your majestie the reasons induceing vs to forbeare makeing the declaration they desire; which reasons wee held not fitt to imparte to them, or any other then your majestie; and doe humbly submitt it to your excellent judgment vppon the whole matter, whether wee had just cause to forbeare that declaration or not.

On the seventeenth of this month, I the lieutenant received letters, dated the tenth of the same, and signed by most of the cheife comanders of the Brittishe forces in the province of VI-ster; namely, the lord Foliott, sir William Stewart, sir Robert Stewart, generall major Robert Monroe, collonell Audley Mervin, collonell Georg Monroe, and lieutenant collonell William Cuningham; and signed also by sir Charles Coote comaunding in the province of Connaght, as wee heare, under the title of the lord president of that province. And wee finde that Arthur Annsley, esq., and collonell William Beale, persons imployed in VIster by the two howses of parliament, haue signed on the margent of the said letters, expressing their allowance thereof.

On the 18th of this month wee assembled in councell, where I the lieutenant comunicated their said letters to your councell; and wee all joyntly by our letters of the 22th of this month gaue answere to the said letters; and to the end your majestie may fully vnderstand the substance of their letters to vs, and ours to them, wee send heere inclosed coppies of both, humbly submitting them to your high wisdome.

Vpon this occasion wee hould it a civilitie fitt to bee rendered by vs to the earle of Leven to write to him, and doe herewith humbly transmitt to your majestie a coppy of our letters to his lordship.

And now wee humbly beseech your majestie, having taken into your princely consideration not only these our letters, but also our said letters of the nynth of this month, to vouchsafe the signification of your royall pleasure thervppon, with all possible speed; the occasions of your service heere necessarily pressing it. And soe with our continuall prayers to Allmightie God for the safetie, preservation, and happines of your royall majestie, wee most humbly take leave, and remaine, from your majestie's castle of Dublin, the 22th day of June, 1646,

Your majestie's most loyall and most faithfull subjects and servants,

ORMONDE.

Ri. Bolton Canc'	Roscomon.		
Geo. Cloyne.	Cha. Lambart.	Edw. Brabazon.	Ant. Midensis.
Gerrard Lowther.	Hen. Tichborne.	Arthur Chichester.	Ge. Shurley.
Ja. Ware.	G. Wentworth.	Fr. Willoughby.	Tho. Lucas.
			Robert Forth.

CCCCLX.—The prince of Wales to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

HAUING seene the articles of the Irish treaty, and discerning the essentiall vses to the king's affaires of the conclusion of the peace therepon; and having great reson to believe, that if the king have not allredy taken off the restraint he had imposed upon you, and commanded you to proseed to the conclusion, it hath bene for want of meanes of making his mind knowne to you: I have thought fitt to assure you, that if you upon the place shall judge it nesesary to conclude before you can here from him, that I shall not faile, in case there be ocasion of it, which I am confident there will not, to implove my utmost care and credit with him to conferm it; and if, which I can have no caze to imagine, ther should any accident hapen to hinder it, I shall neuer seprate my selfe from your intrest, but adhere to you in them with that afection and constancey, of which I have commanded my lord Digby to give you assurance more large. In 482 which, and in all things else, I desire you to give full credit to him, resting

Your most affectionat freind.

CCCCLXI.—The lord lieutenant and council to the king.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE;

ON the 24th I the lievtenant received your majestie's letters of the 11th, inclosed in leters of the 22th of June directed to mee from Arthur Annesly, esqr., generall major Robert Monro, and collonell William Beale.

By those your majestie's letters you are pleased to command mee to proceede noe further in treatie with the rebells, nor to engage your majestie vppon any conditions with them, after sight of your said letters.

I did (as I vsually doe all matters of importance concerning your majestie's service) comunicat your majestie's said letters to your councell; and now wee humbly crave leave, in discharge of our dutie, to returne to your majestie our joint answer to your said letters.

Such was our care in the matter of that treatie to order our councells therin, as not to conclude any thing heere which might engage your majestie vppon any conditions with them; but soe as all was to bee of noe effect and absolutly void, vnless those acts of dutie which were expected to bee rendered by them to your majestie were on their parte first duly performed; which also your majestie will finde by our letters of the 9th of June, wherin wee humbly signified to your majestie, that you are free and disobliged from any engagement to them on that treatie; that all concessions made to them on that treatie are now void and of noe effect; and soe the wholl matter stands cleere and intire before you to give rule therin, as if that treatie or any concessions thereppon had never been had or made. And as wee soe ordered our councells in that matter before receipt of vour majestie's leters; soe now much more shall wee persist in that counsell, and, in humble obedience to your majestie's commands, will proceede noe further in that treatie with the rebells, nor engage your majestie vppon any conditions with them.

And now vppon this occasion of your majestie's said letters were debated at this board what was most fitt to bee don by vs, in order as to the rendring all due obedience to your majestie's commands, soe to the preservation of this your majestie's government and other your royall interests heere; and therin of your army, and of all your protestant subjects with vs. In this debate were considered.

First, that the rebells have at this time three armies in the field, one in the province of Vlster, another in the province of Connaght, and the third in the province of Munster. The last are now (as for severall weekes they have been) lying before Bunratty, the earle of Thomond's howse, beseegeing it. That in Connaght lyes now before Roscomon, the earl of Ranelagh's howse, beseegeing it, as wee are lately informed. The third, namely, that in Vlster, doe soe hover, as wee knowe not where they will sitt downe; but they were within a few dayes marche of this cittie of Dublin when wee received your majestie's said leters, and are now neere vs.

Secondly, that if the cessation, now continuing vntill the 13th of July next, bee not renewed for a further time beyond the said 13th of July, perhapps both or one of those last mentioned armies may immediatly, after the 13th of July, advance hether to be seege this your majestie's castle and cittie of Dublin, or if not to lay close seege to vs, yet to disperse their forces at some distance round about vs; and then they may easily not only hinder all access of provisions to vs from the cuntry, (which 483 would in a few daies very much distress vs, and the rather in regard severall shipps of warr imployed by the two houses of parliament at Westminster are continually and even at this time lying in the mouth of this harbor of Dublin, hindering the access of all provisions to vs,) but also hinder vs from drawing your majestie's forces from the out guarrisons, and vniting them into an intire bodie, soe to encounter the enemie.

Thirdly, if wee should in such case gaine so much time as to drawe the forces from all the out guarrisons, then all those places must bee deserted, which will then leave the enemy master of them and of all the cuntry, and of all the corne and hay growing in the cuntrie; and then immediatly our weekelie contribution and excise arriseing from the cuntry will absolutly faile, and the excise in this cittie, by not having access from the cuntrie, wil bee brought to litle or nothing; and the men soe drawne from the out guarrisons may add to our number, but withall they will increase our want, and consequently our danger: for wee that are now vnable to mainteine the soldiers kept heere in this cittie, having also some helpe towards it by the weekely contribution and excise paid by the cuntry, wil bee then much less able to releeve them, and the others also with them, which shall come in vnto vs from the out guarrisons;

especially when that weekelie contribution and excise paid by the cuntrie shal bee wholly taken from vs, and the excise in the cittie shal bee brought soe lowe as it will not bee considerable; and then it will come to pass, if speedy supply come not to vs, that if wee bee not destroyed by the enemy, we shal bee in danger to bee devoured by our owne want.

Fourthly, in case both or either of those armies shall advance hether against vs, wee want not only men but also money, victualls, clothes, and shooes for the soldier, and armes and munition, and indeede all things requisit towards enabling vs to encounter an enemy, and above all poulder; there beeing in your majestie's stoare at Dublin (as by our leters of the ninth of June wee declared) but thirteene barrells of poulder. And morover, it is to bee considered that the carriages for the artillery are out of repaire, and the ordinance vnmounted, and the carriages for victualls and other provisions requisit for marches are all worne, broken, and vtterly vnserviceable. That such is our want of money, (all helpes that way beeing vtterly exhausted,) as wee are not able to renew or repaire those carriages, or make new, or to mount some of the ordinance, as were necessary in apt places heere for defence of this cittie, or to answer any other sudden or extraordinary occasion, wherin expense of money is necessarie.

Wee therfore considering this our hard (indeede very hard) condition, and the impossibilitie, as wee conceive, of the arriving of our supplies heere before the 13th of July, when the present cessation ends, could not apprehend any way likely to secure this place for your majestie, and to preserve this your majestie's governement, your army, and your protestant subjects heere, for a time, vntill by your majestie's appointment those our wants bee supplied; but a renewing of the cessation for some further time beyond the thirteenth of July. And therfore, after long and serious debate, wee resolved at this board to endeavor, if wee may, to gaine a renewing of the cessation for some further time beyond the 13th of July; which also wee formerly foresaw would now become necessary, and soe wee humbly declared to your majestie by our letters of the 22th of June.

That then beeing soe resolved, wee considered, in the next place, of the time to which wee should moove to renew the cessation, beeing desirous on the one side not to make it for too long a time, least soe (in case our supplies should arrive heere sooner

then wee expect) wee might prevent your majestie's direction for goeing on in the warr this summer, if your majestie shall soe think fit; and on the other side not to make it for too short a time, least the many preparations requisit to a full supplie, and 484 the vncertaintie of winde and wether, or any other intervening accident, might retard it, soe as not to arrive heere soe speedily as wee desire, and as indeede is extremely necessary; wee therfore fixed on the thirteenth of August, as the time to which wee hould most fitt to renew the cessation; that if by that time our supplies arrive heere, wee may then goe on in the warr. if your majestie shall soe appoint. And in the appointment of that time, wee considered also, that in case our supplies shall arrive heere by the 13th of July, as it wil bee noe inconvenience to the service that the men have that time after their arrivall to refresh themselves and putt themselves in order for their worke, soe it wil bee also necessarie that wee have the same time, with the money to bee sent thence, to repaire all our defects in our carriages, and all other matterialls for marcheing, and to answer many other extraordinarie charges incident to an armies taking the field.

And now the renewing of the cessation, and the time to which wee desire it may bee renewed, beeing by vs soe resolved, wee are laboring to gaine the other side to assent therunto, which if wee can gaine, the advantage to your majestie wil bee very great in the securitie which wee may probably hope to bee thence rendered to this place, vntill by your majestie's appointment we may bee instructed how to preserve your majestie's interests, and therin your majestie's army, and your protestant subjects heere.

Wee observe in the leters to vs from Mr. Annesley, generall major Monroe, and collonell Beale, (within which your majestie's said leters came inclosed,) that they interpret your majestie's letters in another sense then, as wee humbly conceive, your majestie intends; for they say, that if wee must not engage your majestie vppon any conditions with the rebells, (which are part of the words of your majestie's letters,) wee are nott to renew any treatie or cessation. And wee therin concurr with them thus farr, that by your majestie's said letters I the lievtenant am soe restrained as I may not renewe the treaty of peace with them, nor will I in any degree.

But wee humbly conceive, that although your majestie in-

tended by your letters to forbidd any further proceeding in the treatie of peace, yet that your majestie did not by those your letters meane or intend to abridge that powre by which all the cessations I have made with them (after that was expired, which ended the fifteenth of September 1644) have been made, and that by advice of this board, as the now intended cessation also is, namely, your majestie's comission constituting mee the lievtenant, your majestie's lievtenant generall, and generall governour of this your kingdome; by vertue wherof, as chief governour of this your kingdome, vnder your majestie, I humbly conceive I have that powre which every governour of a forte or towne hath, namely, to parlye with an enemy, and, if necessitie require it, to make cessations from acts of hostility for a time, vntill from a superior powre relief or other direction may come.

Such then beeing our case, though in a farr higher degree, and of much more concernement then an ordinary forte or towne, by how much in this case noe less then the most important peece of a kingdome lyes, as it were, at the stake, and therin the preservation of your majestie's government and army, and so many of your majestie's protestant subjects; it cannot enter into our thoughts to conceive or imagin that your majestie could meane or intend by those your leters any other direction to vs then only to forbid vs to make any such agreement or conclusion on the treatie of peace, as might binde vpp or foreclose your majestie from applying those remedies to the present distempers of this now miserable kingdome; as your majestie should in your highe wisdome thinke fitt, but not to forbid vs to make a temporary and short cessation, in the condition wherin wee now are, if for the safetie of your affaires, wee your servants heere vppon the place should finde it more necessarie, then (as wee humbly conceive) your majestie at soe great a distance of 485 place (and your ministers heere vnconsulted) could foresee.

Nay, admitting that your majestie (vppon the information given you by those who cannot soe fully see into our condition as wee your servants heere vpon the place) should have required vs expressly not to make any cessation; yet even in that case, considering how irrecoverably prejudiciall the executing of such your commands (in the state and condition wherin wee now are) would proove to your majestie, to this your government, to your army, to all your loyall subjects heerabouts; wee humbly conceive, that in that case your majestie would have held it a

greater and more acceptable dutie and service to your majestie, that wee should have made a cessation then otherwise. For by the later wee should vnavoidably drawe vppon your majestie, and your army, and other your loyall subjects heerabouts, irrecoverable mischiefs; wheras by the former wee might in likely-hood and probability prevent those mischiefs. And certainlie wee should in such case choose rather, for making a cessation at this time, to fall at your majestie's feete, for a gracious and benigne interpretation of our proceeding, when wee did it only for your honor and service, then, by not making it, expose your majestie's government heere, ourselves, this place, your majestie's army, and all your loyall subjects heere, to the apparent danger of falling into the enemie's hands.

Morover, I the lievtenant have a speciall direction from your majestie, (sent mee soone after my entrance into this governement,) that if any direction were brought mee from your majestie for doeing any thing which I should finde might begett inconvenience to your service, that I should in such case humbly represent it to your majestie, and in the interim forbeare to execut such your direction.

And (as is knowen to most of vs) the like directions have been in the times of severall former governours of this kingdome, soe to prevent all inconveniences which might, for want of full information from hence, have happened to the publique services of the crowne; and former governours heere have often don accordingly, to the advantage of the crowne. And now what interpretation soever others (who knowe not the inwards of affaires heere) may make of our renewing the cessation for a time; yet wee humbly conceive your majestie will graciously interpret it, to whose excellent judgement wee humbly submitt it.

And heere wee doe with all possible earnestnes most humbly beseeche your majestie that wee may by the thirteenth of July receive your gracious direction in answer of theise and our other leters of the 9th and 22th of June:

And (in case your majestic shall resolve to goe on in the warr heere) that by the 13th of July, if it bee possible, or if not by that time, as soone after as may bee, there may arrive heere a competent supplie of men, money, victualls, clothes, shooes, armes, munition; and above all, in the first place, a proportion of poulder, and some money. And if the full proportions of all

kindes to bee designed for vs, cannot come soe speedily; yet that such of them as shal bee soonest redy, and especially poulder and money, may bee sent away immediatly, and the rest to followe after with all possible speede. For albeeit the cessation may give vs hope to bee able to live to expect those supplies; yet, when it shal bee publique that a warr is intended, which cannot bee long kept secret, it is possible that those who vn-provoked fell vppon vs in a time of full peace may perhapps (especially at this time) not much scruple to violat a cessation; and the rather, there beeing such pretenses for it, as in such diversitie of governements as now are in this kingdome could not bee avoided; and therfore the hastening of supplies hether is the more necessarie.

In the last place, wee most humbly beseeche, that when wee shall receive your majestie's direction for proceeding in the warr heere, (if soe your majestie in your highe wisdome shall adjudge 486 fitt,) wee may at the same time receive assurance of your preservation of vs your servants, and others of your subjects, in theise and in our other letters to your majestie of this daie's date mentioned, in our persons, consciences, and estates, that soe wee may with the more cheerfullnes cooperat in your majestie's services heere with that dutie which becomes vs; wherin (in all humilitie wee speake it) it is not to bee imagined that any man can proceede with comfort and alacritie, whilst his thoughts are disturbed with the sad apprehension of the dangers of his person, conscience, estate, and posteritie; which wee humbly offer to your majestie's royall consideration.

And soe with our prayers to Allmighty God for your majestie's continual happines, wee most humbly remaine, from your majestie's eastell of Dublin, the xxjxth day of June, 1646,

Your majestie's most loyall

and most faithfull subjects and servants,

Ormonde.

Ri. Bolton, Cane'.	Roscomon.	Edw. Brabazon.
Geo. Cloyne.	Cha. Lambart.	Ant. Midensis.
Ge. Shurley.	Gerrard Lowther.	Arthur Chichester.
Tho. Lucas.	Robert Forth.	Hen. Tichborne.
Ja. Ware.	G. Wentworth.	Fr. Willoughby.

CCCCLXII.—The lord lieutenant and council to the king.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE;

HOW vnwilling soever wee are to disturb your royall majestie, espetially at this time, in any particulars relating to privat intrests, yet, when those interests are soe involved in the publique as they cannot well bee severed, and when therein your majestie's honor and service nowe and in future are soe highly concerned, wee humbly craue leave to cast our selves at your majestie's feete, not only in demonstration of our loyaltie and faithfullnes to your majestie, but alsoe most humbly to supplicat, that your majestie wil bee gratiously pleased to bee advertised from vs your servants, that wee, who have the honor to serve you as your lieutenant and councell heere, haue (out of conscience towards God, and dutie to your sacred person and royall scepter) most dutifully and affectionatly laboured to maintaine your majestie's interests and royall soveraigntie heere against all opposers; that the comanders, officers and soldiers of your armie now heere have faithfully and valiantly assisted vs therein; that wee haue had heere, with vs, and still haue, a great number of the despoiled clergie of this kingdome, many of them of eminent degrees in church and schoole, whose great learning and pietie, and constant labors in preaching and other dueties of their function, haue been to vs and all other your protestant subjects heere a singular comfort amidst all our distresses, and certainly haue not been the least occasion of the great blessings of God hetherto accompanying our councells and actions, and still going along with your majestie's armies heere, in prosperous successes for preservation of this your kingdome to your majestie and your royall posteritie.

That your judges of your courts of justice, and your majestie's learned councell heere, persons of great learning in their professions, and of great sufficiencie and integritie in their places, and your other officers and ministers of your crowne, persons of eminent abilitie and integritie in their places, haue allsoe cheerefully and affectionatly concurred with vs in all things for your majestie's honor and service, and preservation of your rights and interests heere; that wee, and all those, as well of the clergie as of the layetie, haue been robbed and spoiled by the rebells of all 487 our estates and fortunes, and are thereby reduced to that extremitie, that from the highest to the lowest wee haue little now

left but our lives, whereby to susteine our selves, wives, children, families, and other despoyled friends and allyes depending vppon vs.

That as many of vs or them as had any thing left vs out of the power of the rebells, haue (even out of that remnant) contributed to the vttermost of our abilities towards defraying the publique charge heere for preservation of your majestie's armie; that when I, the lieutenant, saw the perishing condition of this armie, and the declining of your majestie's honor and the honor of the English nation in this your government, for want of meanes to support both, I did engage my owne privat estate, and with much difficultie found meanes to gaine so much creditt as I haue contracted aboue three and twenty thousand and six hundred pounds debt for maintaining this armie, and vphoulding in some degree the honor of your majestie's government heere, choosing rather to expose the estate of mee and my posterity to ruin then to see this armie and your majestie's government heere, and therein the honor of the crowne and kingdome of England, exposed to that contempt and scorne of the enemie which otherwise must have fallen vpon them.

That besides those debts contracted by mee the lieutenant alone, your majestie's late justices sir John Borlase and sir Henry Tichborne, and before them sir William Parsons and sir John Borlase, and I the lieutenant, before my being your majestie's lieutenant of this your kingdome, and divers members of this board, and others of your majestie's officers and ministers of this kingdome, haue, since the begining of this rebellion, entered into severall bonds in great sommes of money to perticuler persons for severall provisions for your majestie's armie, and other your services heere; vnder which engagement, to which our persons and estates are lyable, wee all still continue, and shal bee thereby vtterly ruined, if some course bee not taken for our indemnitie.

And although wee cannot doubt your majestie's pietie and goodnes in your continued care, as of all your subjects, soe particularly of vs your servants, and other your subjects of severall conditions herein formerly mentioned, who in all our actions haue laboured to discharge the duetie of faithfull subjects to your sacred majestie; yet, that wee may not bee wanting to our selves, or those others formerly heerein mentioned, in minding your majestie at this time of vs and them, wee most humbly beseech your majestie to bee gratiously pleased to reteine such a memorie

of vs and them, as that by your high wisdome wee and they may bee soe preserved, as the ruin of our estates, and the loss thereof for theis five yeares past, which hath reduced vs to all imaginable extreamities of want, (and that for noe other cause then for beeing of your majestie's protestant subjects,) may not bee followed with the destruction of our persons, or the future loss of our estates, or the pressure of our consciences, that soe the common enemie of protestants, who haue already glutted themselves in the ruin of our fortunes, and doe yet possess the greatest parte of our estates, as if they were their owne, may not yet further triumph in any such prejudice to bee brought vppon vs.

And wee heere humbly craue leave to protest to your majestie, our most deare and gratious soveraigne, and that in the presence of Allmighty God, the righteous Judge of heaven and earth, that wee move not this, as beeing conscious to our selves of any the least guilt in vs towards your majestie, or any of your crownes or kingdomes; but that all wee haue don hath been to noe other end then, according to our best vnderstanding, to discharge the duty of loyall subjects to your majestie, and therein the dutie of good Christians towards Allmighty God, whom wee beseeche (whatsoever becomes of vs) soe to direct your councells and resolutions, as may confirme a happy vnion of the two kingdomes of England and Scotland, a right vnderstanding betwixt your majestie and all your subjects, a firme establishment of your ma-488 jestie's throne in glory and honor, and all your subjects in peace and righteousnes, that the true reformed protestant religion may for ever flourish in peace and prosperitie in all your kingdoms and dominions, and that all the enemies thereof may bee either converted to it or suppressed by that eternall Powre which wee pray may everlastingly support it. And soe wee most humbly remaine, from your majestie's castle of Dublin, the 29th day of June, 1646,

Your majestie's most loyall and most faithfull subjects and servants,

Ormonde.

Ri. Bolton, Canc'.	Roscomon.	Edw. Brabazon.
Geo. Cloyne.	Cha. Lambart.	Ant. Midensis.
Ge. Shurley.	Gerrard Lowther.	Arthur Chichester.
Fr. Willoughby.	Tho. Lucas.	Hen. Tichborne.
Ja. Ware.	G. Wentworth.	Robert Forth.

CCCCLXIII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord, Dublin, July 4th, 1646.

BEING returned out of Fraunce, where, very few dayes before my coming away, I received by an expresse the knowledge of his majestie's condition, and of his positive pleasure in the weightyest of his affayres, and particularlye of this kingdome of Ireland, and his majestie being not in a condition where hee can possiblye doe it himselfe, I am by commaund to signifye the same vnto your excellence, as secretary of state. Your excellence therefore is to take notice, that his majestie haueing vpon most positive engagements of the Scotts, both vnto the crowne of Fraunce, and vnto himselfe, by the French agent residing with the Scotts, received assurances from them of three points, namely, that they would not endeauour to force his conscience, that they would give a sure retreate among them to all his faithfull seruants and adherents, and lastly, that they would endeauour, by treaty or by force, to restore him to and establish him in his iust rights, putt himselfe voluntarilye into their hands. But being there, hee hath found them soe farr from performing any part of their engagements, that they have vsed him, according to his majestie's owne expression, barbarouslye; and had made him, at the time of his sayd last dispatch, (which was of the 2d of June,) a prisoner of the strictest kind, having not only chased from him Mr. Ashbornham, whoe was the onlye person that accompanyed him thither, but alsoe sett forth a proclamation of death against any whoe had serued him during these troubles that should presume to come among them; and insteade of them, had placed aboute him, and neerest his person, such as had been most eminently active against him, as particularly the earle of Lenerick, whoe having had his secretarye's place taken from him, and disposed of to another, and being committed close prisoner at Oxford, had made an escape, and euer since serued actively against his majestie in Scottland: insoemuch as that his majestie declares, that hee hath noe possibilitye left him either of receiuing any knowledge of his owne affayres but as his enimyes shall represent them, or any aduices from his faithfull seruaunts, much lesse to expresse vnto them his pleasure in any way but what they shall force from him: and that having with much skill and difficultye obtained that secrett meanes of expressing in short his sad condition, and his will and pleasure thereupon, that

the queene, the prince, and all his faithfull ministers, to whome they were to impart it, were to vnderstand this, as the last free direction that they could expect from him; and that they should in all things pursue, and cause to bee pursued, steadilye, those orders which hee had given before this time of his vnfree con-480 dition; and that in all things wherein hee had not given directions while hee judged himselfe free, that the prince his sonne should give from time to time such orders as should bee judged best for the aduantage of his crowne and interests, without being diverted from it by any thing that in his present restrainte might bee either surreptitiouslye or violentlye gott from him. particularly for the businesse of Ireland, hee had, while hee was free, redoubled vnto your excellence such positive orders for your concluding the peace vpon the termes express't vnto him by your excellence, since the mutuall signing of the articles, that hee was confident it would bee proclamed before I could bee back in Ireland; and that to the end that your excellence might not bee discouraged in the pursuite of that, upon which hee conceived the wellfaire of his affayres soe much depended, hee had commaunded the queene and the prince his sonne to give you assurances of their adhering firmelye to you in this businesse of the peace of Ireland, in what vnfortunate condition soeuer his person should continue; and that if there were a possibilitye for his majestie by any art to gaine the meanes of doing it, your excellence should receive orders in his owne hand conveyed vnto you by the queene for all this, as alsoe for what else I am now commaunded to signifye vnto you as his majestie's will and pleasure. A further principall and most important point whereof is, that your excellence take notice that the greate seale of England being now likely to fall into the hands of his enimyes, whoe as they have not forborne to make and vse a new counterfeite greate seale, soe it is to bee supposed that they will much lesse make scruple to serue themselues of the true one, vnto their owne wicked ends, if it may any wise availe them; and therefore your excellence is most strictly required to take special care, that if any thing whatsoeuer shall bee sent over hither concerning this kingdome of Ireland vnder the greate seale of England, that noe obedience bee given vnto it, and that, whatsoeuer it bee, it cause noe disturbance in your prosecution of his majestie's seruice, vnlesse you shall receiue from his majestie's owne hand in eypher assurances that the same was past by warrant from him

freelye graunted, and vpon his owne free and vnconstrained apprehension of what was fitt for his seruice. And your excellence is further required to take notice, that, for whatsoeuer his majestie shall freelye and vnforcedly judge fitt to commaund you for his seruice in this kingdome, you shall receiue his pleasure either in cypher in his owne hand, or else conuey'd vnto you by the queene and prince of Wales; and whatsoeuer directions you shall receiue from him in any other way, you are not to consider them as his free commaunds, nor to yeald any further obedience vnto them, then such as, vpon consideration of the matter conteyned in them, you shall judge fitt for his seruice to haue been done without relation to any such command. I rest,

My lord, your excellence's most humble seruant,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCCCLXIV.—The king to the speaker of the house of lords.

Charles R.

HIS majesty having considered the letter of the 6th instant, sent to him from the lords and commons in parliament assembled, thinks fitt to returne this answere; that as none can be more deiply affected then his majesty with the past and present calamities of his kingdome of Ireland, nor is soe neirly concerned in the preservation of his protestant subjects there; so he wil be most ready to apply all fitting remedies for there delyverance.

As to the particular of delyvering forthwith of the city and castle of Dublin, the towne of Droghada, and all other garisons in that kingdome, which are held by his majestie's authorety, 490 into the hands of such as the parliament shall appointe, his majesty (being most willing that all those places may be soe disposed upon, as they may be best secured from the rebels, and serue most for the safety of his good subjects) doth againe earnestly presse the propositions so long expected for the peace of that and his other kingdomes may be hastned to him, expecting that they will conteane the readiest meanes, not only of preserueing those places which are already in his power, but likeways of reduceing the rest of that kingdome possessed by the rebels to his obedience. And as his majesty knowes not a more speedy and effectuall way for atteining those ends then by

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

removing all differences betwixt his majesty and the houses of parliament; so nothing wil be more really endeavored by his majesty then that a solide and lasting peace may be forthwith established. Newcastell, 11th of July, 1646.

CCCCLXV.—The marquis of Ormond to Arthur Annesley, esq., general major Robert Monroe, and colonel William Beale.

AFTER our very hearty comendations. On the 16th of this month in the evening wee received yours of the 14th of the same, and have given Mr. Walcott the bearer thereof such dispatch as you desired, with this our answer to your said letter.

Wee doe acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you dated the 22th of June last, which came to vs by the conveyance of sir Theophilus Jones, knight, not long after the date thereof; and in the said letter wee found enclosed one signed by his majestie beareing date the 11th of June, as alsoe one directed to the lord Folliott.

To that signed by his majestie our answer had been long since sent; but that as well as by your severall letters, (wherein you declare in effect that noe dispatch from vs shall be permitted to pass by you to his majestie, vnless you be made acquainted therewith,) as by other printed papers and severall concurring circumstances, wee finde soe little hope of receiveing his majestie's free pleasure touching his affaires and servants heere; that wee haue greate cause to feare even the safety of any messenger of trust wee should send. But as soone as it shall please God to affoard vs cleere and vninterupted wayes of adress to his majestie, wee hope to giue him fitting accoumpts of all his comands directed to vs his lieutenant; which title (by the way wee hould fitt to observe vnto you) his majestie is pleased to giue vs, though you in the severall letters directed by you vnto vs are not pleased soe to stile vs.

The letter to the lord Folliott was deliuered to him vnbroken open, as wee believe hee will have tould you before you receive these our letters; though wee conceive wee might in all respects have instifyed the perviseall thereof, better then any subject (not authorised in that behaulfe by his majestie) can justify the attempting to looke into the contents of any dispatches sent to

his majestie, and better then wee could iustify the imparteing such our dispatches to you. And soe wee remainne, from his majestie's castle of Dublin, the 18th of July, 1646,

Your loveing frend,

ORMONDE.

CCCCLXVI.—Lord Digby's declaration about the peace of 49¹ Ireland.

BEING returned hether to Dublin out of France, with full assurances, newly received there from the king my master, that hee had re-doubled his positive orders vnto the lord lieutenant of Ireland, both immediatly before his coming from Oxford, and since his beeing at Newcastle, for the immediat perfecting of the peace in his kingdome according to the articles agreed on; vppon his dispensation with the conditionall of the confederat Roman catholicques of Ireland sending over the ten thousand men vndertaken for by them; and beeing commanded to attend his majestie's service heere vppon his majestie's confident supposition, that the peace alredy agreed on would bee proclaimed before my arrivall heere; I finde insted therof a stopp sett vppon the same by occasion of a letter dated from Newcastle the 11th of June, supersigned Charles R. and attested Lanerick, and knowing by his majestie's own free expression of his will and pleasure, and of his resolutions and designes in the wholl state of his affaires, how contrary to his free judgement and will the said letter of the 11th of June is, and how distructive to all the foundations laid by his majestie for the recovery of his own, his crowne, and posteritie's rights, whether by way of a good accomodation (which God grant) or of warr, any obedience to the said letter in setting a stopp vppon the peace of this kingdome expected by his majestie would bee; I doe (according to my dutie as secretary of state, vpon certaine knowledge of his majestie's resolutions, and as I will answer it with my life)

Declare vnto his excellencie the lord lievtenant and councell of his majestie's kingdome of Ireland, that the said letter of the 11th of June is either a surreptitious letter, or a forced one from his majestie, or procured vppon some false information of the state of his affaires, and most contrary to what I knowe to bee his free resolution and vnconstrained will and pleasure. And I doe further declare with the same solemnitie and engage-

ment of my life, that if the peace of Ireland shall not bee presently concluded, the hinderers of it are the occasion of subverting and destroying the maine foundation resolved and laid by his majestie, for the recovery of his own, his crowne, and posteritie's rights, as aforesaid; whether by waye of accomodation or of warr; for the preventing of which irrepairable mischief, if there should bee the least danger therof by the scruples of any, I doe freely take the wholl matter vpon my selfe to answer to his majestie, as his secretary of state, with my life, this declaration of his will. And I doe offer my selfe to bee reteined as a prisoner, where the lord lievtenant shall appoint, vntill such time as his majestie shal be at liberty to express freely and privatly vnto my lord lievtenant, vpon priuat letters received by his majestie from my lord lievtenant and mee, his vnconstrained will; and then, if his majestie shall not justifie mee to have declared it faithfully, I submitt my self to suffer death: and I desire that this declaration of myne may bee entred in the councell booke for my justification, that I have discharged my dutie, in case the mischiefs heere sett downe shal bee occasioned by deferring the peace of this kingdome vppon the aforesaid leter of the 11th of June. In wittnes wherof I have heervnto sett my hand the 28th day of July 1646.

GEORGE DIGBYE.

Uppon the above motion made at this board by our very good lord, the lord George lord Digbye, his majestie's principall secretary of state, the above written, signed by his lordship, was thus entred by direction of vs the lord lievtenant and councell,

28º July, 1646.

Ormonde.

Ri. Bolton, Cane', La. Dublin, Roscomon, Dillon, Edw. Brabazon, Ant. Midensis, Ge. Cloyne, Ch. Lambart, Arth. Chichester, Ger. Lowther, Hen. Tichborne, Fr. Willoughby, Th. Lucas, Rob. Forth, Ja. Ware, G. Wentworth.

This agreeth with the entry in the councell booke,

Ma. Barry.

CCCCLXVII.—The marquis of Ormond to the king.

492

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

ACCORDING to your comands delivered to mee by the lord Digby, I have concluded a peace with the Irish vppon the conditions formerly agreed on with them, being by him well assured that such was your pleasure; notwithstanding a letter seeming to prohibite it, signed by your majestie, and dated at Newcastle the 11th of June.

The hazards I have adventured on by concluding this peace are great, in relation to the power of the oposite party heere and elswhere; but that which I found most difficult, and which I cannot promise to overcome any more, was to doe a thing contrary to what the world may believe to be your will.

I doe therefore humbly beseech your majestie to impose any kind of comands vppon mee (bee they of never soe greate danger to mee) other then such, as either in iest or earnest, may bring in question my loyalty or obedience to your majestie.

A fuller accoumpt of your majestie's affaires heere I cannot now giue, then that I shall pursue those wayes that to my best vnderstanding tend to your honour and service, and to the advantage of your crowne.

My lord Digbye, who hath a more perfect notion of the whole frame of your business, will more at large discourse thereof. I beseech God to protect your person, and to prosper your designes. I remaine

Your majestie's most faithfull and most humble subject and servant.

Your majestie's castle of Dublin, the last of July, 1646.

ORMONDE.

CCCCLXVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to sir Edward Hyde.
Sir.

MY lord Digbye will give me leave to profess that the satisfaction I received at his comeing hither sufered much abatement in that you came not with him; and I shall never deny that I value your approbation of the actions I shall have parte in next after theirs whose comands I dispute not, but obey.

The peace soe long treated on is now concluded on heere, and I hope it will proove as it is intended, a foundation for a happy

settlement in his majestie's other kingdomes. Whatever it be as to that publique aime, if it shal please you to make vse of it to enlarge your imprisonment by removeing into this biger island, I can promise you what retirednes you please, and what els may conduce to your contentment that is in the power of

Your most affectionate humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 7 Augusti,

ORMONDE.

CCCCLXIX.—The marquis of Ormond to the queen.

MADAME,

IN what condition your letter by my lord Digbye found mee, what effect it wrought, the present state of the king's affaires heere, and what must bee necessaryly and tymely had from abroade, for secureing the peace in this kingdom, and makeing 493 it of vse towards restoreing his majestie to his rights in all his dominions, are things wherein my lord Digbye hath left mee noething to say; soe that this letter shall give your majestie noe other trouble then of my humble acknowledgements and reall proffessions; which are, that my meane services to the king and your majestie are over valued by your indulgence, and more then rewarded in soe gratious an acceptance; that the honor I receive in haueing soe inconsiderable a noething, as any interest I can pretend to, thought of with those of your majestie and the prince of Wales, is a fortune I may justly glory in, whatever the successe bee; that as I have from the first motion of trouble in these kingdomes dedicated my selfe and mine to the service of the crowne of England, and with the interests of it have resolved to stand or fall, soe noe power on earth, nor the example of multitudes otherwise minded, shall ever bee able to alter my course, or to make mee other then,

Madame, your majestie's most faithfull and most humble subject and servant,

Dub. Castle, 7^{mo} Aug. 1646.

ORMONDE.

CCCCLXX.—The marquis of Ormond to the prince of Wales.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNES;

I should long since have given you an accoumpt of that parte of his majestie's affaires comitted to my management in this

kingdome, but that by the vncertainty of any thing I could have writen I must have left your highnes still vnsatisfied.

Now the treaty for peace is at length concluded, vpon such conditions as the lord Digbye will at large aquaint your highnes; whoe is also most able fully to represent vnto you the true state of things here; wherupon your highnes may make that judgement, and lay those grounds as may most probably make this kingdome vsefull towards the restoreing of the king's cause.

'I am much a stranger to the state of things in England, and wholy to the resolutions taken there by his majestie or your highnes; and therefore dare not venture vpon positiue aduises or vndertakeings; but whateer could come into the compasse of my weake apprehension, in soe great an ignorance and distraction, I have freely imparted to the lord Digbye, to whome, in what hee shall say from mee, I humbly beseech your highnes to giue credit.

I beseech God to blesse your highnes, and to give mee the happnes to contribute in my poore way to your service, or the honour to perish in the endeuour; that soe it may appeare I am

Your highness's most faithfull, most humble, and obedient seruant,

7 August, 1646.

ORMONDE.

CCCCLXXI.— To the most honourable the lord lieutenant, his excellence.

The humble remonstrance of the archbishops, bishops, and the inferior clergye of the kingdome of Ireland.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

WEE, archbishops, bishops, and the rest of the clergye of this kingdome subscribinge, are wonderfully sensible how your excelleneye, out of zeale to God's glory and to the true protestant religion, and out of loyaltye to his majestie, hath in this 494 great distemper, with much hazard, singular wisdome, and vigilant care, preserved not only in this citye but alsoe in all the out-garisons, the free and full exercise of the trewe reformed religion, accordinge to the liturgie and canons soe many years received in the church, which with sadd and bleedinge harts we may say is more then we knowe to be in any part of the three dominions.

Alsoe we doe most hartilye acknowledge that by your very great paynes and labour you have at last concluded a most necessary peace, which we humbly conceive to be the only meanes to continue these blessings of religion and loyaltye among vs, and to be the only hopefull way to reduce this kingdome wholly to his majesty's obedience.

And withall, we doe ingeniously profess that out of your piety and noblenes you have vindicated our callings and places from contempt, protected vs from personall iniurys, and provided a subsistance for vs, without the which many of vs had vndoubtedly starved.

Out of a deepe sence of all which, and many more favours then we are able to express, we were the most vnthankfull of all men if we should not bless God for your excellencye, and returne to you our most humble and harty thankes, faithfully promisinge to continue our fervent prayers to God, and to contribute our very best endeavours for strengtheninge your hands, in managinge the great trust his majestye reposeth in you, and in maintayninge religion and the peace now established among vs.

Havinge made this iust and necessary remonstrance of our gratitude and resolutions, we doe most humbly beseech your lordship to continue (as we are exceedinge confident you will) your care to preserve the religion, booke of service, publique worship, in the decency and comelines therof, and the trewe apostolicall government of the church now exercised amonge vs, against all opposition whatsoever, and graciously to persist in your care for providinge some competent mayntenance for vs till we may conveniently returne to our benefices; and if any of our number shal be found disaffected to the religion, booke of service, publique worship, government of the church, his majesty's service, or disturbers of the present peace, we doe not supplicat for such, but leave them to your lordship to be proceeded with as you find convenient.

At Dublin, the 11th and 13th of August, 1646.

La. Dublin,
Lewis Laonensis.
Hen. Dunensis.
Rob. Limericke.
Gr. Ossory.
Hen. Clogher.

Joh. Tuamen. W. Daren. Geo. Cloyne. Henrie Elphinensis. Will. Clonfertensis.

495

Ja. Margetson, [dean of Christ Ch.]

Joan. Crighton, canc.

Beniamin Culme, [dean of St. Pa-

trick's.]

Ambr. Aungier, canc.

E. Parry.

Ja. Sibald.

Hen. Hall, preb. S. Michaelis. Jo. Parker, preb. S. Michani.

Godfr. Rodes, thr.

Lewis Downes.

William Bulkeley, archidiac. Dubl.

Thomas Marshall.

Rob. Parry, preb. S. Audoeni.

Gilbert Deane, preb. de Tassagard. Robert Hammilton.

Nic. Walsh.

Rich. Powell, præb. Wicklowe.

Donnatus Connor. Rob. Dickson.

Will. Sugden. Tho. Hackett.

Jo. Brookebanke. Nathanaell Hollington.

Jonathan White. Nich. Meyler, canc. Edmond Eustace. Robert Jones.

Chr. Golborne, canc.

Richard Burgin.

Nic. Greaues, dec. Dromorensis.

Jos. Ware, dec. Elphin. Tho. Johnson.

Henry Echlin. Owen Darraghe. Walter Ogilbie.

John Heath. Will. Melcalf. Hugh Hanna. John Sharpe.

Godfrey Daniel. Henry Byrch. James Meyler.

Walter Reyler, chanc. of Elphin. Anthony Proctor, decan. Fernen.

Edw. Synge. Rich. Deane. Jos. Prier.

Samu. Haukes.

Mart. Archdall, archdeac. of

Fernes. Rich. Price. Ro. Browne. Tho. Crofton.

Ric. Underwood, preb. Fernen.

Geo. Dodwell. Tho. Walworth.

Edward Williamson.

Rich, Runlehorne, John Linsey.

Valentine Goodhand, preb. de Coolstuss et Killoggie.

Hen. Dodwell.

Edw. Walter, prebend.

Geo. Brice. Adan Jones. B. Cantilon. Rich. Mathewson. Rich. Ellis.

John Reevann, prebend of

Mayne. Barnabus Bolger. Edw. Slacke. Tho. Fleminge. Walt. Fraser.

Dionisius Garthforthe, prebend. de Loicke in dioces, Laonensis,

Randle Foxwell. Jere. Flawne. Tho. Mitchell. Tho. Coffy. William Selbee.

Franc. Sympson, rector ecclesiæ Kilmore in diocæsi Clogherensi. CCCCLXXII.—The queen to the marquis of Ormond.

Mon Cousin,

De Paris ce 17 d'Aoust, 1646.

LE roy mon seigneur mayant fait connoistre les raissons que ont porte a uous faire la lettre quil vous a escrit de Newcastle pour retarder la conclusion de la paix, et mayant enuoye cellecy enclose, par ou vous verres ce qui a este et qui est a present de ses sentiments pour cet affaire: je n'ay voulu manquer a vous depescher cet gentilhomme, en qui vous prendres enteire creance, et a qui ie me remettray pour beaucoup des choses, l'ayant amplement instruit de tous nos affaires, mais pour celle qui semble vous regarder plus particulierement, je ne lairray pas de vous en escrire, comme mon fils en a aussi fait. Vous scaures donc que le roy mon seigneur ne pouuant point consentir aux propositions que ceux de London luy ont fait, et se pouvant peutestre uoir reduit, dans le refus quil fera, de perdre mesme la liberte, quil ly reste aucune apparence humaine de luy sortir de cet affaire et conseruer quelque partie des droicts de la couronne, que par la paix d'Ireland; et pour cet effet a iuge, que cette paix ne pouuoit estre conduite a la conclusion necessaire, quen uous ordonnant de suiure ce qui vous seroit prescrit de moy et de mon fils : sur quoy nous auons pris la resolution de vous y conuier a cette heure auec des assurances qui ne vous manqueront point, que ny luy ne moy ne nous separerons iamais de la paix que vous feres. Au contraire par tous les moyens imaginables contribuerons de tout nostre possible, aupres du roy pour la faire ratifier, et quand mesme il ny uoudroit, ou par aucune obstacle qui sy pouuoit rencontre pour len empescher ne le pouvoit, nous la mantaendrons par tous les movens qui nous seroient, et ne nous separerons iamais de uos interests, de sorte que veu les grandes necessites 496 de lauoir, et les difficultes leuces par ce que presentement vous receurez, je nen veux point doubte des effets que ie souhaite, non plus que uous les assurances que je uous donne, pour ce que me doit regarder, et a prince Wales, quand uous aures acheve la paix. Je ne vous dis plus rien. Vous pouves voir par cette confiance combien les compliments sont invtiles. Je prie Dieu de vous conserver, et suis veritablement,

Mon cousin,

Votre affectionnee cousine et fidele amie,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

Il est necessaire que vous scachies que cette cour ne me con-

seille pas seulement a ce que je vous mande astur, mais men a assure aussi que la paix se faisant, je ne manqueray pas des assistances considerables pour la mentenir et pour nous unir toute IIreland, pour les besoings que nous en pourroins avoir.

CCCCLXXIII.—The prince of Wales to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

Paris, Aug. 17, 1646.

FROM Jersey I conveyed to you something of my sence touching the last articles of the Irish treaty, with such other intimation as I conceaued might encourage the concluding of a peace accordingly. Now I shall more frankly deliver my opinion, which is, that such a peace (considering the present conjuncture of his majestie's affaires, and the condition his person is in) would be extreamly seasonable and proper for his affaires; therefore, (presuming that your lordship is fully satisfied of the occasion and nature of the king's dispatch to you by Walsingham, as well by the concurrent letters by that expresse, as by their other from the king now sent you,) I shall add my earnest desires, that you would forthwith conclude the peace in Ireland according to those articles, or such others as you vpon the place shall iudge to bee most fit and advantagious for the king's service, both in England and Ireland. Wherein, and in all things you shall doe concerning the treaty, (bee confident of the exact performance of this my engagement,) I will most firmely and freindly adhere to you, and shall vpon all occasions doe and contribute all that shall bee in my power, to ratify, confirme, and mainteyne such a peace so to be made by you.

I desire to hear speedily from you touching this businesse, and to be assisted by your aduise and councell concerning the same; whereby I may expresse the iust valew I have of your iudgment as well as the esteem I beare to your person, being very affectionatly and constantly

Your most affectionate asseuered freind,
Charles P.

The lord Digby will lend you the key of this cypher.

CCCCLXXIV.—The marquis of Claricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

NOT knowing the resolutions you have taken, or the instructions you have given to my lord of Muskery and others at the time of your departure and hapy deliverance from the dangerous snares prepared for you; nor no intelligence of the succes of the 497 commissioners imployed to Waterford, I am much in the darke, and know not how to guide my owne actions and proceedings; and vntill I receive cleere information of your lordship's pleasure and farther commands, I shall not adventure vpon more, then to indevoire to secure those places formerly in my posession, or lately acquired, and strive rather to infuse quiet and peaceable inclinations in the people, and seeme to believe the peace well setled amongst them, then vnseasonably or with to much scrutiny to inforce it vpon them, in hope some hapy expedient may be applyed to cure these sad distempers.

I send your excellence two letters of sir Robert Talbott's. should have bin glad I had received the first before I parted from your lordship, which might perhaps have diverted your soe sodaine returne to Dublin, vntill affaires about Kilkeny had bin better setled. Generall Preston hath bin with me, and I find him and his officers still well inclined; but could not bring him to any setled resolution, his scrupulous disposition ouermastering his iudgment, and both (as I conceiue) guided and ruled by F. Oliuer Darcye's prescriptions, with whom I haue had much discours; and he seemes fully satisfied with the instructions sir Luccas Dillon caried to Waterford, and beleeues, that if they doe not accept therof most of the cleargy will declare against them, and desires that may be the ground for generall Preston to declare for the peace, and opose their proceedings, as that which will cary his forces vnanimously with him. He asures, that the nuntio and cleargy gaue noe incouradgment to O'Neile's aduance, and that besides a former, he caried himself a command vnto him to retire, and his answere was, that the nuntio was but a young soldier; and having dirrected him to have his forces in a readines, he must and would goe where they might be best kept together and prouided for; and is growne of late very pleasant and conceipted in all his discourses to those that repaire vnto him.

My lord, having written thus farre, and ready to proceed in the informing your lordship of my observations in these partes, and to offer to your consideration my present conceptions vpon the whole busines of this distracted time, I received the inclosed from generall Preston, which hath put me to silence, and totally destroyed what my thoughts did formerly labour with.

If the last treachery be true, Preston is not to be relyed on; and an absolute rebellion will disperse the way of revenge that Ormond will be inforced to take against that treason, which will draw present distruction vppon mee: if that may defeate them, I am a willing sacrifice. But I conceiue it may better advantage the king's service to continue a treaty or cessation; for in winter Owin O'Neile will be forced to disperse; the contry against him; generall disorder for want of government; no greate towns to receiue him, and that violent disorder cannot be constant if Ormond concurre not in this; yet proclamations of rebellion may be of disadvantage, if the comissioners declareations be not first disperst, and powers granted to confirme the offers sent to Waterford.

It will be absolutely necessary to send exact declarations imediately to the queene of all engagements to be declared at Rome; for without question the nuncio hath sent informations, and will have those establish't, and all obedience required to them, if not prevented.

I have appointed a meeting with the gentlemen of the contrey vpon Wensday next, which I believe will hould for two or three dayes. I doe humbly and ernestly desire, that before it be broaken vp, your lordship's commands and instructions may be convaide vnto

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

Portumna, the 18th of September, 1646.

CLANRICARDE.

The cipher is written according to the last I received from your excellence.

CCCCLXXV.—The marquis of Claricard to the marquis of 498
Ormond.

My Lord,

WITH very vnquiet and much disturbed thoughts, I have indevoir'd to put together some conceptions of mine according

to my apprehention of the present state of affaires; and haue dirrected them to my lord lieutenant in a more secure way then I could imediatly offer them to your lordship's consideration. But every day produces such vnexpected and irregular changes, that the informations must of necessity be defective and vncertaine; and I doubt the remedyes will be as difficult, though manadged by the best judgments this age hath produced.

I will not take vpon me to giue any character of the disposition and cariage of those persons of quality that lately appeared before you or the commissioners that were qualified with power to treate, (but as it now appeares,) not to conclude a peace; their owne actions and proceedings fully represent them to you; and your lordship knowes how to distinguish in some perticulers, of whom I am yet most confident.

I find the generality of the gentry, and others of inferiour ranke, very well inclined to peace, and much disquieted to be thus violently forced and caried away contrary to their loyalty to his majestie, and their naturall affections to those that gouerne vnder him, but yet of so weake capacity, that they are not in present to be much relyed vpon. And that being their condition, it inuites me humbly to desire your lordship not wholy to guide your resolutions vpon those (I must confess) just grounds of seuerity and indignation offer'd to you; but that you will still retaine and make vse of that excellent temper and judgment, which God hath indowed you with by being somewhat compassionat of their follyes and indiscretion, and not altogether conclude, that these transcendant crimes and breach of publicke faith doth proceede from the vsuall or naturall inclination of the people; but rather be inclined to beleeue that some infected persons have brought over this violent and dangerous contagion from other partes to make it, as farre as this kingdome can be capable therof, distructive to monarchy, scandelous to religion, and most pernitious to all honest men in their consciences, liues, and fortunes.

Some lenatiues and preservatives may for the present be vsed to qualify the distemper, and stop the malignant increase of the disease; but the perfect cure must be manadged abroade, and that with all expedition; and having the winter before vs, more proper for treaty then action, it may yet be possible, before the spring, to bring this distracted nation to their right witts, and

make them considerably vsefull to his majestie's seruice, and sencible of their owne presaruation by that only meanes possibly to be acquired. And I canot giue admittance to any dispairing thoughts, reflecting vpon the vertue and excellency of the person by whom this greate worke is to be manadged, and to whose fauer and affection I am so highly obliged; that I must really and sincerely offer vp vnto him the intire and totall interests of his most faithfull and most humble seruant,

Portumna, the 18th of September, 1646.

CLANRICARDE.

CCCCLXXVI.—The marquis of Ormond to sir James Mont- 499 gomery.

SIR,

WHEN I last writt to you, I was in doubt that those in whose power my lord Mountgomery is, would not giue obedience to the peace; for that the conditions, wherevppon it was concluded, did neither satisfy their ambitions, nor secure them against the punishment that their vilany at the begining of the first rebellion makes them lyable to. In this later condition I cannot accuse Owin Mc Art. O'Neile to be; but I suppose him touched in the former, and that want of restitution to his pretended estate, and not religion, is the cause that he is in the head of this second rebellion. But however it be, it is cleere to you that in the way of obedience I cannot expect my lord Mountgomery out of their hands; soe that I must expect some other meanes to doe him the service I desire.

There goes now from mee and the councell a dispatch to the ould and new Scotts and British officers, acquainting them that for the preservation of this kingdom to the crowne of England, and to disappoint the designes now evidently on foot to transferr this island to the pope or king of Spaine, wee haue made an address to the parliament, and desireing that in the meane tyme there may bee betweext vs heere such a correspondence as befitt men, that, as to the hinderance of soe pernicious a plott, are certainly of one minde. However, thorough the distemper of the tymes, wee may haue dyfered in our wayes, I hope this adress will waken the people of the other two kingdomes, and be a meanes to procure a happy reconcilement of all differences; which is the prayer of

Your very affectionate humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 18th Sept. 16,6.

ORMONDE.

CCCCLXXVII.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My Lord,

WHEN I parted with my lord of Muskery, my thoughts were wholly taken vp to returne the party I brought with me safe to this place, and soe to free my selfe from the scandall of betraying them that would ineuitably and euerlastingly haue stuck to me, if they had miscarryed in that expedition wherunto they were drawen by my credulity, soe that I had noe tyme to spare for aduise to others, nor indeed soe much vnderstanding of the designes then on foote, or of the inclinations of the people, as could direct me to give counsell. Since I have heard noething from thence but confused relations of generall O'Neill's aduance to Kilkenny, his borrowing of money, and the application of all the country to him, either for feare of him, or for loue to the religiousness of the cause hee pretends to countenance. At my returne hither, when I and the councell had tyme coolely to consider the state wee were brought into, and found that wee had not meanes to maintaine the forces here, noe hope of any support, either in men or money, out of the country, dayly threats that O'Neill would suddenly advance to destroy our narrow quarters, and then, when he had thronged vs together into this pound, to make an easy breakfast of vs; then the law of nature and selfe preservation directed vs to seeke the readyest help wee could thinke of; yet soe as that wee haue yet don nor declared noething that may cause despaire in any that shall resolutly indeauour the peace of the kingdome. Nor hath any act proceeded from vs that can give 500 the contrary party offence, vnlesse it shall displease them that wee prepare to make resistance if they inforce vs to it. I conceiue they haue not vet digested their resolutions at Watterford. soe as to propound to mee what they would have, whether peace, warr, or cessation. If they propound either for the first or last, I shall be ready to treat. If warr be their choyce, wee must doe what wee can, and let God doe the rest. This, my lord, is all I am able to say of our condition, till tyme and the pleasure of those at Waterford instruct mee better. shall find the securest way I can to let you heare from

Your lordship's most faithfull humble seruant,

Dublin-Castle, 23 September, 1646.

ORMONDE.

CCCCLXXVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.
My Lord.

I send you herewith coppyes of papers that with a short letter came to mee late last night from sir Lucas Dillon and Dr. Fennell; what use to make of them I know not, nor yet what their drift is in sending to mee things that passe betwixt themselues and their clergy. If it be, by giuing me notice of their negotiation, to gaine a seemeing consent from mee, or to acquire further strength to my lord of Glamorgan's articles, they must find themselues deceived.

I have advertisement of the resolution of Owen O'Neill to march hither with his army, and by countenance of it to present me a petition. And the enclosed coppy of a letter from one you will guesse at, of neare relation to Preston, shews what his intentions are. I like not this new way of petitioning, nor doe believe it will thrive soe well as the precedent.

I could wish you had received an answere of your letters, though it may bring in present very sensible misfortune to

Your most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Castle, 24 September, 1646.

Ormonde.

My lord, there is noe dealing with this people but by force. You see by the short letter how they forge offers, and improve others to their ends.

CCCCLXXIX.—Sir George Lane to sir Thomas Nugent.

Noble Cousin,

I BELLIUE you very well know and are well satisfied that my lord leiutenant went as farre as his commission could warrant, for the satisfaction of the natives of this kingdome in that point of religion which I find soe often mentioned in yours of the 20 currant. And if the comissioners that treated with him had conceiued theire concessions therin such as would not satisfy those by whom they were entrusted, I am verily perswaded they would not haue engaged the publique faith of theire party in the conclusion and proclamation of a peace vppon those concessions as they did; knowing very well that such a conclusion would determine my lord's commission, and consequently render him vnable to enter into a further treaty. And therefore I am of

Ormond, vol. vi.

opinion, that however religion is made the cloake of the intended disturbance, a greater mistery is in it then is yett apprehended, seeing it cannot bee denyed but that the people of this kingdome have graunted vnto them, besides other inestimable graces and favoures, that liberty and freedom in the exercise of theyre religion which may satisfy any moderat man that is concearned in the peace and quiett of his country.

But he that goes about to satisfy such as are vninterested there-501 in, (as I conceiue the nuncio to be,) will find it altogether impossible, if I bee not mistaken. For before my lord left Kilkeny, soe much was offred for the satisfaction of that man as the commissioners were confident would content him. And yet all hath produced noe other effects that I know then the advance of an army to surprise my lord, and that handfull that attended him in the country. A strange retribution to a man that hath ventured the loss of life, estate, and the ruine of his posterity for the good settlement of his country. I wish that this infamous perfidy and vnparallel'd ingratitude bee not by succeeding ages remembred to the scandall of our nation, the greatest part wherof, I am assured, are rather sufferers in the ncontrivers of soe great a mischeefe.

By what discourse I had last with you vpon the subject of this letter, I know this to be your owne sence as well as mine, which makes mee to bee the more free with you.

My lord leiutenant hath not yet determined whether or noe to issue any more commissions; but if he doe to any, hee will readily comply with your desire. If I can doe you any service, I shall be very glad and ready to approve my selfe

Your affectionate kinsman and servant,

Dub. Castle, 25 Sep. 1646.

GEO. LANE.

CCCCLXXX.—The marguis of Ormond to cardinal Mazarine.

Monsieur,

NE faisant point de doubte, que la foy publique ne fust aussy sacreé parmy les catholiques confederez de ce royaume icy, come elle a tousiours esté tenue parmy toutes sortes de nations, tant barbares que chrestiennes, iauois conclu une paix avec eux, au nom du roy mon maistre; et en suite d'icelle m'en allay entre eux sans la moindre meffiance, accompagné seulement de quelques

troupes de garde, me promettant d'y arrester bien tost les moyens de rendre des seruices bien importants au roy mon maistre, et quelque reuanche bien considerable a la France de ses faueurs et assistances. Mais auec quelle insolence ils m'ont faussé la foy, et combien peu il s'en est fallu, que ma personne, et ceux qui m'accompagnoient, n'y avent esté trahis pendant, qu'à ce desseing, leur clergé me faisoit amuser avec des esperances d'accommodement, et aussy par quelles personnes et voyes une perfide si infame a esté instigueé et tramée. Vostre eminence receuera, s'il luy plaist, l'entiere cognoissance par monsieur Digby, a qui ie la prie tres humblement de donner creance en tout ce qu'il luy Cependant votre eminence est tres humbledira de ma part. ment priée aussy, de prendre ceste asseurance, que quoy que par une procedeure si peu attendue et si detestable, ie me voy reduict, pour la conservation du peuple soubs ma charge, a faire des applications qui me sont bien a contre-cœur, ie ne manqueray iamais pourtant a la recognoissance, que ie vous doibs des assistances et des autres puissantes obligations que iay receues de la France, pour les interests du roy mon maistre; et comme i'v travailleray tousiours auec passion, aussy ie ne desespere point, parmy tous ces malheurs, que ie ne reussisse encore a quelque chose de considerable pour le seruice de sa majeste tres chretienne et de votre eminence, et qui me fasse paroistre par les effects aussy bien que par la profession que i'en fais,

Monsieur,

De votre eminence,

Le tres humble et tres affectionne seruiteur,

De Dublin, ce 26 Sept.

ORMONDE.

CCCCLXXXI.—The marquis of Ormond to the king.

502

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY;

BY the ioint dispatch from me and your councell here, your majesty finds the vnuaoydable necessity, that, for the preservation of this kingdome to your majesty and your royall posterity, inforces vs to a present application for assistance to your parliament of England, from whom, in order to their owne future security, soe evidently threatned and indangered in the losse of this place, wee may expect present releefe, of what small consideration soeuer with them the personall destruction of vs, that have served your majesty in a way displeasing to them, may be.

I hope it is and hath been soe apparant to your majesty that I haue left no meanes vnattempted, consisting with your commands and with the rules of honour and conscience, which might preuent my application any whither but where your majesty should direct. Of that I shall not need to excuse the present course I haue taken, nor to give your majesty at this tyme the trouble of a particular relation of the severall and infamous degrees by which the treachery of the prevayling party amongst the Irish haue forced me vnto it.

The propositions [which] were sent to the two houses from your councell here are such, as, I humbly conceiue, your majesty will approue of, when they shall come to your knowledge; for they are (as neare as we could) soe drawen, as may at once manifest our resolution, whateuer become of vs, not to depart from that duty of allegeance, which, as subjects and sworne seruants, wee owe to your majesty. And yet withall soe reasonable and inviteing, as to shew our ayme was not to be refused, soe to draw vpon our heads the blood of soe many protestants, as without seasonable succour will be shedd by the rebells sword, or drunke vp by famine. Among the rest, there is one proposition from mee apart, wherin (if it shall be desired by the two howses) I make offer to give vp my place of lieutenant, if my continuance therin shall be the only impediment to their sending releefe, provided your majesty shall command it, (for without that I shall never quitt any station you have or shall putt me in,) and vpon some other conditions of honour, safety, and subsistance for my selfe, and those that have faithfully served your majesty here. And for this proposition made, your majestye's pleasure vnconsulted, I humbly begg pardon, remaining

Your majestie's most faithfull

and most humble subject and seruant,

Your majesty's castle of Dublin, 27 of September, 1646.

ORMONDE.

CCCCLXXXII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Jermyn.

My Lord,

THE vnhappy successe our endevours to serue the king, by a peace with the confederates of this kingdom, haue mett with, brings to mee noe affliction more sencible then arises out of shame that soe little faith is found in a place where I haue soe

much interest of blood and alyance, and out of greefe that the perfidy heere should force mee to councells contrary to my former way of serveing his majestie and to my owne inclinations. My lord Digbye will at large enterteyne your lordship with the true reason, as well of our mishaps (with the visible springs of them) as with my present resolutions, and the true grounds of them, wherein your lordship may be pleased to giue him full creditt; and aboue all, when he shall (as from his frendship and iustice I expect he will) assure your lordship of my faithfull and constant being

Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 29° Sept.
1646.

ORMONDE.

CCCCLXXXIII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Taafe. 503
My Lord,

I confess I did apprehend it difficult for your lordship to doe the king service by vertue of any comission from mee; but neither that, nor any distrust of your lordship, was the occasion you had them not, but my not having a minute's tyme to corect the draughts you left with mee, soe hot weare then, and still are, the alarmes of Owin O'Neile's and Preston's advaunce to the beseegeing of this towne, which is now in that condition, that I rather wish they should forbeare it, to avoyd the eternall infamy it will bring vppon that part of this nation they shall mislead, then out of any apprehension of hurt they can doe mee.

This day I received from my lord president a relation of his negotiation about Athlone castle, and a copy of an oath taken by sir James Dillon; which if he mean to keepe, I conceive the castle had been as well in his brother Georges his care, or in Owin O'Neile's.

Haueing settled my busines heere, I shall be abroad within a very few dayes, with such a party that your lordship may easyly here wher I am, and soe be able to direct what you have to comand

Dub. Cast. 4° October,

1646.

Your affectionate humble servant,
Ormonde.

CCCCLXXXIV.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My Lord,

Tom Trafford tells mee he has advertised your lordship where I am shortly to bee; but I feare my being there in the head of a considerable party may rather dificult then advaunce the meanes of conveying letters to you. I have therefore thought it my part by this way to lett your lordship know, that I doubt not but you will receive intelligence of my actions heere from some, and in such manner as may occasion your disturbance: but I shall expect the iustice from you to suspend your iudgement a while, and to believe I neither have nor shall doe any thing that may justly forfeit your frendship, or the title of

Your lordships most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 4 October,

ORMONDE.

CCCCLXXXV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My LORD,

I NEUER perswaded my self with more dificulty to a francknes then at this time, after soe recent and hearty an inuitation, to let you know that I conceive your comeing where I shall bee to morow will not sute ether with the way I am now in, or (which in kindenes and iustice you must beleeue to bee more in my care of you then feare of my self) with your safety; and this in kindenes and iustice you must beleeue is tould you in greater care of you then my self. The strange alteration the very rumor of your goeing this journy hath wrought, though knowen only by my giuing Pate your armes, is beyond beleef, and to mee the greatest instance of the mad mistakeings of this age that I have yet observed. I have studied your case with as much or more industry then my owne, and cannot thinke how you have brought your self into this fine condition, or how you shall get out of it. 504 I have freely tould you my thoughts, and doe expect that you should now prescribe how I may compasse my ambition, which is to shew my self perfectly

Your

[Oct. 5, 1646.]

If your resolution shall bee not to come, I desire to know it by Jack Barry.

CCCCLXXXVI.— The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Glamorgan.

My Lord,

I RECEIVED your severall letters, and the instructions intended; but being now drawing forth for the defence of our quarters, I must beg your lordship's pardon that I give not particuler answers to them all. I vnderstand not what your lordship's authorityes from his majestie are, or what wayes you meane to take to serue him, and therefore can giue no iudgement of either. But I must assure your lordship, whatever you heere, I am soe great a reverencer of the king's authority, and soe desirous to advaunce his service, that if your lordship will lett mee see the one, and instruct mee in the wayes of the other, you will finde from mee redy obedience to his power, and noe disturbance to what I shall finde don for his service. In the meane tyme, I must take the freedom of a better subject then most your lordshipp meets with there, and of one that wishes your hapynes, to advise you to be carefull how you affirme your desires to serve the king to be powers from him. And soe, my lord, I rest

Your lordship's affectionate kinsman and humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 6 Octo. 1646.

Ormonde.

CCCCLXXXVII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.
My Lord.

FINDING my selfe deluded concerning my passe, and yett that the Irish were not willing I should leaue the kingdome, I resolu'd to trye one expedient more, and desired Daniell O'Neale to tell his vncle, that if they expected I should euer haue any thing more to doe concerning this kingdome they should send mee a passe before Sunday night, or else that vpon Munday I would bee gone to Carlingford, and there embarque for the Ile of Man; and that if his vncle had any minde to speake with mee it must bee before his advancing ouer the Barrow; for after that, I would haue nothing to say to him. As for the nuntio, I made noe mention at all of him. In answere to which message, I haue received this day the originalls of the inclosed, and am early to morrow morning venturing among them to Athye, where I beseech your excellence that I may vnderstand from you how things goe betwixt you, the parliament, and the Scotts, and

what you heare of the king; it being sayd heere that sir Francis Willowby is returned to Dublin; for accordinglye I must gouerne my selfe. What successe I may haue, I know not; but of this your excellence may bee sure, that you shall receive a very faithfull account of what I finde. This onlye I beseech your excellence, that what course soeuer I shall finde it necessarye for mee to runne, that you will make it your care to preserve mee in the good opinion of good men; such I esteeme my lord Roscomon, sir Tho. Lucas, sir Hen. Tichbourne, and some others. As for knaues, the worse they thinke of mee the better. I am sure 505 it will bee in noe bodye's power to make you beleeve mee other then

The faithfullest seruaunt you have in the world,

Dieraughan, 10th October, 1646.

George Digby.

CCCCLXXXVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

I FEARE you will finde your selfe deluded by the men you now deale with to the end; yet being refused a pass, I know not any other way you could take then that you are invited to. I wish it may be prosperous to your person, which is the only advantage I expect by it. In the meane tyme I shall endevour to keepe you as right in the opinion of honest men as your virtue and my owne affection hath placed you in mine; but your lordship must help mee, as to others, by your circumspection, els I shall sooner (which I will hazard) loose my owne then preserue your reputation.

There is noe such thing as sir Francis Willoughby's returne, nor can it be yet knowen how wee stand with the parliament; only from their comissioners wee haue a letter to all parliament shipps to furnish vs with poulder, which alone will preserue vs, by God's blessing.

The Scottish officers will not refuse vs help, when they see (as I am confident they will) were are able to preserve our selves; and then certainely I shall not spare to provide for them and my selfe the best I can; and this conjunction with them I shall the sooner lay hould on, because I am perswaded their affections to the king are better then is believed. The king is certainely still at Newcastle, and neither given vp, nor like to be, for ought I can perceive.

The civill vseage of the base English that gaue vpp their houlds, and the severe if not barbarous dealing with those that held out, is a signe to mee of the slauery they would bring them vnder, and all others that are not halfe protestants and the other halfe knaues; which I for my part must contend against to the last of all hazards.

I desire to heere from your lordship, as soone as conveniently you can, that I may be eased of that parte of my trouble which is occasioned by the incertainty of your lordship's course and condition. I remaine

Yours most faithfully and to the end,

Kilcock, 12 Octo. 1646.

ORMONDE.

My lord, it will be too late to talke of an accommodation when they shall force vs to burne and destroy our quarters.

CCCCLXXXIX.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

Grange Mellan, October 13th, 1646.

DEARE SISTER,

ALL heere on the nuntio's party and O'Neil's is the heigth of insolence and villaines. Preston will not ioyne with them, but hath sent mee word that if he may have but any reasonable assurance of what was offered concearning the security of relligion, he will obey the marquess of Ormonde entyrely, and ioyne all his forces against O'Neile. Besides the hatred of the generalls, their men have a greater animosity one against another then those at Dublin have against either.

O'Neile's forces are effective eight thousand foote, whereof 506 five thousand very good and well armed: he hath not in all aboue eight hundred horse; the very best of them so vile and contemptible, as it is a shame if 200 of yours beate them not. All O'Neile's horse, and two thousand of his foote, are this morning marched towards the marquess of Ormonde; their designe is thought to be vppon the Naas. If the marquess of Ormonde can by vigilance light vppon their horse, severed from their foote, feare not their numbers. They desire to make all things desperate, hopeing by this meanes to make the marquess of Ormonde wast Leynster; and that thereby they shall incense Preston's army against the marquess of Ormonde, and soe begett an vnion. Wherefore I beseech the marquess of Ormonde

be not hasty in burneing the corne; for the marquess of Ormonde is soe much master in horse, that the marquess of Ormonde may doe it when he please, Preston not ioyneing with him.

G. D[IGBY.]

CCCCXC.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

DEERE BROTHER,

I RECEIVED your letter about two of the clock this morning. I writt to you on Monday last by Nich. White, and doe wish you in better company then you finde. I know not what to beleeve of Preston; and for many reasons am not able to say more to him then I did at Kilkeny in the point he would have satisfaction in. And certainely, if well considered, your vndertakeing as secretary, and what you may vndertake for from the queene and prince of Wales, who have now all the remaining power to obleege the crowne, is of more force then any thing I can doe; and you know, till the successe of my adress to the parliament be knowen, (which will be very soone, and, I presume, such as may justify the renovation of a treaty with the Irish,) it is neyther wise nor honourable to begin it, vnless I be advised thervnto by the councel; with whom I cannot consult if the enemy press soe hard vppon me, and without I had some proposition to lay before them, whereon they might ground their advices. For wasting the contry, I hould it dangerous for mee to forbeare it, vppon condition of new treaty only in Preston, and that not authentiquely vndertaken neither. Dublin should be lost by their stay before it, and that by the advantage of victual and howseing, I shall by all the world be condemned of folly, and by many of treachery: nor has Preston soe dealt with mee, but I may well suspect his designe in that offer may be the preservation of his frends and the destruction of mee and mine; which I the rather believe, because his son sir Phelim is the man that comands the party; yet I shall forbeare as long as with reason can be expected, in hope to heere againe from you.

By this letter from his majestie I gather he believes he has a party there yet; and I feare the villany of these people will lose it him. If your lordship can conveniently returne mee the letter, I pray doo.

Killock, this 14th of Octo. 1646.

CCCCXCI.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

ALTHOUGH I am resolued not to be confident of any thing, yett I haue howerly more and more reason to be it, that Preston's complyance with the nuntio hath been only to preserve himselfe, and to gett such a body together as may make him as considerable as O'Neile; which now in a few dayes he will haue; and that body consisting of all those forces which the marquess of Ormond hath most reason to hope well of, and that if he may haue but private satisfaction for the security of religion, soe farr as hee did vnderstand it to have been secured by the articles of peace, 507 but finds it indeede not to bee, that hee will iovne hartyly with the marquess of Ormonde to distroy those Vlster barbarians. That which makes mee the more assured of this is, that hee presses earnestly that I should gett the marquiss of Clanricard to come to the army, to be there in cheef; and that I finde soe violent an animosity in all his officers against O'Neile and his army, that I am perswaded, though hee should faile vs, they will all come over to the marquess of Ormonde with their troops without their generall's consent, rather then ever ioyne with This being soe, and O'Neile's army noe more considerable, then what I writt to you to day, that is, but 5 thousand foot well armed, and 3 thousand tagg-raggs, with 7 or 8 hundred horse at most, the most contemptible that ever weare seene, there will be little occasion to apprehend any danger to Dublin, and consequently noe colour of reason to distroy the corne of your owne quarters; which, haueing such a strength of horse as you have, nothing can hinder you from doeing when you please.

I most humbly but most earnestly coniure you, by all the good that you can hope for from any thing that wee haue designed, not to suffer your selfe to be engaged, by the importunity of others, to that which must make you wholy depend vppon those you detest most. Remember, my lord, whoever shall presse you to it, that it was the king's destruction in the begining of all these warrs at Windsor, that hee lett himselfe be prevailed with by the advice and importunyty of those, who, though honest and faithfull to him, yett weare not privy to the intimate and secrett designes that he had layd to himselfe.

Within 2 dayes Preston's army will be drawen together, equall in number of well arm'd foot to what O'Neile hath, and in good-

nesse of horse farr superiour; and by that tyme I shall be ready to gett mee from among these vilaines vnto him. My parlying with the nuntio and O'Neile being now only to give him the better pretence, by detecting them; and when I shall have once settled resolutions betwixt your excellence and that army, I shall hope to gett into France from Duncannon, in spight of them.

Since the advertisement I sent you this day of O'Neile's horse and 2 thousand foote marching towards your quarters, commanded by sir Phil. O'Neile, Owen O'Neile hath sent me assureance, that they had orders only to defend their owne quarters from burneing; but if you can by vigilance light advantagiously vppon that party, or by any arte tole their horse from their foot, their horse are your owne, being the basest that ever my eyes beheld.

[October the 13th, 1646.]

CCCCXCII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

October the 18th from Carlow.

SINCE my last by Nich. White, haueing by some discourses with gen. O'Neile, and by the nuntioe's little civility, had occasion to suspect that I was not soe free here as I could wish; I resolued to make a tryall, by pretending that I was goen away to Kilkeny to speake with the French agent, sending them word that I would be back the next day, and leaueing one among them to spye how it was taken. But I went indeed noe further then Goran, where the French agent mett mee, and discharged mee of all my baggage, which made mee vnapt for an escape, if neede The next day, which was yesterday, I came back within 2 miles of my quarters at Grange Mellan, and there stayed till I heard how matters went; and word being brought that my quarter was possest by a guard from the nuntio for his vse, and other circumstances concurring to make mee believe that they had sent to arrest mee at Kilkeny, and expected mee back no more, I came hither to Carlow; where I intend to fence with them the best I can, till I see some certaintye of my hopes with 508 Preston; and in the meane tyme, to press home by the French agent's meanes for my pass, which though I should fayle of, I make noe question but by God's help to gett safe away; especially if my lord Byron shall obtevne a pass from the nuntio, and

will goe to Portumny, weare I will meet him by that time hee can well get there; which is the best advise I can giue him, both in order to his owne businesse and my contentment in waiting on his lordship.

I cannot blame your diffidence of Preston, since I my selfe, whoe am of a much more credulous nature, cannot be confident of him, though I have dayly more and more reason both vppon his march to the island of Allon, and vppon the renewing, by sir James Dillon sent on purpose, his pressures to the earl of Clanricarde to come to the army. But now being in a place where I am safe, (though my comerce with him should be discovered,) I am resolued to presse him in wrighting to a positive resolution, letting him expressely know how farr I can doe for his satisfaction if hee come home to vs, and will engage in action those other villaines. I will goe to his army, and there, together with Clanricard and lord Taafe, give the best settlement I can to that businesse; of which the marquess of Ormonde shall have a suddaine account. In the meane tyme, I am farr from adviseing the marquess of Ormonde to any forbearance that may endanger Dublin, in case Preston should faile vs; for if the marquess of Ormonde should be prest by Owen O'Neile's forces, (none of which, but only sir Phill. O'Neile's party, are yett marcht,) I conceive the marquess of Ormonde is to doe every thing that is necessary to your safety; but till the marquess of Ormonde is prest with necessitye, soe as the marguess of Ormonde shall conclude, that if the marquess of Ormonde doe it not, then the marquess of Ormonde shall not be able to doe it at all. I coniure you to forbeare the distroying of the corne, which, I sayd before, must tye the marquess of Ormonde by the teeth to the parliament. As for the distruction of bridges, houses, and mills, which can be repayred againe, I regard not them soe much: but if the marquess of Ormonde once distroy the corne, it is irrecoverable. Yett, my lord, mistake mee not euen in that, for I neuer intended to perswade the marquess of Ormonde to forbeare it soe long, as to put it out of your power to doe it with that advantage which the marquess of Ormonde hath in strength of horse. There is nothing more certaine, then that lord Glamorgan is a princepall author and fomenter of all this mischeefe of the clergie, and that he hath forged new powers from his majestie to take vppon him the comand, at least of Munster, if not of Ireland. It is necessary that the king be advertised of it, and that his majestie noe longer dally with the foole, but that hee send him some fulminateing letter, not conveyed vnto him by either of vs, comanding him vppon his alleagiance forthwith to quitt this kingdom. I have one thing more to add, that the nuntio comes to morrow to liue at Grange Mellan, where I conceiue it will be much easier surpriseing him from hence by water, without any adventure in the attempt, then to steale my horses from Leislip, especially, he haveing at least 12 on his gaurd of my foot souldiers which left Dublin vppon your application to the parliament. If the marquess of Ormonde approve of the thing, comand the governer of this place to obey such orders as hee shall receive from mee.

CCCCXCIII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

YOURS from Carlow I received but yesterday. I am glad you are like to get from those worser vilaines. I wish you were rid of them all; for I am now more then euer doubtfull of Preston; for noe longer agoe then Tewsday last hee sent mee word by one Darcy a frier that hee would not ioyne with O'Neill; that hee must sumon Castle Jorden and some other places; that hee wished those places and Trim would receive garisons from him to preuent O'Neill's takeing them; but if they refused, hee would not shoote one shot against them. Yet this morning I have 509 it from sir John Giffard, that Warrin, with 2 other regiments, is afore Castle Jordan; and that the messenger that brought him worde thereof heard 6 shot of ordnance made at it before hee come away. If you bee at Ticroghan, as I am tould by the same frier you ether are or soone will bee, you know the truth of this, and acordingly will order your busines. My lord Byron was gone with Preston's passe to my lord of Glamorgan before I received yours: I send the direction desired to Carlow, and wish the feate done. By leters from our comissioners of late date, wee finde our propositions are well received at London, and by others lately come thence I am assured 3 comissioners from the parliament were ready to come to vs with propositions; namely, sir John Clotworthy, sir Rob. King, and sir Rob. Meridith; but stayed when they heard ours were landed. And at this instant I have with mee an oficer from the Scots army here, with very free ouertures; by all I gather in some cleerenes, that

there will yet bee a breach betweext (at least) the best party of the Scots and the parliament; and both will bid faire for vs. My dispatches are not gone to the king, which I feare will infinitely trouble him, knowing noething of vs, but what hee has from London; but I trust his faith of mee is beter then to bee shaken with this.

I have a hard task to know in this confusion, how I may best serve the king; which is and shall bee my only study. My self I could easily save, but that nether is nor ever shall bee my principall care.

October the 22d, 1646.

CCCCXCIV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Taafe.
My Lord,

YOURS of the 23th of this moneth I received last night late, and doe hasten to returne your lordship this answer. I find my selfe, after three yeeres treaty of peace, and the solemne conclusion of one at last, now, in less then one moneth, pursued by the vnited forces of Ireland; whilest Inchiquin and the Scotts, who haue been at continuall warr with them, are suffered to lye still vnmolested. Which shews, that my endevour to make a peace is in the opinion of some men a greater fault then the declared intention of others to roote out the nation. If this be the retribution this kingdom affoards to those that seeke to settle it in peace and plenty, I must seeke new wayes to becom gracious with them. Your lordship sayes, the comand of Preston's army is offered my lord of Clanricard, soe security be had in relligion; and that the officers of that army will not fight against mee, if they may have satisfaction in their relligion. But in the meane tyme the king's forts and castles are taken by O'Neile, and the quarters wee subsisted on wasted both by him and Preston; and to this hower I know not why, vnless for concludeing a peace. It is true it is said vulgarly, it is for relligion; a word of that large extent, that all the rebellions of this age haue been shrowded vnder it. But did ever Preston or any other tell mee particularly what in relligion would satisfy them? Never. Soe that, to be breefe, I must conclude this warr raysed against mee, and mee only, who alone, with those that adhere to mee, haue any legitimate authority in this kingdom, to be the most causeless, vngratefull, and barbarous that ever was. The greatest hurt that lyes in their power to doe is alredy done; soe that, vnless for the preservation of some honest men, that are violently caryed away, I should refuse all treaty; and as it is, will never be forced from those grounds I haue layd to my selfe. For your lordship's security heere, I know not against whome or what you would be secured; nor why your lordship should more doubt it now then heeretofore; and for the Scotts, I may not 510 yet answer for them. I rest

Your lordship's affectionate humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 26 Oct. 1646.

ORMONDE.

CCCCXCV.—The marquis of Ormond to general Preston.
Sir,

IN answer to a letter of mine dated the 8th of this moneth, I received one from you dated the 10th of the same; wherein you say, that findeing the peace that was concluded and published distructive to your relligion, and liberty of the nation, to the maintenance of which, together with his majestie's just prerogatiues, you had formerly sworne, you called together your regiments, and issued new comissions for re-inforceing your army; and you declare your intention therein to be noe other then to comply with your former resolution and engagement; which you desire may be accorded with assurance, whereby you may be the better enabled to comply with his majestie's necessityes in serveing him. Wherevnto, though it weare reply sufficient, to put you in minde, that the late peace was treated on, concluded, and published by the transaction and consent of such persons as had full authority derived vnto them in that behalfe from the whole body of your party, represented by your generall assembly; and that what they should conclude by vertue of that authority, whither advantagious or prejudiciall to those that trusted them, ought to have been inviolably stuck vnto, how blameworthy soever they may be pretended to be for transgressing instructions; which is a principle soe necessary for begetting confidence among men, that, if it be once shaken, there remaines noe meanes to compose ariseing differences but the devoureing sword: yet, because I hope neither you, nor those that follow you, are stained with the guilt, nor inflamed with those disloyall ambitions, that workes in others to the destruction of the kingdom, I shall desire to know wherein you finde the liberty of the nation infringed or your relligion destroyed, and why the vnited forces of the kingdome are bent against mee, and those that adheare to mee, whoe haue had soe long a cessation and treaty with you; whoe since the begining of the cessation haue molested none but such as for the forementioned ends are displeased at the conclusion of a peace; and whoe only, of all that are in this kingdom, haue been and still are governed by his majestie's sole authority. And these questions I demaund, not that I mistrust my power, by the blessing of God, to defend my selfe, or that I will by any force be removed from those just grounds I stand vppon; but in compassion to those that by impious arts are drawen into wayes leading to the highest disloyalty, the fowlest ingratitude, and most certaine ruine that ever people weare betrayed into. And soe I rest.

His majestie's castle of Dublin, 27mo Octo. 1646.

CCCCXCVI.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

Portumny, Munday the 2d of November, [1646.]

THIS is to lett the marquess of Ormonde knowe that I have received your comands by Bennett; and haveing consulted vppon them with the earl of Clanricarde, he resolves to be without faile at Ticroghan on Friday next, with what forces he can take with him on the suddaine, leaving orders for the drawing together all the rest in this province in readynes. Clanricard is not at all confident of Preston, but hopefull of his army; he is resolved to doe the king and the marquess of Ormonde all the faithfull service he can; the marquess of Ormonde will be pleased to take care that he be mett at Ticroghan on Friday 511 night with your further advice. In the meane while hee is sent to Preston to desire him to forbeare any thing that may engage the marquess of Ormonde in further inconvenience. I confess the marquess of Ormonde hath the hardest game to play that I think ever any man had; but I hope the marquess of Ormonde will make sure of one thing, which is, of the castle of Dublin, to haue it well provided and possest by gentlemen, and those that the marquess of Ormonde may intirely rely vppon. For that being so, if the parliament forces should be landed and possest of the towne, before that the earl of Clanricarde can have settled matters betweene the marquess of Ormonde's and Preston's army, there will be meanes of reduceing them to reason, Preston's army being soe nigh at hand.

CCCCXCVII.—The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

THE sharpe sword of excomunication hath so cutt my power and meanes away, that I have noe forces to bring with mee but a troupe of horse; but I will be at Ticroghan vppon Fryday next, with lord Digby, to receive the marquess of Ormond's absolute comand, and coll. Preston's resolution. I find, that if more be not declared by me for security of churches then lord Digby hath offered, I shall not prevaile with coll. Preston, or diminish the nuntio his present power over the people. I am confident the marquess of Ormonde will believe it is noe designe of mine to take advantage.

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

The 2d of November, 1646.

CLANRICARDE.

CCCCXCVIII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

THE illnesse of the wether held vs from this place till last night. The marquess of Clanricarde is so exactly entire in his loyallty and affection to you, that he will apply himselfe wholy to what you shall direct, as best for the king's seruice. But the madnesse of their propositions to you makes him almost despaire of doeing any good with Preston; but possibly hee will bee able to draw away some considerable parte of the army; which perhapps may be the best cours, if you can haue a force to ioyne with them, and that you can procure any mony from the parliament till suplys may bee gott from abroade, without any such engagement as may hinder these from ioyning with you. I long much to heare what hopes you haue of the Scots; for they will be your best ballance, if men should be prest upon you by the parliament.

It is not credible, vnlesse a madnesse in that, as well as in other things, have posest these people, that they should intend to atempt Dublin at this season; except they have a corespondence with the papists within, which I am very jealous of, with Preston's army, not with O'Neil's; against his men they will bee faithfull, if assaulted. I beseech you have a care of this particular, and of surprises; for I write not without some grounds of jealousy.

Some beleeue that they will at last goe by Dublin and fall vpon

Drogheda and Trim; but certainly if they lye long about either, if you preuent trechery and surprise, the weather will destroy their armies, which moulders very fast already, and, as I heare, are in great disorder in their quarters. Afforde mee, if possible, the comfort of hearing often from you.

Dicraughan, this Munday morning the 9 of November, [1646.]

CCCCXCIX.—The marquis of Claricard to the marquis of 512 Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

VPON my ariuall here last night, which should have bin sooner, if extremity of ill wether had not diverted it, I find that some dispatches of mine, sent from Portumna on the first of this month, dirrected to your excellence, have mist their way; and though they may have fallen into wrong hands, yet being in eipher, they could produce no other prejudice but loss of time, in giving your excellence information of my being here ready to receive and observe your command, and to imploy my vttermost indevoires for a hapy reconciliation, and composing of these sad and most distructive distempers; and how I am to behave my self therin, I shall with much longing expect to receive order from your excellence.

I haue written to generall Preston, desiring him to giue dirrections to his garrisons that my messingers and dispatches may pass freely to your excellence; and I must likewise make it my humble suite vnto your excellence, that you will repose that confidence in me, as to giue the same orders, that mine to the armies may pass with the like freedome; and that your excellence will not be offended if I appoint any personall meetings with them; my intentions aiming at nothing more then his majestie's reall seruice, your excellence's safety and aduantage, and, if possible, the presaruation of this miserable ruined kingdome, and to continue in your excellence a right beleefe and confidence in

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

Tecroghan, the 9th of November, 1646.

CLANRICARDE.

D-

D .- The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

YOUR leters by Jack Barry, and his relation of your aduentures, since they ended in soe much security and likelyhood of your geting safly out of this climate, (which certainly retaines a greater parte of the primitiue curs then the rest of the whole creation,) were very pleasant things to mee, that am deepely loaden and affected with your kindnesses, and extreamly solicitous for your safty.

I perceiue my lord Taafee can procure noe other answer from Preston to your propositions then safe conducts for the marquess of Clanricarde and your lordship; that for you being gained with such dificulty, feare, and trembling, as makes mee coniure you, as you expect to serue our master or his hereafter, not to venture any more among soe faithlesse a generation, if you have any probable hope of geting away from thence. if I have any judgement, your comeing will bee fruitlesse. reasons are, first, if Preston and his party could bee brought to such moderation as that I might listen to them, the auersion contracted against you here is soe great, that I should neuer bee able to draw my party to listen to reason, your lordship appeareing in the busines. Next, you know I cannot close with the Irish, or any party of them, till there bee an end of the treaty with the parliament; though to keepe of the present danger, I may discours with them; and I would not have you ether loose the reputation you have with some of them, or put your person in any hazard for soe pety an end as to serue a present turn. Lastly, if what you have offered will satisfie, and that necessity drive mee and my party to consent to it, I am confi-513 dent my vndertakeing will bee sufitient, together with the paper which sir Nicholas White gaue mee, signed by you, whereof in that case I may make vse.

To conclude all, I beseech you loose noe minute that may help you towards France, whither (if I cannot serue the king here) I will soone follow you, if I can keepe out of the pound.

Preston will venture on nothing without my lord of Clanricard, whom I know not how to invite to such vncertainty; though I conceiue his danger cannot be soe greate as yours, and that he can loose noething but his labour by a journy. Your lordship

may please to present my service to him, and imparte as much as you think fitt of this letter to him.

[10 Nov. 1646.]

DI.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My Lord,

LEAST my lord Digbye should bee gone, in whoes leter I haue put something concerneing your lordship's comeing neare generall Preston's army, I held it needefull to let you know in your owne cypher, that if Preston or his men should propose any thing to me reasonable as to bee hearkened vnto by mee, which I much doubt, yet I shall not beleeue my self secure of them hardly vpon any engagement from them, vnlesse they resigne themselues entirely to bee gouerned by your lordship: something to this effect my lord Digby had from mee by his seruant Benet. And soe wishing your lordship more hapines then the times promis any body, or then seemes to bee prepared for mee, I rest,

[10 Nov. 1646.]

DII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

I cannot but blame my hasty dispatch of Benet to you, which, I doubt, hath drawen you into soe hazardous an imployment; but the infinite variety of dangers and distractions, that then did and still doe confound mee, must bee my excuse. My calmer and beter digested sence you finde in my lord Taaff's dispatch. But now you are there, I must desire you not to venture hether, nor to sufer my lord of Clanricard to come, till the issue of what hee intends bee knowen, and to let mee haue by some safe hand your opinion of the whole affaires of this place, as it now stands.

I have not heard from my messenger imployed to the Scots, but I hope well of his busines. I rest,

[12 Nov. 1646.]

I have a leter from the queene, and another from the prince of Wales brought by Benet, but can make noething of other by any cypher I have.

DIII-

IT is very true, that had not your excellence's commands by Bennett come to mee when they did, I had beene at sea that very day wee came from Portumny; but it is as true, that in all likelyhood, being to goe in a very small barke, I had been cast away in the greate tempest on Friday night last; soe that, although you engaged mee in one hazard, you deliuered mee from a greater; and it being held necessarye that my lord marquess of Clenerickard should come into these parts, I could neither perswade him to it without accompanying him, nor could I either haue embarque'd or stayd safely in Conaught without him. These are the reasons necessitating my coming; but that which induced my judgement as much as any thing to this course was the consideration how ill prouided (things standing heere as yett they doe) I should have come into France to have procured any assistance from thence, being not able to informe them at all how things were likely to goe heere, whereby how to aduise towards the rectifying them, or to preuaile with them to bee at any charges with vs; since not being able to tell them in what way they might bee vsefully or hopefully employed, they would thinke any supplyes cast away vpon vs. Whereas now, lett things goe neuer soe ill, I shall bee able to carry with mee some certainty, what ply they take, and which way the best remedyes may bee applyed.

As for the aduise which your excellence desires from mee vpon the whole matter, I shall not bee able to send it you till after this daye's leisure, and till I haue been enlightned by what the marquess of Clenerickard's and the nuntio's entervew this day may produce. For the present, therefore, I send you onlye a draught of those grownds which vpon my lord marquess of Clenerickard's earnest entreatye I haue layd vnto him, for the manner and methode of his negotiation; of which I desire your excellence's opinion, which if concurrent, wee shall pursue that way, and your excellence bee pleased to play your part accordinglye.

You will easily believe it a most intollerable pennance to mee to bee thus neere you, and not to have leave to see you; but I must submitt to the reasons, against my owne happynesse, vnlesse you will bee pleased to allow mee an hower with you in a disguise; for which I am soe well provided, as to bee able to doe it without the least hazard of being knowne; which, as it would bee the greatest comfort to mee in the world, soe perhapps would it bee very necessary, that before my departure wee should adjust all our resolutions for the future by conference.

I am very glad to heare that your frigatt is returned. I desire your excellence to enquire particularlye whether shee bee fitt to venture with in winter stormes; for I have heard shee is soe built as not to bee able to endure them: but if shee bee, I earnestly beseech your excellence that out of hand shee may bee new trim'd and provided. Wee shall quickly see now whether your excellence will bee forced to quitt or noe: if things goe better, I may then make vse of her, without disseruing you by taking her from you. If father Darcy (who came to vs at Tichroghan) be honest, I shall have greate hopes; since hee protests, that all that Preston hath done hath beene to bring himselfe into the posture wherin hee now is, to serue the marquess of Ormonde. But concerning this and divers other things, I haue desired my lord Taaffe to enterteine you, to whome I beseech you to expresse all kindnesse and confidence; and if his lordship can bee thoroughly engaged with some that I can dispose of in such a bold vndertakeing, I thinke it noe hard mater to send the nuntio and O'Neill prisoners to Dublin: euen without him, I am confident I can cause any one or two of them to bee taken; and if the seidge of Dublin should goe on, I have a very assured way of poysoning or nayling Preston's ordnance.

I send you heere inclosed a cypher with my cousin John 515 Digby, sir Kenelme's sonne, of which you may haue much vse: hee is a young man, equall to his father both in body and minde.

Yours,

[13 Nov. 1646.]

G. DIGBYE.

DIV .- Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

MY lord marquesse of Clenerickard having vpon Saturday given in the first of these inclosed papers to the nuntio and councell, vnder engagement that noe coppy should be taken, received from them yesterday the answere sent herewith; and soone after the councell risse and disperst with much slighting of his offers. Late in the evening generall Preston, the nobilitye

of the pale, and most of his officers, came to vs hither; where, vpon discourse, wee enflamed them soe, that they seemed all vnanimouslye resolued, if my lord marquesse would digest into paper what hee had there sayd vnto them, that if the councell would not rest satisfyed therewith, and settle the peace, they would seuer from them, and adheere to your excellence and to my lord marquesse of Clenerickard. Which his lordship having done, as you will finde in the second paper, wee are this day in expectation of the issue. Now to give your excellence my opinion vpon the whole matter, I conceiue, that your excellence being kept soe cleare from any engagement as you are, if the whole confederacye shall vpon these termes submitt to the peace and to your authoritye, it will bee a lucky composure of the matter: or in case they reject it, and that Preston with his armye seuering from them, and adheringe to you, shall roundlye consent to the seisure of the nuntio and councell, whereby the honour of the nation may be vindicated from the last perfidye, and the foundations thereby of any future oppositions removed, I conceive, that then also it will bee as advantagious an issue or more then the other way: but if by these propositions wee shall onlye haue power (which I thinke likelyest) barelye to seuer Preston's army from them, and to submitt it to your obedience, I am not then cleare, whether to close with them soe will bee your advantage, since breakinge of your treatye with the parliament, as you needes must doe in that case, and the countrye being soe wasted as it is, I know not how you will bee able to mainteyne your owne forces, much lesse Preston's, (hauing nothing certaine but Leinster to doe it vpon, till supplyes may bee procured you from abroad; which though I am confident I could obtain plentifully for the king's assistance from hence, if the kingdome were any thing vnited; yett I doubt much they will come of slowlye with supplyes, to mainteyne only a dispute heere.

I make a question whether, if wee can hope for noe more but barely Preston's armye, whether it would not bee more for your aduantage, if you can ballance these 1500 parliamenteeres with Scotts, or with a regiment or twoe of Preston's, that may seeme to breake of from the rest, to continue your treatye with the parliament, till supplyes might bee procured from abroad, and some meanes found for a more generall settlement heere; and in the meane while, by the consent euen of the parliament commissioners, while things may bee settled betweene you in the

treatye, to have a cessation with the Irish for a time; vnto which I am sure they will be very forward, and that there may bee a free assembly call'd, where I belieue my lord marquesse of Clenerickard's vndertakings would prevaile for a generall settlement. These are only my visions; the judgement must bee wholye yours, vpon a true examination of the meanes you have to play your part either way, and to support your selfe for a convenient time. For if those faile, there is noe way but to quitt, opening one gate to the parliament, and another to the Irish; 516 and all honest men going out at the third, or else joyning with Preston's armye, to seeke your subsistance in Conaught or Munster by the sword. In the first, my lord marquesse of Clenerickard, with the conjunction of Preston's power, will bee able to doe much; and of the state of Munster, my lord Byron will enforme you.

This is all I can see, looking round. I beseech you hasten your directions vnto vs, which way you will haue vs steere; which shall bee punctually obey'd by,

My lord,

Your excellence's most faithfull humble servaunt,

Lislipp, this Monday, November 16, 1646.

G. DIGBYE.

DV.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

Lexlipp, this 18 Nov. 1646.

YESTERDAY my lord marquess of Clenerickard's negotiation and myne was brought to the conclusion, which you will perceiue in the twoe enclosed papers; wherevnto not only all Preston's armye, but sir Phil. O'Neale, with a principall part of O'Neale's, doe engage. As for the nuntio and his frighted councell disperst ouer the face of the earth, there is noe hopes of reducing them but by force, which will soone be effected. I must confesse vnto your lordship, that I am soe satisfyed, by father Oliuer Darcy, that Preston's part hath been wholy conducted from the very beginning meerely to preuent his distruction, and to preserue a power to effect what now hee hath done, that I am most secure of the sayd father's, of generall Preston's, and most of his officers honesty and integrity; and am most confident that most of his forces, as my lord of Westmeath's, Warren's, and sir Walter Buttler's regiments, may be as safely trusted by you as any that

are aboute you. However, I have been most carefull to preserve you as free as might bee from an engagement to drawe in any such forces into the guarrison as may be able to master you; since the marquess of Clenerickard doth not at all binde himselfe for any prefixt number or proportion to bee drawen in; though truly, my lord, our case heere being soe desperate, without this agreement, if you must perish, I thinke you cannot venture your selfe vpon better termes then such an engagement as this of Preston's and his armye's, which cannot bee violated without such a perfidy, as certainly the profession of soldiers and gentlemen hath neuer been guilty of.

Your excellence will see how carefull wee haue been to keepe you cleare from any new treaty or engagement. The most that will be expected from your excellence will bee a declaration to this effect:

That whereas it is well known, euen by his majestie's printed letters, that his majestie's gracious intentions were to secure his catholique subjects of this kingdome in the free exercise of their religion, by repeall of the penaltyes of the law against them; which in the last articles was left out by the subtilty of some of their owne party, whoe intended to found this late mischeife vpon it; that it was farr from his majestie's intention or yours to take advantage of that omission; but that they may rest as secure of his majestie's fauour in the repeale of the sayd penaltyes, as if it had been positively exprest in the articles. that for matter of their churches and ecclesiasticall possessions, that matter being referr'd to his majestie, it was farr from your intentions to molest them therein, till they had received satisfaction of his majestie's will and pleasure therein; this latter part, with the first, will be aboundantly satisfactory for all that shall need be publike on your part.

As for your engagement to obey his majestie's free commands, the queene and prince of Wales's, and my significations to the aduantage of the catholiques during his majestie's want of freedome; and that you will not obey such commands to the preiu-517 dice of what is vndertaken as shall bee procured by aduantage of his majestie's want of freedome, it will suffice, that you write a letter to the marquess of Clenerickard to shew to that effect.

Now, my lord, as to the way of the managing the businesse with your party there, I conceiue you are to goe vppon this grownd with them: that there is noe kinde of new treaty, but

that Preston with his armye and sir Phil. O'Neale doe renew their submission to the peace, which they had formerly embraced, and could not continue vntill now, without ruine to themselues and all your party. That those explanations, and some engagements of the marquess of Clenerickard vnto them, are necessarye for the saluing of their honour and the generall satisfaction, and noe deare bargaine to purchase thereby such a protestation of fidelity and obedience, as the inclosed, vpon this grownd of receiuing and vniting all those that should submitt to the peace. I suppose you may make a very faire answere to the parliament commissioners, assuring them that what supplyes you have allready received, or shall further receive, shall bee faithfully made vse of only against the Irish, that is, the opposers of the peace.

Now, my lord, as to the making vse of this, (as things stood,) I thinke, happy conclusion, the twoe greate businesses must bee the prosecuting quickly of O'Neale's remaynder of an army, and the aduancing with Preston's into those parts, where it may procure subsistance, not only for its selfe, but alsoe some helpes for you at Dublin. Preston's opinion is, that that must be Kilkenny and Waterford; both which hee is most confident to obtaine, if hee haue orders to advance suddainly, and that your excellence issue immediately (which hee most earnestly presses) proclamation of treason and rebellion against all that shall not presently submitt vnto the peace. And I send you a draught of the substance of such a proclamation, which must instantly be dispatcht. My opinion is, that your excellence should expresse all the frankenesse and confidence that may bee; and to that end, that in the orders that you shall send to the marquess of Clenerickard or to Preston, to advance suddenly and posesse himselfe of Kilkenny, that you should desire them to send Warren's regiment into Dublin, vnlesse they shall conceiue it too greate a weakening to the present expedition against Kilkenny, and to offer them any of your canon, or of your horse, to ioyne with them; neither of which I am sure they will need.

Aboue all things, my lord, you must be sure not to neglect to send immediately a good body of horse in pursute of O'Neale's scatter'd armye, which they will certainly distroy; whereas otherwise hee will not only gett head againe, but burne and distroy with his few horse all the corne and prouisions of Meath and Westmeath; which is his knowne designe, and must presently be preuented.

My lord Taffe, whoe hath highly merited in this businesse, will enlarge vnto you vpon all these particulars, and giue you a note of such commissions as are necessary to be dispatcht immediately; which is all that I haue to say at present, but that my lord marquesse and I am rauish't with the hopes to see you suddenly.

Your excellence's most faithfull,

G. Digby.

DV-

DVI.—The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

LEAST any misconstruction might arise out of my ingagement and vndertakings to generall Preston vpon his and his officers ingagement to submitt to the late peace concluded and proclaimed at Dublin, and imediatly to obay your excellence's 518 orders and comands, I hould it a necessary duty in me, both for your excellence's satisfaction and my owne iustification, since I canot yet personally waite vpon you, by this meanes with all expedition to explaine my selfe, and declare vnto your excellence, that my whole vndertakings was all along conducted, and at last concluded, by the aduice and with the consent and approbation of my lord Digby, whose place of eminent trust with his majestie, and long experience in his affaires, did readily inuite me to be guided by, before any other, when your excellence could not be timely consulted with therin. And the principall motiues that induced vs both to run the hazard of such vndertakings, was the not finding any other expedient for preuention of the eminent danger threatning the city of Dublin and your excellence, and the state resident there, by the neere advance of two powerfull armyes of the confederat party, who were by this meanes broaken and deuided, and who otherwise must certainly haue indanger'd the same by distroyeng all the adiacent quarters, from whence they were to receive subsistance, and the gaining of the outer garrisons.

Another spetiall motiue was the bringing in the best affected and most considerable party of the kingdome to be imediatly obedient, and submitt vnto his majestie's authority; and that others, who had bin guilty of the foulest offences, and continued refractory to the setlement of the kingdome, might be the better and more easily discouer'd, and the sooner brought to punishment; and by that meanes the kingdome put into a speedy posture of being capable to serue his majestie, where he should please to command, which appeared to vs a very materiall consideration.

Hauing proceeded thus farre vpon the generall, I hope to your excellence's satisfaction, least any parte of my vndertakings might be misconstrued, give me leave humbly to declare vnto your excellence, that by the words incerted therin, viz.

"That I will procure the ensuing vndertakings to be made good vnto them within such convenient time as securityes of that nature, which are to be fetched from beyond sea, can well be procured, and at farthest by the first day of September next ensuing the date herof, or, failing therin, to vnite my self to their party, and neuer to sever from them and these their interests till I have secured them vnto them."

As alsoe this clause: "And I doe further ingage my self neuer to consent to any thing that may bring them in hazard of being disposest, and neuer to seuer from them till I see them soe secured therin, ether by concession or by their trust and power from his majestie in the armyes and garrisons of this kingdome, as to put them out of all danger of being disposest of them."

My intention and resolution therin, and in all other partes of my vndertakings, was no otherwise to vnite my selfe vnto them, then as being one of the same religion, to ioine hartely and industriously with them for the obtaining of the perticulers mentioned in the saide ingagement, by way of mediation, sollicitation, petition, and such other dutifull wayes of application to his majestie, by my owne and friends best indeuoires, by all the lawfull meanes that may be, and by labouring to make them capable soe to serue his majestie, as may best incline him to conferr such graces vpon his Roman catholicke subjects of this kingdome; and no otherwise to be of their party then in this sence, and as they shall continue obedient to his majestie's gouernment and authority, to which they are imediatly to submitt vpon the signing their ingagement.

This being the full scope of my intentions and resolution in all my whole vndertakings, I presume I shall still stand cleere in your excellence's iudgment, that I have not acted any thing to forfeit my duty to his majestie, or impaire your excellence's 519 good opinion of me; and that you will vouchsafe to presarue this my explanation by you for the future iustification of Your excellence's most faithfull humble servant.

Lutterill's Towne, the 19th of November, 1646.

CLANRICARDE.

DVII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

I EASILY conceiue, as you write, that you cannot soe suddainlye giue order for those things that are necessary to bee done, especially whilest the parliamentary devils are there: however, I beseech your excellence to dispatch away the marquess of Clanricarde and Preston's comissions, for hee languishes to bee owned by you in the way of commaund; and that you will expresse, in a letter to him, your satisfaction and confidence in him; and that you shall suddainly haue occasion to draw some of his forces to Dublin, which on my soule you may perfectlye rely on, especially Warren's regiment. Nor doe I vnderstand what inconvenience there can bee in your owneing Preston, since it is vpon the foote wholy (as to you) of his submission to the former peace, whatever the marquess of Clanricarde vndertake for apart. I believe it will bee noe sooner knowen that Preston hath received your comission, and that any of their forces are admitted into Dublin, but the nuntio will bee on our side; for hee parlyes allready with some moderation with my lord of Clenerickard. Wee shall manage it soe as that your excellence's name shall not need bee vsed towards him in any thing; but if vnderhand hee can bee made gouerne the clergy our way, and lend vs the mony which is commeing in his frigat, it will doe well. As for O'Neill, I beleeue that hee and some few adherents will stand out, which I thinke will bee the better.

I have now discyphered my dispatch from my lord Jermin, which I will send you to morrow. In the meane while, bee pleased to send mee by a safe hand the queenes and prince of Walese's letters for mee to discypher for you; for they conteyne engagements that will hearten you much in the present busines. I am

Yours, &c.

Lutterstowne, 19th, at 6 at night.

GEORGE DIGBY.

DVIII .- The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

I shall humbly beseech you to excuse my not sending any comission to coll. Preston, or doeing any thing towards engagement, till I have received such a submission to the peace as you mention. For the other, I shall prepare it. In the meane tyme I am labouring to send the parliamentaryes away, with satisfaction to those of my party that have manifested very faithfull affections to the king and mee, and whome therefore I must not venture to lose for soe vucertaine a party as you deale with. When I can have the hapines to speake with you, which I hope will be to morrow, I am sure I shall give or receive satisfaction. Yours,

Dub. Cast. 20 Novem. 1646, 9 in the morning.

ORMONDE.

Coll. William Stewart is prisoner with some over whome generall Preston is said to have power: he had noe comand heere, and soe, even by the strictest rules of warr, hopes he may be released.

DIX.—The marquis of Clanricard to the nuncio.

520

GENERALL PRESTON hath imparted vnto mee your grace's letter and propositions vnto himselfe and the rest of the nobilitye and officers vpon occasion of myne to them. I professe they conteyne nothing but what is extreame worthy of the zeale of his holinesse's minister for the advantage of the catholique religion; and I would to God that they were as correspondent to my judgement and observation in the possibility of obtaining them, as they are to my prayres, and as I should thinke my life and fortunes a happy sacrifice for the gaining soe full and secure a settlement of the true religion throughout this kingdome. since the condition of this kingdome, and of his majestie's affayres, allow mee not any hopes at this time of preuailing soe farr, giue mee leaue to represent vnto your grace, why neither is it fitt for vs to propound soe farr vnto our selues. I conceiue the question is not now, what limitts the catholiques should give their aimes, having power and force in their hands to extend themselues, as farr as they pleased, to the suppression of herisy; for in that case, in your grace's propositions, you give them very faire and moderate bounds: but the question is how farr, hauing noe certaine power either to obtaine [them] soone or maynteyne long, if obtained, it is fitt to pretend at present from our soueraigne, of a different faith, with which it can hardly consist to graunt vs what may bee fitt for vs to desire, and reduced to such a condition, both by his enimyes and ours, as not to be able to avow the graunting to vs euen what hee willingly would, without ruine to himselfe in present, and most certaine to vs in the future, wee hauing as little hopes of being able to subsist heareafter, without his being able to support vs, as hee now to recour his regall rights and power without our vnion in assisting him.

This being his majestie's true condition and ours, your grace will give mee leave to offer to you, that your proposition concerning a reservation from submitting to the former articles of peace in any thing disadvantagious to the catholiques interests, besides that I observe nothing soe materiall in them, requiring any such caution, it is not only not vndertakeable by me, but even distructive to any peace at all; since it is the foundation of all that I can vndertake, or his majestie be able to performe, to the advantage of our nation or religion, to preserve entire the plausablenesse to his owne party of the publike articles, that thereby hee may be able to make good vnto vs my engagements in a private one.

That your grace's propositions concerning the comprehending, in my vndertaking for the churches, those alsoe of which the catholiques haue posest themselues in this late march towards Dublin, being, as your grace alleages, gained in a just warr, is a thing to be wish't; but not now possible to be vndertaken for by any that vnderstands his majestie, his ministers, or protestant party that are faithfull to him. For although it is not my worke to dispute heere, whether the hostilitye were just or noe, by which they were obtained; yett this I may confidently affirme, that there is nothing which his majestie, his ministers, and party will see vnwillingly acknowledge, and consequently there is nothing makes that proposition soe vnpossible to bee obtained, as that reason which your grace gives for it; since the concession would imply a confession that the warr was just, and, by yealding to that, by the same stepps, successe and confirmation, suddenly and euidently bee a meanes to roote out all of their owne profession.

Lastly, that which is sayd immediately before, is of much

more force against your other desire of posessing the churches of Dublin, and his majestie's other guarrisons, both to make the obtaining it impossible, and our pretending to it seeme vnreasonable. Certainly it were much fairer for vs to refuse obedience 521 to his majestie till hee were converted to the true religion, then to refuse it him vntill hee gives away his owne, whilst hee remaynes in the opinion and profession. And therefore vntill, by God's pleasure and the working of his diuine grace, hee shall bee induced to embrace the true catholique faith, it will bee a fitt and necessary prudence in vs to beware, that by our pressures vpon him, and the delayes of assisting him, wee doe not alienate his heart from catholiques, whoe by the law of God and nations must liue vnder and submitt to his gouernment. But though vpon these considerations I may not now vndertake what your grace hath proposed in these twoe last particulars, yett I will give your grace this reall and faithfull assurance, that I shall imploy my vtmost endeauours, and accompanied with most probable and well grownded expectations, that I shall obtaine such large advantage for the catholikes residing or to reside at Dublin, or those other guarrisons your grace is pleased to mention, as shall be very much to their comfort and satisfaction, and not vnworthy of your grace's notice and acceptation.

These are the objections which, as a faithfull catholique and a faithfull subject I have thought my duty to represent vnto your grace, in answere to those desires of yours, which in themselues, as they were most extreamely becoming your zeale and piety, soe I make noe question it will sute as much with your greate judgement and prudence, to lett the weight of these allegations prevaile with you soe farr, as to suspend the further pressure of them at this time; since honouring mee with the opinion of my being a most faithfull and most dutifull child of the church, you will not judge mee the lesse constant or lesse zealous prosecutor of those its interests, for my being thus wary in an vndertaking, not only vnseasonable, but even distructive, as I conceive, to our owne ends.

As for the mention which your grace thinkes fitt should bee made of his holinesse in that engagement of myne, I haue with ready obedience added it; although I am most confident such is his holinesse's greate prudence and piety, and such yours his illustrious minister, as to place his and your satisfaction much more in obtaining the vigour and stablenesse of those aduantages

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

to religion procured by you, then in the name and ostentation of it, when the publication of the latter may be likely in any wise to weaken and endanger the former. And I assure your grace, that, next the reall and solid settlement of advantages to our religion by his holinesse's powerfull influence and benidiction, there is nothing that I shall more passionately aime at, then that all honour, applause, and advantages may bee attributed to your grace, both in the present and future ages, as the prime and most happy affector of soe glorious a worke, towards which you haue certainly as faire a prospect, in making your selfe author of the peace and settlement of this kingdome, as any age hath afforded to see greate a minister of the se apostolike; when as it shall justly be sayd to have been your worke, to have settled all the guarrisons, all the armyes, and in a manner all the power of this kingdome into catholike hands, and to have secured the catholique religion, with at least as greate extent and as greate freedome and luster vnder a prince of a differing faith, as is enioyed by his owne profession; and ouer and aboue this, be soe powerfull an instrument of our oppressed soueraigne's re-establishment, from whose grace and fauour wee may, by God's blessing, promise our selues yett much greater benifitts.

This is a true representation vnto your grace of that honour and happynesse which must necessarily attend your grace's perfecting, by your power and benidiction, this worke; the sense whereof would be extreamely heightned vnto you, should I present vnto your consideration the ruine, the desolation, the distruction of catholike religion and of monarchy in all his majestie's dominions, if the practises of some to the contrary should preuaile. But I desist your further trouble, my zeale hauing transported mee to too much importunity allready, and I ac-522 quiess in the confidence of your benidiction to bee conferr'd vpon

Your grace's most humble seruaunt,

Lutterell's Towne, the 20th of November, 1646.

DX .- Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

GOD forbid that I should perswade you, or euer consent to your trusting your selfe, or any of your guarrisons, in the hands of the very best of the Irish, though in my owne particular I am

most confident of them, till you might doe it, not only with vnquestionable securitye, but with decorum alsoe towards your owne partye. But why to hazard all the good effects of what wee haue laboured in by want of a kinde and civill letter to a generall, whoe hath, with allmost all his officers, allready signed such an engagement as that I sent you, and expect, as they protest, nothing but your commaunds, and owning them publikelye, to declare and to prosecute in actions what they there promise, I confesse, I cannot imagine why that should bee; since certainely the receiuing and owning such a part of the kingdome as this, returning to their duty and submission to the peace, can give offence to noe reasonable body. I doe therefore most humbly beseech your excellence noe longer to deferr the writing to generall Preston a letter to the sence of the inclosed draught, with some kinde of excuse for your hauing noe sooner taken notice of their loyall expressions and resolutions in their sayd engagement; and that you would dispatch at least the marguesse of Clenerickard's commission, which had hee had any time these twoe dayes, I am verily perswaded, that they had been allreadye engaged in the pursuite of O'Neale's armye and himselfe (such intelligence haue wee had in his owne quarters) in all probabilitye taken. Whereas being now marcht out of reach towards Leish, I know not what new mischeefes may bee raised.

This armye cannot bee held together valesse it bee putt vpon action, and make its way into fresh countryes vpon which it may subsist.

I beseech your excellence to allow mee, as soone as may bee, the happynesse of conferring with you.

Lutterell's Towne, November 21, at 10 in the morning. Yours, George Digby.

DXI.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

Lutterston, this Sunday, 22 Nov. 1646.

I AM most confident, that if your excellence did dislike my lord of Clenrickard's or my proceedings in the way of the service, or that you did not intend to proceed in that way, you would bee soe kinde to us, as to have lett us know it e're now; wherby wee might either repaire the error, or at least bringe our selues of in the best manner wee could, haveing made it our

chiefe care to manage thinges soe, as that your excellence might haue only what share you pleased in the burden of this negotiation.

Beinge then most certaine of this your justice and favour to us, giue mee leaue to tell you, that the businesse, necessary on your part, beinge as yett noe more then the owninge with kindnesse generall Preston, and his armye's submission to the peace and your authority; I doe not understand how any reason for the delay of doinge it can bee eqvivalent to the mischiefe it is likely to drawe upon the whole businesse, and upon the persons of the two faithfullest servants you have in the world, if not sud-523 dainly prevented; the opinion by your long silence takinge soe possession of the army that you reject them, and that your excellence entertaining further and further treaty with the parliament, my lord marques and I have deluded and abused Preston and his, meerly to gaine your excellence time to worke your ends another way. For God sake give some remedy to this, or us some hint how to behaue our selves. On my soul, my lord, this army is allready soe desperately engaged against all opposers of the peace, as by all the particulars wherwith my lord Taaff will acquaint you is manifest, that they expect but your owning them, to doe whatever you will have them. Which if sooner done, I am confident O'Neile had beene by this time destroyed, and they in a faire way of posessinge Kilkenny and Waterford.

Whatever fall, I am sure I have beene, and shall live and dye faithfully,

Yours,

G. Digby.

DXII.—The marquis of Ormond to Lord Digby.

My Lord,

IT was the 18th of this moneth before I received any know-ledge of what was agreed on betwixt my lord marquis of Clanricard and generall Preston and his officers; since when those that brought mee that and other dispatches can wittnes in what continuall labour, vexation, and danger I haue lived. And when you shall consider the difficulty of my task, which is not only to remove hence, plausibly to my owne party, men that seeme to come to noe other end then to offer them security in their fortunes, supplyes in their wants, and assistance against

such as haue destroyed them in all the interests that are deere to men; but to perswade them to submitt themselves againe to intollerable and inevitable wants, and to rely once more vppon the alredy recently broken faith of the Irish: when this, together with what I haue to obiect against the parte assigned mee in the busines, shall be weighed, I shall hope to stand in some measure excused if not iustifyed with your lordship, if my resolutions haue been slow, and shall not now come home to what is desired. Till this day, I had not leisure consideratly to looke vppon those things past betwixt my lord marquis and Preston, wherein I now finde my share to be these.

First, in a letter to generall Preston, I am to take notice of his engagement to my lord marquis, and to desire him to publish it; which engagement makes his submission to the peace to be limited with this condition; namely, that they have assured to them such additionall concessions and securityes, as my lord marquis hath vndertaken to procure and secure vnto them; which leads all men of both sides to demaund what those are, whereas, I hoped there would noething appeare in publique, but a submission to the late peace; nor that any thing would be expected from mee, but to receive such a submission, and to express my selfe redy to give obedience to what his majestic should further command in their fauour; and even in that, I shall finde trouble enough to satisfy my party.

Secondly, by the same letter to generall Preston, I am to engage my selfe to the punctuall performance of whatsoever depends vppon mee in the said marquis of Clanricard's engagements; which (soe taken notice of) by strong implication amounts to an approbation of his lordship's vndertakeings in generall, (wherein are many things contrary to my sence,) and possitiuely obleeges mee to performe what depends on mee in the said vndertakeing. To the later whereof I take these exceptions:

First, it is vndertaken positively that a considerable number 524 of the confederate catholicque forces shall imediately be drawen into all the cheefe garrissons vnder his majestie's obedience; which, besides the danger of it, would heere be taken to be a strange turne, when it shall bee objected that such as have still been either open and implacable enemyes, or, which is wors, such false freinds, as out of a solemnely concluded, and by them received, peace, leapt into the openest and most violent acts of

hostillity, and that haue but newly (and as it will be said, when rather their power then their wills failes them) quitt their designe of takeing this citty by force, should now bee received and fed by those whom they can be seege noe longer, and whoes throates within these eight dayes they would have cutt; for it appeares, not that they bring either mony or victuall with them: and that for the reception of these men, wee have sent away those that (as will be sayd) were invited to our deliverance, and brought with them, wherewith not only to defray themselves, but to releeve our wants alsoe. I say, I conceive the sound of such an engagement from mee, though never performed nor insisted on, will be harsh, even to those best affected; and which therefore, if intended, I ought not in prudence to publish, as long as these men are heere, and the humors of the people, led by divers interests and passions, soe floteing as they are.

My next exception is to the vndertakeing, that I shall engage my selfe punctually to observe such free commands as I shall receive from his majestie to the advantage of the catholicques of this kingdome, or, dureing the king's want of freedom, from the queene and prince of Wales, or such as shall be signifyed to mee to the same effect to be his majestie's positive pleasure by your lordship as principall secretary of state. Against this I except not, as doubting that by either of those wayes there will or can come comands destructive to the being of the protestant relligion heere, or contrary to the professions made by his majestie, and by his command at severall tymes by mee published to his councell and others heere, whereof I am soe confident that I dare vndertake to obey all such commands; but I desire it may be considered what inconvenience the present and publique promis of such an obedience may draw vppon the king's busines and vppon your lordship and mee.

To that parte of the vndertakeing, engageing mee not to obey any orders that (whilest the king shall be in an vnfree condition) shall be procured from him to the prejudice of what is vndertaken, I take only this exception, that notice is thereby taken of my lord marquis his vndertakeings, and my approbation of them more strongly implyed then by the former engagement.

Lastly, the late amendment, where the pope's mediation is added, makes the busines to vulgar capacityes monstrous, and soe most vnfitt for mee to take at this tyme publique notice of.

The last thing I except against is the preamble desired to a

proclamation; and in that which is to be an act of mine and the councell's, the first exception will be to the word free exercise of their relligion; for it will be remembred what they would have hooked in vnder that word; and I doe not remember it in any of his majestie's letters to mee, where, if it be found, I am sure it is accompanyed with such restrictions as will displease them to have mentioned, or all the protestants of this kingdome to leave out. And this word, I finde in my lord's engagement, (which in this preamble being fixed to a proclamation,) I doe most cleerely and fully not only take notice, but approove of; and that is my second and last exception to the preamble, and, for ought yett appeareing to mee, to the whole busines.

And I shall beseech your lordship to apply to all these the instant of tyme when all these things are to be done and vnder-taken, and that publiquely, by mee; as also to consider that the things weare agreed on before I ever saw them. To another man these exceptions might looke like things found out to iustify my drawing my neck out of soe dangerous a coller, and my 525 laying hould of more safe and advantagious conditions from another party; but your experience of mee, and what you will see mee suffer rather then bend beyond what I take to be just to either hand, will finde more place and beleefe then any such doubts.

Haueing now with freedom layd all my scruples before you, I expect from your frendship a like free returne, and what satisfaction may be given mee in these things; which you may please to comunicate with my lord marquis; for I cannot hould it fitt to conceale my most secret or foolish thoughts from him, knowing hee and you have redy for mee that which may rectefy my judgement or cover my imperfections. And soe I rest to both

A most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 23° Novembris, 1646.

ORMONDE.

DXIII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

Lutterellstone, Teusday night the 24th Novembris at 7 a'clock, 1646.

My Lord,

I have received this morning your excellence's letter without a date, wherein you are pleased to discusse the matters pro-

posed vnto you by mee six dayes since, concerning the marquesse of Clenerickard's engagement and negotiation; which truly I cannot consider without such a heart-breaking amazement to mee as renders mee almost vnable to make any reply. Not that I finde any thing in your allegations there vncorrespondent to that iudgement, caution, and wisdome, wherewith you vse to weigh all your proceedings; since that, a greate part of the inconveniencys to your selfe, in the taking and doing litterally what in my letter of the 17 of November I proposed to your consideration, are not only acknowledged now, but were foreseene before, though thought digestable for the avoidinge greater.

But in as much as the time and manner of your expressing these objections is a strange surprise to vs, in point of what I expected from your kindnesse, and of what I was fully posest in my thoughts to have been your resolution, and, as I humbly conceiue, not without sufficient grownds giuen mee for the opinion by your selfe; by which variance of yours, or fatall mistake of myne, and the more fatall losse of time in rectifyinge my error, which can only belong to you, (the fault on our part hauing been too much hast,) not only the businesse wherein wee haue laboured all this while, soe essentiall to his majestie's service, and all his future hopes, but the honour and personall safety of your faithfullest seruaunt is voon the point of being made absolutely desperate, if not suddenly preuented, by somewhat now beyond my hopes or imagination; and therefore what I shall say vnto your excellence now is not soe much out of any beleefe that, by any thing I can propose, I can bee redeemed from the fate that hangs ouer mee, as that, by stating to your excellence my whole vnderstanding of the case, I may in some measure satisfye your excellence (not the world, of which I have long since learnt a contempt) that I perish neither as a knaue nor foole to the publike, nor as a false freind to you. I shall not resume soe farr back more then merely to putt you in mind of our contriued seperation, whereby you might obtaine the better creditt with the parliament for a present assistance, and I with the Irish for the inducing a delay in their present expedition against Dublin; without both which your preservation there was morrally impossible; with what successe the thing it selfe speakes, and, I shall not need say, with what hazards to my selfe I carried on my part till my coming to Portumny. From my forsaking of which place, and of my resolutions to be gone immediately to sea, and my vnfortunate complyance with what I vnderstood from you by Benett's instructions to be necessary 526 to your seruice, I shall principally lay the grownds of what I am to offer vnto you.

You will be pleased to remember, that your expression by Benett of the danger you were likely to be in by the parliament forces, and that your only remydy, if they should presse vpon you, was the joyning with Preston's army against them, secured vnto you by its putting ittselfe vnder my lord marquesse of Clenerickard's command, was the occasion of our coming to it; and your saying that you could not trust them vnlesse vnder my lord of Clenerickard, implying that if once they were soe, you would trust them, made vs make it our whole businesse to gaine him that power ouer the sayd army; which wee haue since effected vnder soe solemne an engagement of Preston and his officers. This, my lord, I principally apply as to the justifying that point of the marquesse of Clenerickard's vndertaking concerning the admission of Preston's forces into guarrisons; which is the only additionall to that which, with your allowance, and in your presence, I deliuered vnto sir Luke Dillon and Dr. Fennel at Kilkenny; which was the measure that wee layd vnto our selues for the substantiall part of my lord marquesse of Clenerickard's vndertaking; as in the forme and methode of proceeding, to keepe your excellence as exempt as possibly might bee from appearing vpon any other score then the submission to the former peace. I shall further add vnto your excellence, concerning this point of admitting the Irish into your guarrisons, that although vpon a full examination of the whole proceedings of Preston and his armye, wee were most confident that vpon this engagement of theirs they deserve to bee trusted, as having originally neuer had any intention of hostility against you; but on the contrary, that they have purposely delay'd and kept of from you the mischeefe that would otherwise long e're this haue ouerwhelmed you; and that both your former expression of your joyning with them against the parliament forces, if submitted to my lord marquesse of Clenerickard's command, and your admitting without reply the reasons of my confidence in them, made vs both believe that you would not bee shye of them. Yett soe cautious were wee in the point, that, though infinitely prest to it, wee neuer would allow of any expression, implying what number of forces should be admitted; and had managed the businesse soe, as, I am most assured, that if you had but expressed a confidence in words without engagement, when and how many to admitt, you might haue imploy'd them instantly vpon what other designe you should have thought best, and have deferr'd the admitting any of them till their seruice against the other party had confirm'd your confidence of them; as, I am sure, you will finde more then implyed, if you please to peruse my former letters: which considered, and your lordship's letter of the 20th, whereof I send you a copy, and the extract of my lord Taff's letter of the same date, a person mutually entrusted by vs both in this businesse, I cannot but with astonishment receive now the strange invective against them in this your letter, wherein allmost all the reasons of your dislike to the whole businesse seeme founded.

That which I say vnto your excellence concerning the liberty you would have been at in point of admitting their forces into guarrisons, in case you would but have own'd them, and given my lord marquesse and Preston vnder him commission to command them, I apply to all the rest, wherein you might make difficultye on your part; being most certaine that you might haue done what you pleased in all. 'Tis true, that in my dispatch of the 17 I proposed vnto you a scheame of the whole, and of what being done on your part would make the most entire and satisfactory settlement, having not then the lights which I have since gotten of their engagement in animosity and hostilitye against the other party, and of their readynesse to be contented with any thing on your part, soe that they were but owned, and putt vpon action, whereby they might preuent their 527 owne totall ruine by the disbanding of their armye, and preuent the enimyes gathering to a head to distroy this accommodation, as they did the last. But, vpon the more certaine knowledge of this disposition of theirs, I have of late pressed nothing vnto your excellence but merely the owning them, by sending my lord marquesse and Preston such commissions, with such a kinde letter as that whereof I sent you the draught; wherein if there appeared any further engagement, then you are willing to venture vpon concerning the marquesse of Clenerickard's vndertakings, you might have putt it in more generall termes, and insteed of saying you would punctually make good whatsoeuer

depends vpon you therein, (at which your excellence excepts,) that hee and his army should be sure to find all encouragement and satisfaction in what depended vpon you, towards the making them happy and secure in their submission to the peace and his majestie's authoritye.

As for the draught of the proclamation, it was meerely a proposition of myne, as the readyest way, and noe part of the marquesse's vndertaking; wherein perhapps the word free might be improper, though, as I conceive, not lyable to those exceptions in such a proclamation, whereof the interpretation is yours, as in an article of a treaty; especially when it is limited to the taking away the penaltyes only, and not to extend beyond that in noe man's vnderstanding, since the marquesse of Clenerickard's vndertaking a part is to secure them in what they formerly pretended vnto by that expression. As for the other particulars against which you except, your arguments lye only vpon the point of inconvenience to you to appeare in them at this time, and not against the things themselves; and for that I beseech you, what more vnappearing way can be proposed, then in a private letter to my lord marquesse of Clenerickard, to be shewen Preston and his cheefe officers privately, without giuing any coppy of it?

But why should I trouble your excellence with any further debates vpon the subject? Since it is not your doing or not doing the thinge to the degree proposed at first that is fatall vnto vs, but the forbearing all this while to doe any thing at all, till there is no time left for deliberation; and in the meane while engaging vs in the confidence our selues, and in the assurance to others of your approuing what wee did, not only by a six dayes forbearance of any objection (but besides the assurances from my lord Taffe) by such a letter of your owne of the 20th; wherein I beseech you to observe the expression that you make your excuse for not sending the commissions proposed by mee vpon the point of Preston and his armye's non-submission as yett to the peace, as I mentioned; then which I cannot conceiue a cleerer implycation of your approbation of the peace as by mee mention'd, when once hee should have see declared, as since hee hath done. And though it be true that you had not litterally a sight of my lord of Clenerickard's engagements before they were perfected, yett you had the full substance of them entirely, in as much as concern'd your selfe, (all but that of drawing some of their forces into your guarrisons,) a sufficient time before, and replyed vnto mee vpon them encouragingly, euen whereas I made objections to that way of agreement, which since followed with Preston alone; as you will finde in your answere to myne, which I sent vnto you by my lord Byron.

My lord, as I sayd vnto you before, had you but dealt freely with mee in time, I am sure every thing might have been conducted your owne way, and nothing prest from you but the marquess of Clenerickard's commission and Preston's, with a kind letter to himselfe, and the owning his armye soe farr as to command it vpon action. But since, after giving vs these grownds to engage soe much farther, you doe not soe much as vouchsafe vs soe farr, I can conclude nothing but that all is a destiny to sacrifise mee to ruine and infamy, (for the certaine losse of liberty or life I value not,) wherein there will remaine only the consolation to mee that the Indians haue in being eaten by their survivers, that as they have the comfort of being 528 buried in their best freinds, I have that of beinge destroyed for and by the person in the world I loue best, and who, I am most confident notwithstanding, loues mee proportionably to the faithfullnesse wherewith I am

Yours,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

I forgott to tell you that I cannot vnderstand how my lord of Clenerickard's mentioning the pope in that way hee doth, hee being a catholique, can giue scandall to any, much lesse concerne your excellence, or indeed his vndertaking any thing of himselfe, with noe other alternatiue, if not effected, then his not seuering from them, with a liberty to be interpreter himselfe of the word not seuering.

Since the writing of this, most of the officers of Preston's army haue been with vs; and I find if yett betwixt this and Thursday noon, which is the vttmost howre of their possible subsistance heere or patience, they may be but own'd and directed by you, you may yett gouerne them as you please, and satisfye them with what you please. If not, I see my fate; and since I see now the period draw soe neere of all my possibility to serue the king or you, I make it my request that you will assigne mee where out of Dublin I may wayte vpon you to

morrow, if you thinke it not fitt for mee to come thither; for conferr with you I must, though it cost mee my life.

DXIV .- The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

I was perswaded to repaire into the partes, and not without some shew of inuitation from your lordship, as that which was then conceived the principall if not only expedient that could then be found out for the advantage of his majestie's service and your lordship's presaruation; though for the first, I must confess in this perticuler action, the prospect that way appeared to me at such a distance affarr of, more then your lordship's interest therin, as that which did most hasten the aduenture I vndertooke was my intire affection to and apprehension of the danger of your person and famely. But now, it seemes, my indevoires therin hath bin so vnlukily contriued and conducted, as to produce no better effects then to be kept at a distance from you, to make Dublin appeare vnsafe to me, and to deterre those that formerly profest to be my friends from coming at me, and your lordship, as I conceiue, perswaded that nothing of danger hath bin diverted from you, nor any thing acted in order to your present or future service, but rather an inuoluing you into greater hazards; and yet the malice of most of the kingdome likely to be contracted against me, supposing that the not compassing of their owne ends was by my divertion, they reposing confidence vpon my vndertakings, that were grounded vpon a firme beleefe of a right and cleere intelligence betweene your lordship and my lord Digby, and a large power in him from his majestie, vpon these exigents, to make good all vndertakings which he should ether aduise or give consent vnto. But though I may have bin mistaken in misterves of state, I asure your lordship that the want of some expressions of kindnes and incouradgment from your lordship to generall Preston hath lost a very handsome oppertunity of almost securing the kingdome to his majestie's obedience; and any longer delay will, I doubt, make the worke irrecoverable, the consideration wherof, and the sence of my owne sad condition, hath inuited 520 me to a resolution, if your lordship's positive command doe not diuert me, to waite vpon you to morrow; and I conceive my

lord Digby hath the same intention, that I may be owned by your lordship, or else suffer for my miscariages. But if this fauer be not allowed me, I shall yet returne with greate satisfaction that your lordship finds yourself in a safe condition, however acquired; and what way soeuer it shall please God to dispose of me, I shall allwayes pray, that vpon all occasions of the like danger you may meete with friends to asist you of more iudgment and ability, and with the same affections, that your lordship hath bin serued by

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

Lutterill's Towne, the 24th of Nouember, 1646.

CLANRICARDE.

DXV.—The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

HAUING found in generall Preston and his officers a greate forwardnes to submitt to the peace and to his majestie's authority, and hartily to serue your excellence against all opposers of the same, if they might be satisfied in some doubts concerning the security of their religion, which they conceived were not sufficiently cleered by the letter of the late articles of peace; and presuming that I had soe much knowledge of his majestie's gratious intentions towards his catholicke subjects in this kingdome as to vndertake the procuring their satisfaction as farre as reasonably they ought to expect; I have applyed my self thervnto, and am confident of success in making them, and, I beleeue, a greate parte of the kingdome besides, submitt to the peace and your excellence's authority, if I may but obtaine from your excellence this asurance, which I perswade my self you will not be scrupulous to giue; that you will obay all such free commands as you shall receive from his majestie to the aduantage of the Roman catholicks of this kingdome, or, during his majestie's want of freedome, from the queene and prince of Wales, or such as shall be signified vnto your excellence to be his majestie's positive will and pleasure by the lord Digby as principall secretary of state; and lastly, that your excellence will not put in execution any commands which during his majestie's want of freedome shall be procured from his majestie, by aduantage of his saide want of freedome, to the prejudice of his said Roman catholicke subjects of this kingdome.

If your excellence shall fauer me with such expressions as these in your owne hand, I make no question of effecting all that I have here proposed, without being obliged to make your saide expressions vnder your hand any otherwayes publicke then by affording a sight of them to some few necessary persons. I rest

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

Lutterill's Towne, the 25th of November, 1646.

CLANRICARDE.

DXVI.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My Lord,

I shall beshrew my hand if any thing have fallen from it that shall seeme to lessen the value of your endevours to serue the king, and to preserve mee and my famely by your late comeing into these partes. For I am most confident it then satisfyed 530 my hart; nor doe I at all hould Dublin to be more vnsafe for you then it is for mee, or ever, to my remembrance, did or sayd what might deterre any frends, whether profest or reall, to come at you; the only letter I had tyme to write to your lordship since you came into this contry, as I think, rather manifesting the contrary. I confes I saw not the advantage of your comeing till these men, now redy to shipp away, were gone, saue to my selfe, in the satisfaction of your conversation; which alsoe would have been interupted by very many, and indeed continued, businesses, tending to the dispatching of them. I shall say noething of the maine, more then I have done in my returne to my lord Digbye's, till wee three may by discourse setle a better vnderstanding of all things then can be compassed by writeing. In the meane tyme I rest

Dub. 25 of November, 1646. Your most faithfull humble servant, Ormonde.

DXVII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

HAUEING this morning received yours of yesterday's date, in answer to mine writen (however it scaped dating) the 23 of this month, I shall begg your leave to bee still of opinion, that vpon the whole mater, as it appeared to mee in your lordship's of the 18 of this month, wherewith [came] the instruments to and from Preston, the draught of a leter to him, the preamble

of a proclamation desired, and the substance of a leter to bee writen from mee to the lord marquis of Clanricard, and by him to bee shewen, what I was to doe did farr exceede the receiveing of a submission to the late peace, or any thing that before then I had vnderstood was expected from mee; and that all those things done by mee would strongly imply my approbation and consent to those engagements of my lord's, which, as they outwardly appeare to mee, I can neuer aduise should bee given, nor act towards it; and, as I conceived, there was noe liberty left mee, either of alteration or omission. But now that I am otherwyse informed, I shall before noone to morrow send the comission to my lord marquis, and the authority and leter to Preston: though in the former I shall bee puzeled how to stile or qualifie him to the satisfaction of all sides, vnlesse your lordship can some time this day instruct mee. For in it I must bee wary of distasting him, and also have regard to the more eminent officers of this army, that will not vnderstand his haueing bin generall of that syde any reasonable title to his haueing power ouer them. And for my meeting you any where out of the towne, I shall readily doe it, though my opinion bee against it, if you vnderstand not this to bee satisfaction to your leter, and that you may doe beter there in contenting that army, and I here in sending away the parliament comissioners, from whome, since I can expect noe kinde of satisfaction to what I proposed, I desire and labor to bee fairely freed. I rest your most faithfull humble servant.

Dub. Cast. 25 Novem. 1646.

ORMONDE.

DXVIII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

YOUR letter of this day by Frank Trafford came just to saue mee from expiring my last breath of hopes of euer being vsefull to the king our master's seruice, or to that which is as deare to mee, your freindshipp. It hath given mee satisfaction enough to keepe my hopes aliue till to morrow morning. I beseech you, 531 as you value the king's businesse or my comfort in this world, allow mee to waite vpon you at Dublin, or where else you shall appoint by nine or ten a'clock to morrow morning; for I finde that either you doe not vnderstand the matters themselves

rightlye, or at least that I have not rightly posest you of my vnderstanding of them, nor can I hope to doe it but by debate. All that I shall say now is, God soe deale with mee and myne, as I have had nothing in the world superiour or equall in my thoughts to the seruing you in all the negotiation; which I may the safelier say, since in the seruing you I am confident I serve the king best. I beseech your lordship lett noe matter of cerimony or forme to others hinder soe essentiall a thing as our conference, since to morrow night is the vttmost date of my hopes in the king's service, or of avoyding distruction, both to the endeuours and person of

Your most faithfull humble seruaunt,

Lutterell'stone, 25 Nouember, 1646.

GEORGE DIGBY.

I beseech your lordship lett the marquesse of Clenerickard's commission and your letter of kindnesse and confidence to generall Preston bee dispatch't in the morning. As for generall Preston's commission, lett it bee deferred till you may have spoken with my lord marquesse and mee concerning what would please him best.

DXIX.—The marquis of Ormond to general Preston.

SIR,

I HAUE vnderstood from the marquis of Clanricard that you and your oficers have made such expressions and engagements of fidellity and submission to his majestie's authority as makes mee very ready to beleeve, that throughout this busines, whateuer actions of yours may have had in appearance another face, they have bin in your intentions conducted to preserve a power more reasonably and effectually to appeare in his majestie's seruice. I should sooner haue made this expression vnto you, but that I have bin these days past soe taken vp with aboundance of businesse and trouble. That which I have to assure you in present is, that you, declareing publiquely your submission to the late peace, and your prosecution of those that shall not ioyne with you in that submission, whereby I may bee justified to his majestie, and to my owne party, in the confidence and trust I meane to repose in you, you and they shall finde from mee all the encouragement, both of security and satisfaction in that your submission, that you can expect, or that shall lie in my power

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

to afforde you. In the meane time, I make noe doubt but you will henceforward [be] willing to yeeld obedience to the said marquis of Clanricarde, as lieutenant-generall of his majestie's army in this kingdome. Soe hopeing very shortly to see you, and consult with you vpon the best meanes of setleing the ways of serueing the king and this kingdome, by this begining of a right vnderstanding betweext vs, I rest

Your affectionate seruant,

[Dublin-Castle, 25 Nov. 1646.]

ORMONDE.

I desire you to comunicate this leter to such of your oficers as you thinke fit.

DXX.—General Preston to the marquis of Ormond.

532

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCIE;

MY fidelitie and zeale to his majestie's seruice, with the safety and tranquility I allwaies coueted to this kingedome, is my ayme in all my actions; and [I] expressed my intentions and resolutions to my lord marques of Clanricarde and my lord Digbie in pursuance thereof; and shall with your excellencie's better leasure extend the same as farr forthe as I shall bee able; humbly crauinge that these expressions hithertoe vnder a clowde of silence may not bee censured any slownes of the fidelity of

Your excellencie's most humble seruant,

Lucan, the 26 of November, 1646.

J. Preston.

DXXI.—The marquis of Ormond to general Preston.

SINCE this daye's conference with my lord marques of Clenrickard and my lord Digby, I have thought fitt to expresse vnto you more particularly the entire satisfaction I have of your owne and your armye's integritye and affection to his majestie's service and the settlement of the peace of this kingdome; of which I have soe full a confidence, that I desire you and all your officers and army to believe that I shall as much rely vpon your fidelity, and employ you and them in all trusts, both in the feild and in my garrisons, with as much freedome and assurance, as I shall any whatsoever; and that now my principall care is, how wee may prosecute jointly his majestie's service and the settle-

ment of this kingdome to the best advantage. To which ende I have desired the marques of Clenrickard and the lord Digby to acquaint you fully and freely with the condition of my forces and garrisons, to the ende that some time to morrowe, vpon conference with you, which I desire, I may take the best resolutions. In the meane while, I am takinge the best order I can to supply you with provision, and to expresse unto you in all other wayes, also, that I am

[Dublin-Castle, 26 Nov. 1646.]

DXXII.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My Lord,

I HAUE received yours of the 25th, and I wish that you may finde the successe you promise your selfe equal to the willingenesse on my part to contribute to soe happye a worke, by satisfying you in what you desire from mee. I doe therfore freely give your lordship this assurance, that I will carefully obey all such commands as I shall receive from the kinge my master to the advantage of his Roman catholique subjects of this kingdome, or, duringe his want of freedome, from the queene's majestie and prince of Wales, or such as shall bee signifyed to mee to bee his majestie's positive will and pleasure by the lord Digby, as principall secretary of state. And I doe farther assure your lordship, that I will not putt in execution any command which duringe his majestie's want of freedome shall bee procured from him by advantage of his sayd want of freedome, to the prejudice of his majestie's Roman catholique subjects of this kingdome adhering to the peace.

Castle Dublin, the 26 of Nov. 1646.

DXXIII.—General Preston to the marquis of Ormond.

533

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCIE;

MY ambition to liue in your good esteeme makes mee studious in prosecuting all occasions that affoord me the meanes to serue your excellencie; to the reall effecting whereof, my willing endeavours have ever so farr corresponded with my vnfained desires, that I presume there needs not the addition of these words to the confirmation of so evident a trueth. As for the bad effect

in the late matter of importance, at the first I must attribute all fault therein rather to any other cause then to any defect in the want of my power or will. Wherevnto I am confident I shall not need to force your beleefe, my carriadge in that affaire hauing rather given testimony of violence then earnestnesse on my part. I had not failed to give your lordship meeting on the last apointment, but that my commaunders, and the rest in generall, were wholy withdrawne from their first resolutions, whereof I caused notice to be given your excellencie in a second letter on Friday two howres after the former by an express messenger, to the end your excellencie might not advance further on dowbtfull vncertainties, whereby your excellence might perceive how right my intentions have ever beene, and how studious I was to give you the meanes of avoiding inconveniences by that intelligence.

I will onely avow, that if in the whole mannaging of this affaire any thing hath occurred rendring me culpable in your excellencie's opinion, it is as farre beyond my desert as euer it hath beene beyond my desire to liue without the honorable repute of

Your excellencie's most humble seruant,

Waterford, the 19 of December, 1646.

J. Preston.

DXXIV.—The marquis of Ormond to the queen.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

BY another way I lately presumed to beg your beleefe of my constancy to his majestie's cause and service, notwithstanding that by the highest failers of duty, and even of truth, in others, I was compelled to make adresses, as contrary to my inclinations as, to such as were strangers to the condition I was in, and the grounds I went vppon, they might seeme vnsuteable to the frequent professions I haue made never to sever my selfe from his majestie's interest; which, if this letter haue the honor to be presented to your majestie by the hands of my lord Digbye, I shall hope will be made soe evident to you, that I may haue still the happynesse to be esteemed

Your majestie's most faithfull

and most humble subject and servant,

Castle-Towne, the 25 of December, 1646.

ORMONDE.

DXXV.—The marquis of Ormond to Lord Digby.

My LORD,

From Castledowne, this 25th of December, 1646.

I AM of the agent's opinion, that your lordship cannot better dispose of your self for the king's seruice, then [by going] imediatly into France; and I am the more inclineable to your goeing, for that this county (as I am made beleeue by some of power in it) will contribute towards the maintaineing of vs in some good proportion: they say 1000l. in money and catell, and that within 6 days. I confesse I could not allow them lesse time, but I cannot free my self of suspecting, that they may hope 534 by that time to bring in such as may give vs wors payment. O'Neal's army is in scatered regiments and hors troopes on all hands of vs; and yet for all the outcrys of this people vpon them, and our faire cariage, (which really is remarkeable,) I cannot obtaine such intelligence as to iustifie mee in poynt of discretion to atempt any thing vpon them; and this I take for noe good signe.

If I can but eate, and keepe my self out of apparant certainty of being deliuered vp to some rebells, I will ouercome the toyle and incredible auersion I have to shifting after this maner, and will expect a returne from you, though I should bee sett at liberty by what you have already writen to the king. One thing I shall beseech you to bee carefull of, which is, to take order that the comands that shall bee directed to mee touching this people, (if any bee,) thwart not the grounds I have layd to my self in poynt of religion; for in that, and in that only, I shall resort to the liberty left to a subject to obay by sufering. And this I mention, least the king's service should sufer in my scrupellousnes in things another would finde lesse dificulty in. Noe man knowes beter then your lordship where in this particular I stick; yet I hould it not amis to remember you, that it is in what concearnes any concession that may seeme to perpetuate to the Roman catholiques ether churches or church-liuings, or that may essentially take from ours, or give to their cleargy eclesiasticall jurisdiction. For other freedomes against penaltys for the quiet exercise of their religion, I am cleare of opinion, it not only may, but ought to bee given them; if his majestie shall finde cause to owne them for any thing but rebells. My lord, I wish you

all the happinesse imaginable, and my self none longer then

Your lordship's &c.

ORMONDE.

I send your lordship coppyes of my letter to the queene and my lord Jermin. For the mony payd in Fraunce, or the things bought for it, you may please to give order to dispose of them as you think fitt, when you come there.

DXXVI.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

Dublin, December 31st, 1646.

YOUR letter by captain Digby hath preuented mee in the request I was to make vnto you before my going, that whateuer you should heere from the king, you would doe your vttmost to struggle heere, till you received a returne from mee, wherein (if God blesse mee with a safe passage) there shall not bee a daye's time lost. I have occasion to bee the more earnest in this request by the dispatch which the agent hath newly received out of Fraunce, though of somewhat an old date, it being writt with soe right a sense of things heere, and with soe particular an application to mee, as I doubt not of successe in my negotiation.

As for the cautions you give mee, I am sure you know them to bee exactly according to my owne principles as well as yours, and from which noe earthly consideration can remoue mee, though I must confesse that for the king's service I shall be willing that the catholiques should cousin themselves with the hopes of more, if that will doe our worke, soe that neither the king, the prince of Wales, nor the marguis of Ormond, nor I be any wise engaged beyond those bounds of conscience and honour. Your excellence may not only bee sure of my caution in those particulars you mention, but that in the whole matter you shall neuer receive any commaunds with my privitye but what I know to bee agreable to your owne reason and judgement, and euen in them to haue a latitude left you where emergent occa-535 sions may give you cause to alter your judgement. In a word, expect from mee in all things that which becomes the faithfullest seruant and best freind you have in the world.

Now concearning my passage from hence, which imports vs soe much, wee are absolutely at a loss, vnless the marquesse of Ormonde help vs. Three or fower parliament shipps lye within the barr, and haue layd other shipps with cannon, and well man'd iust a-crosse the channell; soe that it is impossible for the frigatt to gett out without their leaue, which cannot bee obtained, although the French agent hath actually bought the frigatt, and signifyed to capt. Willowby that shee is imployed, as really she is, by him upon the king of Fraunce's seruice. But capt. Willowby hath lett fall some words, as if hee would either lett her passe, or draw away his shipps without the barr, which will bee neare as good, if your excellence commaunds it. Wherefore, I conceiue, it will be necessarye that your excellence should hasten hither vnto mee a letter to capt. Willowby, or in his absence to the cheefe commaunder of the parliament shipps heere, taking notice of the French agent's being come hither to Dublin to dispatch away his frigatt, and desiring them either to afford her free passage or to quitt the harbour; which in case they should refuse to doe, it is necessary that I have your warrant to my lord Lambart to force them away, and therein to bee directed by mee; which, as they now lye within the barr, I can doe every day either with cannon or fire-boates, for which I have allready made prouision, and want but only your authoritye.

I have nothing to add, but only to desire your lordship to send mee a coppy of the two generalls propositions, or rather summons, when they came towards Dublin; for there will bee vse of sending it into Fraunce, and I cannot find the coppy you formerly sent mee. God graunt you all happynesse, and mee that of being able to expresse how much I am

Yours,

[Dublin, December 31, 1646.]

G. DIGBYE.

I will leave for you with my lady the coppy of a new cypher which my lord Jermyn sent mee by Benett, least any dispatches should come vnto mee in it in my absence.

Since the writing of this, it was judged the best course for Mr. Du Moulin to write the inclosed letter to capt. Willowby; vpon which his frigatt fell downe to the Ringsend, and there capt. Willowby sent one capt. Clerke to her with a flagg of truce, assuring her, that if shee fell downe to his shipp, and would admitt of a civill search, shee should goe away when shee pleased,

in case there were nothing found in her prejudiciall to the parliament. Wherevoon, having nothing at all in her but what is mentioned in Mr. Du Moulin's letter, shee went downe to capt. Willowbye's shipp; where insteed of the freedome promised, [she was] by her seased and rifled, and sent this other inclosed letter to Mr. Du Moulin. I leaue it to your excellence's judgement to doe what your excellence thinkes fitt vpon it. As for the vessell, I make noe question but there will bee very sufficient reparations had in Fraunce; but as for my selfe, I shall bee in greate distresse how to gett away, being aduertised that the Irish intended mee a slouenly trick, notwithstanding their passeport, vnder pretence of Antonio's arresting mee for the fraight of the frigatt for my last journey into Fraunce: however, I am resolued to trye all possible wayes of getting away, as soone as I shall have had a returne from your excellence and my lord of Clenerickard.

Jan. 2d, 1646.

CLENERICKARD.

536

DXXVII.—The marquis of Ormond to general Preston.
Sir.

YOURS of the 19 of December I received not till yesterday the 4 of this month. If it had sooner come to my hands, you had sooner received thankes for your civillity exprest therin; and this assureance, that however things have not sorted to my expectation, or to what I vnderstood to bee your obligation; yet I am farr from beleeuing you had any designe soe mis-becoming a man of honour, as to make vse of the credit given by mee to your inuitation, to my prejudice, or for the improvuement of your conditions with another party. Which makes mee confident, that a printed paper lately come to my hands, intituled your Declaration, and dated but 3 days after your leter I now answer, being soe contrary to your expressions, must bee a forgery; as also the reports raised, that some of your army are gathered in a body at Castle-Dermot, with intent to interupt my returne, or destroy the remainder of my quarters. Yet I desire speedily to receive from your owne hand satisfaction in these particulars, that I may have occasion to continue

Your &c.

DXXVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My LORD,

Grininstowne, this 8th of Jan. 1646.

AT the instant I receive your lordship's of this daye's date, I returne the bearer, that you may know I shall bee to morrow night, and for a weeke longer if I can, at Trim, that I much desire your lordship's meeteing with my lord Digbye; and if it weare not inconvenient for him, that I might have the honour of both your companyes before your lordship returnes home, or hee withdraw himselfe out of the kingdom. I am very glad to heare the people here are made to vnderstand that perfidy is not countenanced in Fraunce, and that my lord of Muskry bestirrs himselfe. For Glamorgan and Antrim, the matter weare not greate what became of them, if there weare not a naturall propension in this people to love their cozeners. I shall doe my endevour to continue abroad, till the bent of this assembly be discovered; but to keepe neere hereabouts will be distructive to the contry, and to draw further of not safe for mee. If the Westmeath mony would come in, much might be done: but when all is done, the greate question remaines, namely, what professions, vndertakeings, or invitations shall be credited. Which to answere, I can think of noething, but that severe iustice be done, or suffered to be done, on such as haue (by disturbing the late peace) ruined the kingdom to that degree, that it is hardly recoverable to be made vsefull to the king; and that others, to whome it is thought more respect is due, may be fairely sent away. This is the opinion of

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,
Ormonde.

DXXIX.—The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

537

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

I came very seasonably hether to meete with many of generall Preston's best officers, and other persons of quality, who are very confident of prosperous success; this assembly themselues, and the kingdome in generall, being highly exasperated by the distructive proceedings of their counsel and congregation, and the more incouradged in their resolutions to make a charge against them, and justify their former counsell and commissioners,

by the ariuall of a gentleman of quality and creditt of this kingdome out of France, who serued the king in England, and who positively and publickly affirmes that neither himself, though well recomended thether, nor any other of this nation, is owned by our queene or the courte of France, but looked vpon with displeasure and mistrust, since they received certaine information of the rejecting of the peace here; which makes a cleere discouery of the forgerves and false intelligences contriued and disulged to Mr. Barron, Plunkett, and their mischieuous associats. I am likewise certainly informed that my lord Glamorgan is dejected and dispised, and Muskery hath gotten the power and sway in Munster, and is very active, and perticularly in looking to the elections for this assembly. And I find it the humble desires and expectation of most of judgment in these partes, that your excellence would continue abroade in as considerable a posture as you can, which will incouradge them to doe righteous things; and if ouerswayed there, to ioine vnanimously with you. And to this I will now only add the bare report of my lord of Antrim's being landed, and the nuntio's coach sent to Ross to meete him, leaving the coment to your I am tould my lord Digby is not excellence's consideration. yet gone, which hath inuited me to desire a meeting with his lordship vpon Sonday next at Lexlep, for which I humbly desire your excellence's licence; and from thence I will imediatly waite vpon you where your excellence shall please to appoint. I doe not heare of any considerable forces gathered any where together; but an vncertaine rumor of a randeuous appointed vesterday at Bray, between Berne and Mc Thomas; and that O'Neile's forces are so quarter'd, as that within three dayes he can bring 3 or 4000 men into a body; of which I beleeue your excellence hath better intelligence then can be now conuaved vnto you by

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

Tecrohan, the 8th of Jan. 1646, 8 in the morning.

CLANRICARDE.

DXXX.—The marquis of Claricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

MY mesinger is not yet returned from Dublin; but I make no question, if my lord Digby be there, he will with much cheer-

fullness waite vpon yeur excellence at Trim, as I shall doe how-soeuer. I have but newly received two letters from him, dated the 28th and 31st of the last month, wherin his lordship desires some copies of letters, which I conceive would be of that vse and consequence to the affaires he is to negotiate in France, as it would much trouble me he should be departed without them, not knowing how, ether with safty or expedition, to send them after.

I doe not yet heare of any forces soe vnited but that your 538 excellence may continue and inlarge your progress into the county of Longfort, and raise contribution there; but if your excellence be of another opinion, I shall, if your excellence thinke fitt, propose it to those now going to Kilkeny, as from my self, that they procure orders from the assembly that no acts of hostility be comitted vntil the affaires there be brought to some resolution, and my self to vndertake as much in your excellence's behalf; and your pleasure therin I humbly desire to receive by to morrow morning. Your being in the county of Longfort would much countenance my proceedings in Connaght, if your excellence find it necessary to dispatch me thether, before somthing be knowne from the assembly, and my pasage better secured then I yet apprehend, without a safe conduct from them; and whether that will be obayed by O'Neile's forces may be doubtfull. They are importunat with me here not to decline going to the assembly, if I receive an inuitation from thence. I doe very much suspect that there will be such high confusions there as may make it a dangerous place for me to reside in, but if better iudgments doe beleeue it may any wayes materially conduce to the setlement of the kingdome and the aduantage of the king's seruice, I shall not sticke at any hazard whatsoeuer.

The question your excellence proposes in the conclusion of your letter, I must confess, doth much disturbe my thoughts, and must proue a worke of difficulty: but I still retaine somwhat of my lord Digbye's cheerfull confidence, being an excellent companion in these disasterous times, and shall fortefy my self, against I waite vpon you, with the strongest arguments I can, somwhat to qualify those suspitions and mistrusts you have bin soe frequently provoked to entertaine and insist vpon. I believe my lord of Antrim is not landed, as was reported, the intelligence being not seconded.

My lord Trembleston asures me they vnanimously consented at Mulingar vpon Thursday last to have the Westmeath mony imediatly collected and paide vnto your excellence; with which petty good newes I shall now conclude, and constantly remaine

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

Tecroghan, the 9th of Jan. 1646, 10 in the morning.

CLANRICARDE.

I did expect, ether from my lord Castlehauen or Taaffe, some accompt of the entertainment your excellence was going vnto, when I parted from you.

DXXXI—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My Lord,

I should be sory my lord Digbye wanted any thing that might helpe to manifest the vseage wee haue had, and the condition wee are in; and glad I might speake with your lordship and him before wee seuered; but if he be gone, I shall yet content my selfe with the hopes of seeing your lordship heere.

Though I be in appearance drawen from the way leading into the county of Longford, yet your lordship may, within a few dayes, heare that their neglect of sending to mee on Thursday last, according to their promis, was not their wysest way. As for the motion of a cessation, I conceiue it not fitt to proceede from your lordship, nor as to vs materiall whither it be assented vnto or noe; but I am confident, the faction disaffected to peace would make wors vse of such a motion proceeding from any held moderate, then of all the strength they can make.

I know not how to advise your lordship in the point of goeing to the assembly, considering the places you hould vnder his majestie; though I am well assured noe consideration, but his 539 service, would incline you to a thought of it. I must leaue it wholy to your owne better iudgement.

I am fixed heere for at least foure dayes, and redy to give your lordship the best enterteynement in the power of

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Trym, 10° Jan. 3 in the afternoone, 1646.

ORMONDE.

DXXXII.—The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE:

I shall not faile to waite vpon you to morrow at Trim, and haue written this morning to my lord Digby, now at Lexlep, to meete me there; some things of importance being now in agitation, wherin I desire it should not be acted by vs two alone, but that it may receive your excellence's asistance and approbation. And for what I writt formerly to your excellence, and your apprehention of it, I shall referre to that meeting, hauing in present nothing more to say, but that Antrim is come to Kilkeny; and in spight of him and all oposers I shall constantly be found

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

Tecroghan, the 11th of Jan. 11 a clocke, 1646.

CLANRICARDE.

DXXXIII.—General Preston to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCIE;

THIS day I received your excellencie's commands, requiring satisfaction from my owne hand to certaine particulars therein inserted; with which I intend to complie soe farr as may satisfie your excellencie's present desire, and vindicate my realitie though all may not now be see conveniently committed to paper. My intentions and obligation I have sufficiently imparted in my former letter, from which noe actions of myne did or shall decline; much lesse did I euer entertaine a thought misbecomminge a man of honor, however my proceedinges may otherwise bee traduced to your excellencie's hearinge. My declaration I doe oene grownded on sufficient reasons, to satisfie the desire of some, and to render myselfe in a condition more capable to studie the settlement of this kingdome; yett noe waye contrarie to any former expressions of myne, as your excellencie conceaues it to bee, the justification of which I thought fitt to remitt to better conueniencie, when I shall bee reddie to yeald an exact accompt. My lord, no forces heere were raised by any commands of myne, havinge forborne intermedlinge with them, since theyr orders for quarters; much lesse any thought intertayned by mee of giuing your excellencie's returne any interruption, or to destroye the remainder of your quarters, which still I have studied to

preserue. And this much I hope will satisfie your excellencie's desire, and ministrat noe occasion why I maie not still liue with the honourable repute of beinge,

My lord, your excellence's most humble seruant,

Kilkeny, the 15th of Januarie, 1646.

J. Preston.

DXXXIV.—The marquis of Ormond to Nicholas Plunket, for 540 the lords and gentlemen assembled at Kilkenny.

AFTER our very hearty commendations: although wee found litle difficulty to giue a ready answere to the letter of the 15th of this month, which wee receased from you at Trym, written, as you say, by commaund of the confederate catholiques assembled at Kilkeny, it being manifest to all there mett, vpon what compulsion and prouocation wee drew out of the quarters by the late cessation allotted to his majestie's protestant subjects and their adherents, and well knowne to many nowe there, howe vnlike an enemy wee marcht dureing our last being abroad; yet, that wee might not bee wanting to those publique and priuate duetyes that engage vs to a sence of the dishonor of this nation, and being given to vnderstand that divers noblemen and gentlemen, interested alsoe therein, either are or will bee mett at that citty of Kilkeny, wee haue thought it expedient to take this occasion (least another should neuer bee offered) to discharge our selfe of those duetyes, by letting them see how they have beene irrecoverably betrayed to infamy if they neglect the opportunity nowe offered to vindicate themselues. Which to manifest wee shall but breafely and plainely set before them our owne and the carriadge of some others in the course of the late treaty, and the peace therepon concluded; in which narative wee shall begin at the finall conclusion of the peace; and content our selfe with putting you in minde breefely by the way, with how much difficulty on our parte the first cessation was compassed, and with what hazards to our selfe, and those his majestie's seruants that assisted vs, and ruine to our private fortunes, wee have, for the space of aboute three yeares, continued on foote that first cessation, in hope it would at last dissolue into a happy peace.

When, after the ouercoming of all these and many other difficulties, wee had, by vertue of his majestie's comission vnder the

greate seale of England, agreed to conditions of peace with persons of eminent quality and knowledge, and such as in the whole course of the warr weare imployed in places of highest trust by the confederates, haueing an ample and, for ought appeareing vnto vs, an vnlimited comission to treate with vs, and conclude a firme peace; and this comission originally derived from a generall assembly of the confederates, and confirmed by all other successive assemblyes; when with men thus qualified, and authorized to obleege the publique faith of your party, wee had agreed on the conditions of the peace, then was the drawing vpp of the articles left to Mr. Patrick Darcy and Mr. Geffery Browne; and by them performed according to the sence of the assembly. as may appeare vnder the hand of Mr. Thomas Tyrell, whoe sate in the chaire of a comittee of instructions appointed by the said assembly. This draught thus prepared was, without any materiall alteration, engrossed by one of your comissioner's seruants, and on the 28th day of March, 1646, mutually and solemnly, in the presence of persons of honor and quality, signed by vs and your comissioners; and according to former agreement, left deposited in the hands of our very good lord the marquis of Clanricard, vntill the performance of certaine conditions vndertaken in the behalfe of the confederate party; whereof they faileing, those conditions were (by an instrument signed by vs. drawne vpp likewise by your comissioners) dispensed with; wee being therunto authorised by his majestie. The articles then with all due formalities weare mutually deliuered and fully perfected; and on the first day of August last past they were with all requisite ceremoneyes proclaimed in this citty, and soone after at Kilkeny, by Vluester king at armes; but what his enterteynment was elswhere wee shall have occasion to take notice of hereafter.

The peace thus concluded, wee were desirous to loose noe 541 tyme that might bee imployed towards the making of it vsefull to his majestie, lasting in it selfe, and happy to all his majestie's subjects that would yeeld obedience to it. And therefore being therevuto earnestly and often invited, as well by those that had formerly exercised rule ouer your party, as by many others noe less interested in the good of their country, wee took our journy to Kilkeny, where wee weare receaued with many expressions of ioy in the people, and with the respect due to his majestie's lieutenant. As on the other parte wee reffer it to such as then

vppon seuerall occasions attended vs, and are, wee beleeue, nowe there, to declare howe vnoffensiuely wee marched through the country thither, how freely without the least distrust wee put our selfe into that citty, without displaceing any one of the guards formerly there, or drawing in any of our owne guards, but a few firelocks, and those in such a manner, and soe lodged, as argued our confidence in the garison souldiers and cittizens. And wee reffer it to those of the comissioners to declare how strictly wee tyed ourselfe to the observance of all, and particularly of that parte of the articles of peace restraining vs from acting in some things without the advice and consent of a certaine number of them; and all this in a tyme when it was well knowne to vs, by publique prints and other certaine intelligence, that all industry was vsed to render the peace, our selfe, and all that did or should adhere to vs. odious and suspected to the people; and when wee knew that the king at armes was not suffered to doe his office in proclaiming the peace at Clonmell; and that at Lymrick, in the execution of his duety, with the king's coate of armes vppon him, accompanied with the mayor and aldermen, and the best of the cittizens according to their duety in their gownes with all the ensignes of magistracy and authority, both hee and they were violently assaulted by a tumultuous rable instigated by a frier, and led by one Dominick Fanning, an infamous incendary, the knowne robber and barborous butcher of divers inocent persons in the begining of these troubles; in which tumult what vnheard of outrage was comitted vpon his majestie's herald and pursuiuant, and vpon the mayor and aldermen, even to the tearing from them the badges of their offices and authority, and the wounding of their persons almost to death, is too well knowne to many of those nowe assembled there. But that which struck vs with deepest amazement, and would have deterred vs from farther prosecution of the settlement wee desire to establish in this kingdome, if any discouragment or appearing danger could have done it, was, that the lawfull mayor and other officers assisting him in the loyall discharge of his duety were displaced, and Fanning, whoe to all his former villanges had added the breach of the law of nations, was not onely placed in his roome as mayor; but by letters either immediatly from or in the name of the nuntio, (a coppy whereof wee haue seene,) was thanked for what hee had done, encuraged to goe on, and had the apostolical benediction imparted to him for

haueing comitted such an outrage vpon the priuiledged person of a herald that came to proclaime peace, as all the nations of the earth that pretend to civility must abhorr if hee had beene sent to denounce warr. Notwithstanding all which, and that wee were refused admittance into Clonmell, neere whervnto a party of horse were gathered under the commaund of Piers Fitz Gerrald, as was said, to hinder our advanceing further into the country; and that wee weare further informed that Owen O'Neale, (of whome, by his owne frequent and voluntary promises remaining with vs vnder his hand, wee had cause to expect better dealing,) leading an army of Vlster men, was invited and drawn towards Kilkeny to hinder our retreate, and cutt of the guards wee had brought with vs: yet wee held on our resolution, through all hazards, to endeauor the settlement of a peace, wherin wee had soe long laboured for the king's seruice and the good of this kingdome. And to lett the world see wee had left nothing vndone that could bee expected from vs in order therevnto, wee advanced towards Cashell; but being on our way 542 thither, wee weare mett with a letter from the mayor of that citty, declaring the approach of O'Neale's army, and the terrible threats given out against that citty, in case they admitted of our coming thither.

Then indeed, conceaueing that wee had given sufficient proofe of our earnest desire to vnite and strengthen this whole nation vnder obedience to his majestie, and findeing that those well inclined to that happy vnion were ouer-awed by the power and practise of those that for particular ends fomented the division, whoe had soe contriued the matter that those of the souldiery that were well inclined weare in small and scattered parties farr asunder, and the meanes of their gathering together obstructed by the vndue aplication of spirituall censures against such collectors or receasors as should pay mony by vertue of warrants, though issueing from such as, not onely by the articles of peace, but by acts of assembly, weare authorized in that behalfe; to both which the clergy, from whome those censures proceeded, weare parties and consenting; and considering at how vnsafe a distance, both for vs and them, wee weare from our foote, wee resolued to retreate to them, and with them to some place from whence wee might more securely hearken after the appeasing of these stormes, which, being raised to such a degree of violence vppon noe foundation or reason, wee soone expected. But when

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

wee came neere Kilkeny, where not many dayes before wee had beene receaued with acclamations of iov, wee found the case soe altered, that our seruants (sent thither to bring thence some triuiall necessaryes belonging to vs and them, vnworthy the mentioning, but that wee heare vse hath beene made of them by a some that deeme themselues of quality) founde great dilligence vsed in putting downe the (till then) remaining marks of our first enterteynment, but thereby erecting to themselues a shamefull monument of their owne inconstancy; our seruants were at length advised for their safety to withdrawe themselues out of the towne, which they did; except some few, that could not for some weekes after get away, nor with safety shew themselues in the citty whilst they were there. This strange variety of incivilityes, and our vnwillingness to give any shadow of iustice to them by being burdensome to the country, where our selfe, traine, and souldiers tooke nothing but for ready money, and that being exhausted, wee resolued quietly, and without offence to any, to retire to Dublin, to try if our totall remoue out of the quarters that had beene called the confederate catholiques might not give a stopp to this causelesse rage, and some occasion for a looking back to what was past; whereof, when wee came to Dublin, wee conceaued some hopes by the receipt of some letters and other papers from sir Lucas Dillon and Dr. Gerrald Fennell, in some whereof it was advised that noe acts of hostility should bee comitted; whereof wee presently tooke hould, and by our answere to them desired to knowe for what tyme that cessation should bee. Which answere of ours, wee presume, they imparted to those with whome they then negotiated; but that motion it seemes was too much inclining to a reconcilliation to bee long lived, as is evident by what followed; namely, an eager and bloody prosecuteing of a warr by O'Neale's army in the Queene's County, the takeing of his majestie's forts and castles, and the houses of such of his majestie's subjects as had continually given obedience to the seuerall cessations, and cheerefully receaued the peace, and that not without eminent cruelty, and, as is said, breach of quarter vppon the person and family of major John Piggott.

Lastly, to compleate the measure of ingratitude, perfidy, and disloyalty, our remoter quarters were destroyed by the northerne army, those neere vs wee were forced to destroy our selues for

a The nuncio, O'Neile, and Preston.

our preservation; and then this citty was beseeged by two stronge (but wee must acknowledge in their carriage, and, as wee are willing to believe in their intentions, very differing) armies. Wee omitt to mention the destruction comitted by this meanes on 543 the quarters formerly assigned the confederates, not that wee are vnsensible thereof, but beleeuing that there are some there that are too much concerned therein to let it passe in silence, wee nowe reffer it to all that shall heare our letter read, whether there can bee greater treason, perfidy, or ingratitude towards his majestie and his subjects, then they are guilty of, whoe haue not onely rejected a peace thus solemnly made by men of their owne choosing and authorizing, but prosecuted his majestie's seruants and subjects; and that for noe other cause appearing then for labouring to bring peace to their doores; whilst others, that are soe farr from wishing them peace, that they hould the endeauors of such as doe to bee crymes of a high nature, and that doe not soe much as pretend to haue the king's authority, [but act as if they] were left at liberty to wast the country, and to enrich themselues by the spoyles and contributions thereof.

Wee intend not heere to prescribe by what wayes you may best vindicate your selues; but wee must lett you knowe, that without an eminent recentment in you, and some remarkable signes thereof, shewen vppon the wicked contriuers and most active instruments in this vnparalled breach of publique faith, wee see not how misvnderstandings, as you call them, can bee cleered, his majestie served by you, or that you can ever expect to bee treated with by any, but such as shall resolve to bee noe further obleeged by their vndertakings to you then may suite with their owne ends.

Wee haue employed our very good lord the lord viscount Taaffe and collonell John Barry with these our letters, to whome wee desire that full credence may bee given in what they shall deliuer as from vs in answere to the proposition made vnto vs in your said letter of the 15th of this moneth. And soe wee remaine, from his majestie's castle of Dublin, this 25th of January, 1646,

Your very loving friend,

ORMONDE.

DXXXV.—The marquis of Ormond to the queen.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

WEE of his majestie's councell in this kingdom haue made a true state of the condition whereunto these places, the army, and people are reduced; and wee haue desired the lord Digbye from vs humbly to represent the same to the king our master when safely hee may, and in the meane tyme to your majestie and the prince of Wales; to the end that what wee may in this high extreamity be driven vnto, as most probably tending to the preservation of the interests of the crowne of England in this kingdom, may receive a gracious interpretation, till wee haue the happynes (more at large then now with safety wee can) to express the further reasons and necessityes inforceing vs to the wayes wee shall fix vppon. And I humbly beseech your majestie to give full credit to what the lord Digbye shall deliver vnto you from

Your majestie's most humble

and most obedient subject and servant,

His majestie's castle of Dublin, 20° February, 1646.

ORMONDE.

DXXXVI.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

Rosse, Febr. 27th, 1646.

SINCE my speaking with Mr. Du Moulin, whoe is heere with mee at Rosse, I have received some satisfaction concerning the proceedings of Fraunce in relation to the businesse of this kingdome; whatever they have done having been through misin-544 formation, none of Mr. Du Moulin's or my letters, since our first dispatch by his servaunt, being come to their hands, having been all stopt and intercepted by the Irish. But it is certaine that Bennett and some late dispatches are safe arrived; which, I make noe question, will sett all things right against I come; and I vnderstand from Mr. Du Moulin that there is a proportion of shipps ready at Rochell sufficient to transport 5000 men; soe that if I can settle conditions for you to my minde, it is probable that all things may fall out very seasonablye.

I like very well of your letter to Mr. Du Moulin, whoe will send you a coppy of your engagement and myne, which it behoues vs to performe: but I continue still in the opinion that you ought not to send ouer the regiment as your owne till you heare from mee out of Fraunce, which, if God fauour vs with good winds, shall bee very suddenly. In the meane time, I humbly beseech your excellence to continue your fauour and care to Milo and his mermidons, to whome, if I haue any creditt abroad, I shall suddenly send a good supply. I shall make noe solemne protestations to you at this validiction, since I am sure you beleeue and know more then I can expresse of the faithfullnesse and passion wherewith I am

Yours,

G. DIGBY.

I send your excellence my precious black and dun, which I desire you to keepe for mee till wee meete.

DXXXVII.—Lord Digby to the marguis of Ormand.

My LORD,

AFTER three days and three nights contestation with rough seas, contrary winds, and a leaking ship, we got safe back hither the last night; from whence I thought fit to send this to the marquess of Ormonde, to provide for the comfort of hearing again from him, in case the winds hold thus any time here; of which I am much the more desirous, in regard that the 10th of March is so near at hand, being in great impatience that that day were over without the marquess of Ormonde his hearing from the parliament, that he might thereby be at more liberty. Although I conceive that in the main there can be no alteration of your course; only this I think necessary to inculcate unto you, that the honour and fortune abroad of your self, and all that resolve to run your course, depends upon your preserving the power to transport a considerable body of men to the service of a foreign prince, and to preserve that power so long as may allow me time to settle your conditions, and to provide money and shipping for your transportation. Upon the whole matter, my opinion is, that if the parliament give the marquess of Ormonde his conditions in the rest, they will not break off with him for his insisting upon this; and he cannot want fair and just pretences to excuse himself from coming to a conclusion with them without granting him that condition; which in my judgment he ought to value above all the others, not only as the most honourable, but

far more profitable to him than if they should give him five times the sum they offered. If the parliament will not give the marquis of Ormonde conditions, then I conceive your course must be by temporizing with the Irish, by renewing other treaties with the parliament upon lower conditions; in fine, by any art to prolong your possession of the garrisons and forces you have, though in never so mean a way of subsistence, till I can procure you shipping and money for the said transportation; and then let who will take the carcase of what you shall leave; which I make no question (if God favour me with a quick passage) shall be at the farthest before the end of May. For in confidence that the marguess of Ormonde will have the dexterity either to procure the conditions from the parliament necessary to this work, or else to prolong his own command there, so as to do it 545 without their leave. I will not stay the sending back to the marquess of Ormonde to enquire how things stand: but having made the contract once for him abroad, I will endeavour to make the ships for his transportation the speediest advertisers of the agreement which I shall have made for him; providing for such intervening accidents that might disable him from the performance of the entire undertaking, by giving security for the restitution of the money, in case of failure, and to answer the charge of sending such a great proportion of shipping in vain, that if he fail of performing the whole, at least to a very large degree, they shall have returned them with their shipping a regiment or two without money or conditions, which I am confident, at all events, the marquess of Ormonde cannot want the power to make good.

This is all I have to trouble you with at present. God send us a happy meeting.

Passage, 6 March, 1646.

G. DIGBY.

I desire the marquess of Ormonde to remember to keep his train of artillery, if he can, out of his conditions with the parliament.

I am jealous that your brother's going to sea with me, though his name was delivered into Duncannon in my lord Castlehaven's list, may serve the Irish as a pretence to set some stop upon me. Your excellence will be pleased to spin out time, so as to keep their commissioners at Dublin till you hear I am gone. DXXXVIII.—The queen to the marquis of Ormond.

Mon Cousin,

VOUS entendres par vintergrant, a quy jay commandé de vous communiquer le subjet de son voyage, et particulierement tout ce dequoy il est chargé, me remetant a luy a vous entretenir des affaires, ie me suis reserué a vous tesmoigner combien mest sensible la procedure que vousy aues tenues, les paines quelles vous ont donné, et les extremites a quoy elles vous ont reduites. Les tesmoignages que vostre vertu et vostre conscience vous rendent, vous seruent de recompences, quy me manquent a vous presenter. Ie vous conseruere celles d'un sentiment aussy veritable que personne sauroit auoir, et majuiteray de toute les autres, que le changement de temps men pouroit donner les moyens. En atendant, ie nay rien a adjouster, que de vous conjurer de continuer, et de contribuer, comme vous aues commencé de faire, tout ce quy pourra despendre de vous, pour la paix, la quelle ie prie dieu de vous donner. Avecques sela ie finiray, vous assurant que ie suis avec grande verité,

Monsieur,

Vostre bien bonne et affectionnée cousinne et amie, Paris, ce 8 Mars, 1647. HENRIETTE MARIE R.

DXXXIX.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

I am glad you are safe vpon this shore, for wee were here in greate trouble for you. The winde is now soe faire out of England, that if the parliament haue accepted of my ofer, I shall certainly heare from them by the time, perhaps this day. Some that are come from Holyhead reporte that men are ready at Chester designed for this place, and shiping stay'd to transporte 546 them; which is a signe of their agreement to what I proposed. I shall doe what I safly can to keepe my self able to make good what you shall vndertake for mee abroade, though if they come to the rest of the propositions, and in confidence of my engagement put themselues againe to the charge of bringing men into this harbour, it will nether bee safe nor faire, if possible, to reject them till another returne from London, even in case they should come some few days after the time: but if I can buy their consent by abateing ten thousand pound of the mony, I

shall not stick at it, since it is your opinion. Whateuer shall bee the euent of this proposition, I will imediately send you notice by an expresse seuerall ways, to preuent, if it may bee, the damage and dishonour of faileing [after] being engaged, or to acquaint you with the possibillity of goeing thorough. In the meane time, I doubt not but you will husband our reputation and mony (in the later whereof many miserable people are concerned) the best you can. If I should stick at the traine, I know not whether nor how to conuay it away, his majestic haueing noe place left to receive it; and it being an vnreasonable proposition to carry it to any foraigne prince. The comissioners were gone hence before I received your leter; their verball propositions for an accomodation were more vnreasonable then those they made for a peace, yet I hould them on, and shall doe as long as I can.

Dublin, the 8 of March.

DXL .- The prince to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord of Ormond, Paris, March 10, 1647.

I AM much troubled at the extream difficulties which I find by Bennet's relation that you labour vnder; yet shall not despaire of a good conclusion, whilst you are at the helme; and the rather, because it is visible that the interest, as well as the duty of those you are to deal with, is to vnite themselves vnder the king's obedience, otherwise they must quickly become a prey to their irreconcileable enemyes. What is in my power to contribute to a peace with them you will receave by this bearer, Winter Grant, (to whom I desire you to give full credit;) and though at this distance and ill light wee stand in, I shall not take vpon mee the judgment of the Irish busines simply considered, but shall wholy referre it to you vpon the place; yet I may tell you, that it is very evident to mee that a peace there is absolutely necessary to the king's affaires in his other kingdomes; and for your better encouragement therein, I engage my selfe to you, that whatsoeuer you shall vndertake for or concerning mee, in any publique treaty or otherwise, and what you shall further advise me to in order to or vpon after the conclusion of a peace with al or any of the Irish nation, shall be punctually and fully made good by mee. When I have said this, and told you (with much sadnes of heart) that the king is avowedly vnder restraint; and when I have named to you the late severe votes at Edinburgh, and the consequences thereof which wee may iustly apprehend in England, I am most confident you will employ all your endeauours to the speedy conclusion of such a peace with the Irish as may give mee the meanes effectually to expresse my piety and duty to my father, and the iust ressentments I have of what the king suffers.

The lord Jermin's letter to you, (written by my command,) and this bearer's instructions, will convey to you some other particulars of importance. All I shall now adde is the full assurance that I am, and ever will bee, most affectionately and really,

Your affectionat freind,

CHARLES P.

DXLI.—The marquis of Clanricard to sir Luke Fitzgerald 547 at Kilkenny.

NOBLE SIR,

Tecroghan, the 15th of March, 1646.

I AM now advanced thus farr on my way home, after my accustomed long fruitless attendance vpon the publique affaires, being hopefull that in all this time some good effects would have been produced out of the forward and cheerfull resolutions and endeavours observed in you and many other noble persons, vpon your departure from hence, and the good concurrence that was expected from many others well-affected to a happy and speedy settlement. But after nine weekes expectation there hath nothing occurred to my knowledge but the following particulars, which I shall distinctly sett down, both to prevent mistakes in you, and cleere the aspersions that may be cast vpon others.

First. By vote of the assembly, the totall rejection of the peace, and of all other both publique and private overtures and vndertakeings that had relation thereto, destroying the only possible meanes that could have vnited the kingdom vnto any hopefull way of preservation, as affayres now stand in the king's dominions.

Secondly. A new vnion sworne, grounded vpon impossible vndertakeings, if not in the propositions themselues, at least in the most materiall circumstances of secureing them: thereby excluding all hopes of peace, and settling and confirming a lasting divided government.

Thirdly. That being compast, for some seeming satisfaction to those that were drawn into it, a plausible shew of some other accomodation was contrived; but that being brought vp to Dublin by Mr. doctor Fennell and Mr. Geffery Barron, with much assurance given by divers of all the satisfaction that such a change of resolutions could produce, there appeared but a verball messuadge of some few generall heads, they refuseing to give it in writeing, or to testific vnder their handes what they acknowledged my lord lieutenant tooke verbatim from them; neither would they assume any power to make any particular explanations, and yet resolutions earnestly demaunded with expedition.

This vnexpected delay and continued uncertainty in such a nick of time, after soe many former breaches on your partes, and soe many warnings, and true intelligence given you by others, of the king's being delivered up to the parliament, the vast preparations by them made for reduceing this kingdom, and even those most faithfull to his majestie's service in England, as forward as any to ioyne therein, finding themselfs destroyed by the faileing of the peace here, and the promised assistance therepon; your not long since invadeing and destroying the only remaining party obedient to the king's authority, the small regard had by you of the approaching dangers, and the divisions fomented and still increaseing among your selves, did, by an vnavoydable necessity, as I conceave, begett a resolution in my lord lieutenant, and those of his partie about Dublin, to try some other expedient for their preseruation and redemption out of the languishing starving condition they have these many yeares with much patience indured. And for my owne parte, haveing long observed the high affronts and disrespects put vpon my lord lieutenant and many other of his majestie's ministers and servants, and the largest proportion of malice cast vpon them when they were most industrious in the preservation of the kingdom, hath produced the like resolutions in me to try my fortune in some other climate; since my three yeares constant expence of time, health, and fortune, for the advantadge of the publicque, hath gained noe other recompence, then to be printed against by declarations, bookes, and severall other papers; the forces of other provinces powred down vpon me to destroy my whole estate, those forces vnder 548 my command thereby inforced to disband, the officers and all other of my servants and followers prosecuted, and nothing of

meanes or quarter left me to maintaine a guard of horse for my own person, my wife and family readily permitted to repaire to Dublin, but now allowance to returne. All which particulars put togeather, I leave it freely to you to iudge, whether it be not high time for me to departe, when the voyce of the kingdom, represented in the assembly, have, by a cleere implication in their safe-conduct, declared their desires therein.

Since my coming hither, I have seen some letters, and find much confidence in many, that the whole assembly and cleargie are now vnited to put a full power into my lord lieutenant's hands, and to make provision for his lordshipp and his partie, both for subsistance and maintenance of a warr; to which I may not presume to frame any judgment at soe late an houre of the day: but this, I conceave, is most certain, that if it doth not appeare sodainly, vnanimously, and clearly, with a full power and trust, and apparent provision to make it good, it will hardly be relyed vpon; and that faileing, there remaines nothing for me to doe, but in another country to labour the perfection of praying, as well for my persecutors as benefactors, amongst the last of which you shall be still acknowledged and remembred by

Your affectionatt friend to serue you, CLANRICKARD.

DXLII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

YESTERDAY, the winde being faire, wee set sayle againe from Passage; but before we could get past Duncannon, it turned, and drove vs back again; for which I giue God thankes, as disposing all for the best. For this morning there came into Passage Mr. de la Moniere, and Mr. du Talon, a person of much consideration and employment, with three frigats of war and two of burthen, able to transport near a thousand men apiece. Their pretence is to carry over men, which they expect from the confederate catholicks; but their real and prime errand was to me, upon the business of B, and to you for the thousand men; for which you are engaged to the French agent. For the first, I shall giue them good satisfaction in it; and for the other, since they are come so seasonable, I doubt not but you will, in

case it shall upon our farther discourse be insisted upon. But I have so filled and possessed them with the proposition of so much greater a service in the 5000 men which I have power to conclude on for you, that I believe, if we can settle that, they will be willing to let the lesser engagement be swallowed with the greater. They assure me, that they have both money and powers to go through with whatever I shall vndertake to them: and the cardinal hath written unto me very full credentials; and I find that both the English court in France and the French are very just unto you and me concerning all the affaires of Ireland; only I finde this alsoe, that the French stand in such need of men for this year's campaign, that to purchase a moderate supply of them they will be content to flatter even those that they contemn most, even the confederate catholicks themselves: which makes me the more assured of settling for you (if you but go through with the undertaking) most honourable conditions. Vpon the whole matter, my opinion is, that if you have prevailed so far with the parliament as to be allowed the liberty of transporting the men designed, with an assignement of time and place sufficient to go thro' with it, after my contracting for you, that then you should for the present send only away the thousand men promised, as a regiment of your own, and as an earnest 549 of your further intentions; deferring your further levies and transportation till I haue settled your conditions to my mind; of which you will be sure (if the wind be not very obstinately contrary) to have a suddain account, since I shall in that case take along with me one of these frigats to dispatch back immediately unto you. But in case you are not sure of obtaining the permission desired from the parliament, my opinion then is, that you ought without leave to take this opportunity of transporting your self and your army into France, relying upon the conditions which the esteem of your person and the eminence of the service will procure us; and I make noe question but, with the store of money now brought over, there shall be shipping enough hired, with those that are here already, to transport at least 4000 men. For which also it is understood that you should receive instantly the levy money. I beseech you hasten back unto me the certainty of your condition with the parliament, and of your resolutions upon what I here propose, being resolved, upon the receipt of your answer, (if you have time allowed,) to hasten my

self away; but if the second course, then to wait upon you over into France with these ships, together with the rest which we shall provide. I rest, &c.

From the island near Waterford, the 16th of March, 1646.

G. DIGBY.

I beseech your excellency that the enclosed to lord Clanricarde may be delivered, if he be there, and an answer return'd by this bearer; if not, that it may be hasten'd by an express into Connaght.

The train of artillery which I writt to you of formerly will certainly much heighten the service, and I see not why you should be more scrupulous of carrying it into France than of leaving it to villains which use our master as they do; besides, I will be sure, if you shall thinke it necessary, to send you a command for the doing it. My lord Castlehaven desires you to fauour him with your best directions in the way of levies for himself: to which end, if hee himselfe, vpon the returne of your answere to mee, finde it fittest to go over into France, hee will leave his brother Mervin Touchet to take care of them.

DXLIII .- The marquis of Ormond to the king.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAIESTY;

BY my letters of the 20th of February (if they came to your handes) your majestye is or will be informed in the generall, that the perfidye of the Irish, meeting with all the extremityes wherin any people can be imagined to be, hath forced vs to a second application to the parliament. To those letters I shall add these particulars. That the treaty which was on foote betwixt my lord Clanrickard, Preston, and others, when my lord Digbye's letters of the 3d and mine of the 2d of December last were written, was, by those that gouerned the negotiation on Preston's part, intended vnder countenance of a submission to the peace to possess themselues of this place, which they found they were not able to become maisters of by force; which is euident by Preston's and his partye's shamefull falling off from the agreement, notwithstanding the solemnity of it and of the oathes they gaue to stand to it; and by the discouery since made, that the treaty was managed with the knowledge and by

the direction of the nuncio, who hoped that way (since otherwayes hee could not) to compasse his declared ends of rooting out of this kingdome all such as professe the protestant religion, how faithfull soeuer to your majesty; or if hee fayled of that, yet by the treaty hee hoped with less dishonour and danger to draw off the forces hee had brought against this place, and could no longer hold together; and to occasion the dismisse of the par-550 liament commissioners and forces then here. In this latter hee succeeded, leaueing our quarters destroyed.

When the siedge, as they called it, was raysed, I marched forth, invited by the agreement made with Preston, and by letters vnder his owne hand; wherby I was promised a conjunction of his forces with mine. But when I was within two dayes march, or less, of the place assigned for the conjunction, I mett with a letter from Preston, intimateing that his officers were fallen from him to the nuncio's party, and aduiseing mee to proceed noe further; which failer of theirs (vnexpected by many, though feared by mee, as your majesty saw by my letters of the 2d of December) constrained mee to march into their quarters for the support of your army; where I suffered noe act of hostility to be committed; but on the contrary, treated the inhabitants with all possible kindnesse, in hopes that the assembly, then soone to meet at Kilkenny, would reflect vpon what had passed, in dishonour to them, by violation of their publique faith; and vpon their owne safety, visibly consisting in their submitting to and supporting of your majestie's authority, as I was promised by divers men of quality, and, I beleeve, well affected, they would indeuour. Wherof I attended the success from the 10th of January, the day of the Kilkenny meeting, till the 6th of February, the date of my dispatch to the parliament; and had longer expected, but that, in place of any signes of complyance with your majesty, or submission to the peace, the rejectors and makers therof were by one and the same instrument declared to have well dischardged themselves in both, and the peace disclaimed by the assembly.

What further expectation there could be of doeing good to your service, by meanes of the Irish, your majestie will judge; and how impossible it was for vs, in the distressed condition wee were in, longer to hold these places for your majestie, I doubt not but my lord Digbye's letters and mine have made sufficiently apparant. As allsoe how much better it is, in all probability,

for religion, your crowne, and faithfull seruants here, that these places be given up to the parliament, rather then to the Irish rebells. Much more might be said to shew your majesty that this course is not taken but at the last extremity, when all meanes and hopes of subsisting of our selues, or of procureing assistance elswhere, have been attempted and have fayled vs. Nor have I received any commands from the queene or prince since August last, and then not any hopes of releefe for this place. Soe that I humbly hope your majestie will graciously receive my vnfortunate endeavours in your service, afford your approbation to what invincible necessity hath forced mee vnto; and your beleefe of my beeing to the end, and wherever I shall goe,

Your majestye's, &c.

17 March, 1646.

I have proposed to the parliament to have their consent to attend your majestie in my passage thorow England. If I obtaine that, I humbly begg your majestye's leave to kiss your handes, and the preparation of your commands into France.

DXLIV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

MY condition with the parliament stands thus. On the 9 of this month, I received leters from their comitee intrusted with this affaire, intimateing that my ofer was accepted; and on the 10 here arived two oficers from them, proposeing, that in regard it was soe late before they received my ofer, that they 551 could not send men to receive and secure these places, they were content to give mee the comand of their men, munition, and provisions alredy in Lecale, for the defence of them, till they could send more; vpon condition I would deliver hostages for performance of what I had vndertaken. To this I was constrained to consent, and have received amunition and provisions from them; and on the 16 of this month, sent in hostages the earl of Roscomon, coll. Chichester, sir James Ware, and my second son.

To my proposition, of haueing leaue to transporte men, I had noe returne; but by my lord of Roscomon I haue renued the motion, and made it directly to the parliament, giving him power, if neede bee, to abate of the mony I am to receive, the sum I

writ to you of. By this your lordship may judge of the certainty or vncertainty of my transporting of men with their leaue, and of the impossibility of doeing it without their leaue; vnlesse I will betray my hostages. For the 1000 vndertaken for by your lordship and mee, I will doe all that is in my power to send them; and am sure to succeede, if they will send mee but haulf the leuy mony they give to others; which I will stand ingaged to repay them, if you cannot saue it mee; and in case they have leave from the parliament, for without that it is a question whether they will bee sufered to passe, there being here 3 parliament ships, and more daily to bee looked for, or if they can get leave from the Irish, that the men, of what party or condition soeuer, may march through their quarters, and imbarke where the ships are; and lastly, if they send before these places bee giuen vp. I send your lordship a copy of my last leter to the king, and of the propositions made for accomodation; both which, by your wysedome and friendship, will conduce to my iustification in France.

[20 March, 1646.]

My LORD,

I conceiue the maner of sending the 1000 men can neuer bee soe well resolved on by leter as by discourse, wherefore I wish one of the French agents would come hether, and that speedily; monsieur du Moulin, if it may be. I also conceiue it will bee much safest that your lordship forebeare engageing your self and mee in the maine till you heare from mee; vnlesse those you deal with shall vndertake to procure the lysence from the parliament.

DXLV.—The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

THE wind, inclining towards the east, inuites me to beleeue, that by intelligence out of England, and the dispatches you have received from France, your excellence hath by this time setled your resolutions, and, according to your accustomed fauers, will make me a partaker of so much as may instruct me how to guide my proceedings in these difficult times of steering any right course.

I am now vpon remouall of my famely to Loghreagh, and

from thence to Terrellan, with a purpose to take shipping about Gallway; being yet limitted to the 15th of May: but have sent to Kilkeny to inlarge my safe conduct a forthnight longer, but preparing for the first; and if your excellence procures me any pass or certificate of my being included in your list, I humbly desire there may be two, in reguard some coach horses and other goods goes in another vessell, besides my owne.

I send your excellence the copy of her majestie's letter to me, being all that I know of Mr. Grant's imployment, though I haue received letters from my lord Jerman and sir John Wintour, 552 more then what I gather out of this inclosed abstract, which I haue copied out for your excellence's information; and by the stile, I presume, you will find out both the person and the truth of the intelligence.

My hounds have bin soe fruitfull of late, that the best of them are yet vnfitt for trauaile. About the end of the next weeke, I hope they will be in good case to appeare before your excellence, having procured a safe conduct for them. And if I had one for my self, for land trauailes, I should now certainly waite vpon you; but that being made impossible, vpon the returne of this bearer, if your excellence dirrect any lyens this way, be pleased to presarue in your memory the affections of the person to whom you send, that by a cleere information he may be inabled to serve you in the quality and condition of

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

Portumna, the 21st of
Aprill, 1647.

CLANRICARDE

I send your excellence Van Houen's note, conceiuing it may be of vse to you before your departure; and for my parte of the debt, I must be accomptable for it to your excellence in France.

DXLVI.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My Lord,

I have kept this bearer heere till now, and would longer, but for feare your lordship should apprehend it any remisnes in mee. This last easterly winde hath brought little newse, but of comissioners at the water side to come to receive these places; by whome I am assured, that they are furnished with power and instructions to performe whatever hath been vndertaken to mee

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

and those for whom I conditioned in the name of the parliament: and further, they assure mee, they will be heere within a few dayes. His majestie is well at Holmby, where he hath liberty of diuerting himselfe with the sportes of the season; amongst which they accoumpt writeing or reading of letters (vnless to or from the parliament) to be none, for of that recreation he is debarred.

The differences betwixt the presbiterians and independants are said to be high, but the later are acknowledged the weaker. Men haue long fed themselves with hopes of advantage to his majestie out of these differences. I, for my parte, think their animosityes but such a trick as the Duchman's is, who cheates all the world by bargaineing when he is drunke. This is all I know of England.

For things heere, your lordship will please to obserue, that as soone as Winter Grant arrived heere, with powers from the queene and prince of Wales to renue motions of peace or accomodation, (the phrase in the last edition,) the confederates not only refused to continue the cessation, then on foote, for three weekes longer, but to be sure, before Mr. Grant was warme at Kilkenny, vppon his returne from hence, they be seeged Catherlagh, and are still laying at it, though I hope to small purpose. I should have tould you, that to procure this cessation I offered to obleege my selfe to receive noe parliament forces dureing that tyme; a motion of their owne makeing. See that your lordship sees, whatever the event of Mr. Grant's negotiation might haue been, they on their partes weare resolved. Euidently their aime hath been to destroy mee, if they could; if not, to force mee out of the kingdom, and all other good subjects with mee, that soe they might deale with their matches. I am of opinion I shall not stay heere much past the tyme limitted to your lordship. When I heere next, I will endeauour to procure conveyance for what 553 shall be worthy your knowledge, or of any vse to you. I rest

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 1° May,
1647. ORMONDE.

DXLVII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

[Y LORD.

Mr. Grant is come hither this night with such dispatches to your excellence as makes mee thinke it necessary that I wayte

vpon you presently; but I thinke it not fitt that hee come to you.

I doe therfore humbly beseech your excellence to command a convoy and my dunn geldinge to come hither for mee, soe as, if possible, I may bee with you to morrow night; if not, at furthest upon Friday.

I am confident much use may bee made of what hee bringes, at the least to the accomodating our selues in our designe for France. If my cominge cause any disorder, my cominge away againe will cure it; and I conceiue it will rather giue you advantage then otherwise, if they should bee insolent toward those that are under the protection of your conditions, as I take my selfe to bee. I rest

Your excellence's most faithfull humble servant,

Lexlip, May 12, 1647, this Wendsday night at two of the clock.

G. DIGBY.

DXLVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.
My Lord.

ALL our horse being out vppon partyes and convoyes, I haue advised with the learned in such cases; and it is resolued the way Mr. Slingesby will tell you is the safest and most convenient for your comeing, though wee had horse and such as wee could trust. I feare noe disorder your being here can breed, otherwaies then as it may bring you into danger, which in my opinion cannot be countervayled by any advantage that can be made of their insolence to one vnder the protection of my conditions. I want faith to beleeue in any thing comeing from Kilkenny, that it can serue to any good: and let Mr. Grant haue handled them never soe skilfully, your lordship will please to informe your selfe, whither my lord of Inchiquin be not abroad, and what he hath done; for if there be any qualme of kindenes in the Irish towards vs, he hath certainely administred to them. I rest

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 13° May,
ORMONDE.

DXLIX.—The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MY condition is most desperate; the people and my servants concurre to inforce my stay; no mony to be had; the Irish

agents declareing destruction to all that shall bargaine with mee; the shipps bar'd at Galway; no safety or ability to attempt any other port. I belieue I must venture in a small ship, and bestow my famely in a castle by the sea side, vntill I may better provide for them. If you have not seene my sister of Hartford's leter, my lady Vsher may tell you the objection made against mee; and you may dissolue them, and know their demaunds, which I have nether power nor will to attempt. There inclinations to 554 me I desire to know, and somwhat of your owne resolutions. Luke Fitz-Gerrald opened your letter, and all from Dublin citty and England, and sent coppyes of all to Kilkeny. I have thanked him for his freedom with mee. I now send my letters open for him to seale. Send my safe-conducts in your publique dispatch sealed for him to assault; and send your answere to this to be brought privatly.

[May the 13th, 1647.]

DL.—The marquis of Ormond to Mr. Winter Grant. Sir.

I HAUE bin perswaded by my lord Digbye (yet not without more of dispute then hath euer arrisen betweext vs) to returne these answers to the first and later overtures sent from Killkeny: and as I have submitted to his judgement in sending any at all. soe hath he satisfyed himselfe for the present with these. I shall not now question what it is that hath procured these adresses from them to mee besides your industry, nor trouble my selfe or you by manifesting that the treachery and disloyall affections of the then prevaileing party in their councells and actions have (not by consequence only, but directly) forced mee to my application to the parliament, and out of the kingdom, if I doe goe; which noe faigned offers of theirs now made (as may be justly suspected) to the same or some other vile end can euer cleere I have of purpose forborne to signe to this answere, because their ouertures by Fennell and Barron weare not signed by any in authority with them, iudgeing it vnreasonable that they should have authentique answers to overtures that are not soe. Whateuer become of your negotiation, (which, I must tell you, I feare will be but little of advantage to his majestie, considering who you deale with,) I trust I shall give his majestie, when I have the happynes to have access to him, and in the

meane tyme to the queene and prince of Wales, such an accoumpt of my selfe, as befitts an honest man and

Your affectionate servant,

Dub. Castle, 15° of May, 1647.

ORMONDE.

DLI.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My LORD.

I observe that the commissioners powers and instructions conteyned in the paper you sent mee are of a very old date; and I thinke it very probable that, however they may shew you onlye this at first to trye you, they may have since some further instructions concerning you; in case vpon the shewing of these onlye, they finde you ready and forward to comply with your engagement. And certainlye it cannot but bee to your aduantage to appeare to them very forward to goe thorough with your bargaine; soe that your conditions bee exactly made good to you; which if really they doe tender vnto you to the full. especially in what concernes the safetye of your party and freinds heere, I doe not see how you can auoyde the surrendring all vp to them, whenever they shall soe require it. And in that case you have little more to thinke of, but where you may with most conveniency and honour reside till you shall have an answere from the parliament concerning the transportation of men. For which, if they give you the permission, they will likewise give you the conveniencyes, as conceiving it a service to themselves; and I doe not viderstand that your leaving the government will bee any hinderance to your going thorough with that businesse, 555 the distractions and wants of the Irish being such, as, I believe, the more sharpely the warr is prosecuted against them, the more easy will your worke bee, instead of the aduantage which wee formerly proposed to our selues in it by a cessation. I doe not know what place you can soe well pitch vpon for your residence during that time as this of Lexlipp. But in case they shall not come roundly to the performance of that condition concerning your freinds, I conceive you are then bound in honour to lett them know, that though, in the cleerenesse and frankenesse of your proceeding with them, you have allready, ouer and aboue your hostages, putt all the power into their hands, before any performance on their part, that you will dye in that castle rather

then part with it or the sword, till you see your party and freinds. secured. For, my lord, you will easily imagine that the vnlucky action it selfe of surrendring those places will bee subject to greate calumny: but having such reasons of honour, conscience, and necessitye enforcing you to it, as are able to satisfye all just considerers of the case, you need not bee troubled at it. But if to those calumnyes your enimyes should have any ground of adding, that you have accepted of accommodations for your selfe, without prouiding for the safety of your freinds, it would bee a burthen that, I am sure, you will rather perish then vndergoe. See, my lord, with what frankenesse and assurance of your vnderstanding mee rightly, I presume to tell you my mind, being certaine of one thing, that if it should come to the point of your being likelye to vndergoe inconvenience by what concernes my owne particular, I will rather free you of it by deliuering my selfe a prisoner to the parliament. I shall only add this, that if in just scruples, either arising from their not performing in the substance of this article itselfe, or vpon the point of their authorityes in securing your freinds, or in any other reasonable cauill, you can gaine time of continuance in the gouernement, till another returne from London, I conceiue it may bee of greate aduantage; for besides the advertisements given you from London, I am confident that these southerne windes will bring monsieur Talon; and if with him supplyes [come] according to his last proposition, there may be more to be considered; and if not, it will be much to your advantage to have held out till that last hopes fayled you. I beseech your excellence, as you learne further, bee pleased to aduertise

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruaunt,

Lislipp, June 9th, 1647.

G. DIGBYE.

DLII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My LORD,

I have forborne to give you any accoumpt of proceedings heere, till now that I am able to lett you know the parliament comissioners have consented to give you a passe; which in iustice they could noe more deny then I could without it have been brought to have gone a step further in the treaty, whatever might have followed to my prejudice or mine. But vppon their graunting passes to all, I declared vnto them my readynes

to leaue the sword, and these places, when they should appoint, such being my obligation. Yet I tould them, and that very truly, that the tyme I had continued heere, beyond my expectation, had not only made mee less redy, but in regard of my expence, less able to transport my selfe; which I left to them to consider: soe that I howerly expect what tyme they will allot mee. I confess I am yet vnresolved how soone, after I haue left the sword, I shall goe hence, and then whither. Against my stay after is only this reason, that it is vncomly for mee, and in that perhaps reflecting vppon the king, to stay heere, whilest others act the powers I should.

On the other side, the conveniencys of my stay may be much, 556 especially in the satisfaction and perhaps security it will be to my party, that I stay to see conditions performed to them: besides other advantages it may bring, touched by your lordship in your letter to mee; withall, those disorders now comitted will not be layd vppon mee, the power being as visibly as now it is realy out of my hands. Yet the king, being in some sort concearned, I resolue neither way till I haue had your lordship's advice, which I desire may be hastened. Something els I haue to say, but leaue to another tyme.

Your lordship's most humble and faithfull servant,

Dub. Cast. 11° Junii, 1647.

ORMONDE.

DLIII .- Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

I am sorry your excellence hath putt your selfe to so much trouble concerninge the includinge my safe-conduct in your treaty with the parliament; for I protest to God, as odious as I am made by the industriouse rancour of my enemyes, to the generality of England, I had rather bee at the parliament barr to try the power of innocence against preposession of malice, then that your excellence's person, much lesse the safety of the protestants and English, and of the interest of the crowne of England in this kingdome, which depends upon your agreement with the commissioners, should in the least kind suffer by my occasion.

But since your excellence hath gone soe farr, and that my passe is assented unto by the sayd commissioners, and that I

meane to trust to it, I should not discharge the part of a wise man towards my selfe, nor of a freind and seruant toward your excellence, whose honour is now concern'd in my protection, should I not tender unto your excellence my opinion and advise concerning the securinge it in the most authentique manner; which is, that I might either haue my protection whilest I am heere, and passe from hence beyond sea, from the howses themselves; or at least that you might see an ordinance of parliament, that such passes as these commissioners should giue, though to excepted persons, should bee made good.

I have had the honour to bee of the howse of commons, and I know well how farr forth the votes of committyes are bindinge, or capable of retractation; much more the actions of commissioners derivinge their authority from committyes only. Pardon mee, my lord, if I erre, since I have not yett seene any other of these commissioners powers then an order of the committy of Darby howse.

I may bee the more pardonable in this scruple, since your excellence knowes that captaine Wood, whom I take to bee an honest man in his way, told mee to my face, that if I had all the passes that could bee given mee, if hee should meete mee at sea, vnlesse I had an ordinance of parliament for my security, hee would not forbeare to carry to London soe notorious an enemy of the parliament's. I shall presume to adde one thinge more in this letter: I heare there hath beene some discourse betwixt some and the commissioners concerninge mee; wherin somebody told them that I had beene the first and most earnest adviser of your makinge adresses to the parliament, and admittinge their forces, pretendinge to doe me right by that information. I knowe not what wrong the doinge of such right may doe mee; and therfore I desire your excellence, if there bee occasion to doe mee that reall right with them and all the world, as to lett them know that whateuer advise I gaue in that kind, the consideration of my nation, my religion, the interest of the crowne of England, of your extreamity, and of the irreclaimable perfidiousness of the Irish rebells dictated unto 557 mee; and that the parliament owes mee no thanks for my election to haue you fall rather into their hands, since you know that God alow'd Dauid a choice even of his greatest plagues.

Noe, my lord, there is but one way wherin I will euer accept, much lesse seeke, their fauour; that is, if I might bee soe happy,

though with the losse of my life, to be an instrument of accomodation betwixt the king my master and them; wherein (as your excellence well knowes what my sentiments and endeauours haue beene in the affaires of Ireland) I should joy in the occasion to lett my dispassionate countrymen see that they haue beene as much abused in the opinions given them concerninge mee in all the rest, as in that particular. I rest

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruaunt,

Lexlipp, this 12th of June,
1647. G. DIGBY.

DLIV.—The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

ABOUT the 6th of May I did dispatch William Cuningham with some letters to your excellence; and since that time I can heare no more of him then that he was seene past Tecroghan in his way to Dublin; and I am much perplexed that in all this time I have not received any returne from your excellence, nor indeed nothing of you with any certainty by any other convayance.

And the so long expectation might have drawne some inconvenience vpon me, if the confederat counsell had not of themselves, or by Mr. Graunt's procurement, without any seeking of mine, inlarged my safe-conduct to the 16th of this present: and now I thought fitt to advertise your excellence that I am here attending a faire wind for my transportation into France in a faire Holland shipp of three hundred tun; but the valading of her goods, and preparations to sett forth againe, may probably take vp so much time as that I may receive your excellence's commands before my departure. In this corner I can receive no knowledge of any thing more then a reporte of a greate meeting and consultation held now at Clonmell by all the full number of the confederat counsell and chiefe cleargy. What that may tend vnto, or what is your excellence's intention or resolution, is altogether vnknowne vnto

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,

Kilcolgan, the 13th of June, 1647.

CLANRICARDE.

DLV.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My Lord,

IF this overtake you, as I hope it will, you will finde inclosed a pass from the parliament commissioners, as large as the articles will beare, and sufficient to secure your stay, as against the parliament, long enough to dispose of your affaires. I have tyme till the 28th of the next moneth to remaine in this castle; but whether I shall then goe, depends vppon the parliament's resolution to some particulars I have proposed to them. I shall write noething that may hinder your speedy receipt of this letter and pass; but still remaine

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 23d June,

ORMONDE.

DLVI.—The marquis of Ormond to the king.

558

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

I know not how my late actions or present condition haue been represented vnto your majestie. The later your majestie finds in the publick articles with the parliament commissioners; but vppon what grounds and advices those articles weare agreed on, I must reserve for a tyme, when by the grace of God and your majestie's good pleasure, I shall be admitted to cast my selfe at your feete. I should in the meane tyme begg the suspention of any thought that may be suggested vnto or arise in your majestie, in prejudice to those sinceare affections wherewith I have endevoured to serve you. But that we are to misdoubt your justice, and soe to make my selfe vnworthy of your pardon, if, being deprived of your direction to guide mee, I erred in the way to your service. If your majestie finde my condition capable of serveing you, you have still here to dispose of the lyfe of

Dub. Cast. 7 July, 1647.

DLVII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.
My Lord,

I conceive, as you say in your letter, that the time prefixt for your quittinge the sword drawinge soe nigh, you ought to avoide beinge hudled away, by providinge all things necessary for your

departure and listinge your company. My opinion is still, that unlesse monsieur Talon come in the meane time, you ought to embarque as soone as you leave the sword; and it is likwise as constant, that if you bee forced to quitt the sword, that it is not fitt for you to goe into England, till you haue first beene in France; from whence, when you shall have rightly posesst the queene and prince, you may, if the state of affaires in England invite you to it, passe ouer to the kinge with much more advantage then from hence. Thus much in case you bee forced to quitt. But from the judgment which I make of thinges in England, I cannot imagine it possible, but within the time prefixt, though it were shorter, you will bee oblidged to resume the gouernment, and the commissioners will not dare receive the sword, since the least that I can promise my selfe from what is visible in England, is an accomodation betwixt the kinge and parliament, such as shall make the royall authority current, at least in appearance, through his dominions. But suppose that thinges should remayne in suspense, as they are, for soe longe as the 28 July, methinkes it should bee noe hard matter to make the commissioners sensible how much it concernes both the interest of the crowne of England heere, and there own particulars, to giue a suspense also to your quittinge; since if they bee prest upon by the Irish, and faile of succors from England, I doe not know how they will bee able to preserve these garrisons and quarters without your interposing. And truly, my lord, if the next weeke's newes bee aunswerable to expectation, I will come to Dublin, and deliuer my minde very freely to the commissioners in that, which perhapps will not bee soe fitt for you, beinge soe personally concern'd; whereas my concernment will bee only for the publick, seuer'd from the passion that engages mee, as,

My lord,

Your excellence's most faithfull humble servant,

Lexlip, this 10th July,
1647. G. DIGBY.

DLVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

559

My Lord,

YOUR lordship will, by those extracts I sent you, finde, if not great abatements of our hopes, yet visible cause to beleeue,

that what advantage soeuer is intended his majestie or his party by the army, if any bee, (which with mee is still a question,) will not bee soe sudaine, as that I can hope to see the issue, or contribute any assistance to it in this place. My resolution therefore is, to prepare for my departure hence into England on the 28 of this month. My reasons for goeing thither are,

First, that I hould it an absolute and necessary parte of my duty to endeuour his majestie's satisfaction in the first place, and to him to give the first accoumpt of my actions in his seruice, and of what was comited to my charge.

Secondly, I acknowledge it my duty (haueing first accoumpted or atempted to accoumpt to his majestie) to doe the like to her majestie and the prince of Wales; which till I shall bee able to doe, I shall repose with much confidence vpon their iustice and fauour in suspending any misconstruction of my actions, till I haue the honour to bee heard vpon the iustice and friendship of those relations your lordship is very well able to giue.

Thirdly, I am certaine I can safly goe through England into France; but am very doubtfull, whether, haueing bin in France, and soe determined the last scope of my conditions, I can safly returne into England.

Thus your lordship has my resolution, and some of the maine reasons for it. I was yesterday sumoned to leave the sword and castle within fowre days, according to the direction of the committee of Derby-howse, vpon my engagement, (which, by the way, I note as noe good signe, that comitee consisting now all of independents.) I held this remooue, though but a weeke sooner then my set time, very inconvenient in many respects, especially in regard of haueing engaged into France to atend the answer to our busines there till then: but yet soe positive was my engagement, soe iealous were the comissioners by reason of fals rumors here raised by knaues, and, as it is sayd, by fooles and knaues in the Irish quarters, of designes vpon the castle; and soe much I am in their power, that there was noe disputeing of the mater. See that I was faine to endeuour to accomodate the busines by consenting to leave the secureing of the castle to them, and deferr the ceremoniall parte of leaueing the sword till the set time, which I hope will content them. Here your lordship sees my sense and condition: it remaines that I know how I may bee seruiceable to you, and that you know, as well by my performance of all in my power to serue you, as by my expressions, how really and passionatly I am

Your lordship's most faithfull humble seruant,

Dub. Cast. the 17 of July, 1647.

DLIX.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

Lexlipp, this Sunday the 17th July, 1647.

JUST now I receive advertisment from la Moinerie, that Mr. Talon was ready to sett sayle with 16 shipps, when a little barque that brought the intelligence came away, and made a passage, though with ill windes; soe that you are to expect him howerly. Certainly hee would not come with such a fleete, if hee did not both bringe our conditions, and had a certainty out of England of the parliament's allowance. I suppose that upon this your excellence will treate with the commissioners of your 560 accommodation for your going thorough with this businesse, wherein not only your honour and fortunes are soe much concerned, but their interest alsoe, in facilitating the restitution of Ireland to the crowne of England by such weakning of the rebells forces as that would bee. I would faine waite vpon your excellence, and speake with the commissioners also: but that the reports raised in Dublin vpon these new jealousyes and feares, wherein men thinke themselues bound to involue my name, makes mee a little fearefull, without some new assurance from the commissioners, that there shall not bee any pretence taken from rumours to violate my passe; for which I have reason to feare that a very easy colour would bee allowed of by my enimyes in England.

But if it be possible to begett a faith in them of my sincerity, which noe man knowes better then you in the businesse of Ireland; and that I may have safe accesse to Dublin, and libertye to negotiate in the Irish quarters towards our ends of leavys and transportation of men from the rebells army and quarters, without incurring danger by it; and that securing themselves from all possibilitye of designe vpon them, they will be perswaded but to leave your excellence such a colour of retaining yett a while the sword and shew of the castle, soe farr as that, by hopes which may bee given the Irish, wee may bee able to keepe them from pressing upon vs heere too violently, I am not more confi-

dent of any thing in this world then that I can demonstrate vnto the commissioners, that in a month's time the Irish shall be more broken and weakened by art, then they can hope to doe in 12 monthes warr; and withall lett them see, that as my zeale to the interest of the crowne of England and the protestant religion made mee aduise your excellence's putting the power rather in the parliament's hands then into the Irish, euen then when the parliament was at the extreamest distance with the king; soe now, that there is soe good hopes of an accommodation in England, I shall act in this way, that may be proper for mee, with as much industry and faithfullnesse, as I then aduised with integrity what I thought became a good Englishman and good protestant, and,

My lord,

Your excellence's most faithfull humble seruant,
G. Digby.

I heare that my lord of Muskery is soe absolute in Munster, that hee may helpe you much in your designe for France.

DLX .- Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

AS throughout the transaction with the parliament I have been perfectly sensible of the necessity enforceing you to it, and concurrent with my judgement therein; soe haue I been as sensible of the vnfortunate interpretation that it would bee lyable vnto in the effect, how reasonable soeuer in the causes moueing it; and that principally in two considerations: the one, of his majestie's interests, the other, in the interests of that party of this kingdome which deserues best of you, whome you may be sayd, though calumniously, yet colourably, to have sacrificed, equally with the other most detestable party. That we might prouide saluo's to these two aspersions hath been the ground of my pressing vnto you so earnestly delays, and gayning of time for your surrender: in which, though with greatest hazard to my selfe, I might so negotiate, as by ouertures made to the Irish, which they would fayle of complying with, I might make it appeare, both to the queene and prince of Wales, and euen to the forementioned party of the Irish, that euen to the

last gasp there had been noe expedient unattempted, to haue 561 kept things from this extremity, and haue continued the power in you, if they would haue co-operated.

In the first part, concerning his majestie, the quene, and prince [of Wales] his satisfaction, I was ever most confident; but of preserving you in any moderate degree in the opinions or affections of the good party of the Irish, I must confesse, I did in a manner despaire till this evening, giving [you] for absolutely lost to Ireland. But now, if you will but contribute to it what I conceive you may without the least inconvenience or hazard, I am most confident, that notwithstanding your delivery vpp of all, you may have as firme vnto you the affections of all Ireland, but of those whom even before nothing would have reconciled, as ever. Thus it is.

Vpon the newes of your haueing lost the power of the castle, and that you were within 4 dayes to give up the sword, Preston and his forces appeared much troubled; yett not so, but that since that knowledge they sent me such ingagements for their endeauouring to recouer the power into your hands, and for their obedience to you afterwards, as had notthing beene too far gone, and the disability to goe thorough too manifest, might perhapps have tempted you to have made another tryall of But vpon their hearing that you intended to goe away the next week, there hath appeared a consternation incredible amongst them; insomuch as that the generall sent to mee to coniure mee, as I valued the preservation of those that I did beleeve vett well affected to his majestie in this kingdome, that I would afford him, or some hee would name, the means of conferring with mee. Which I veelded vnto, prouided that they would come secretly into an arbor at the Salmon-leap, whither I might walk without observation. And yesterday I found sir Robert Talbot, Mr. Oliver Darcy, Beling, and Tom Dungan; vnto whome, after I had heard their lamentations, I made such a deduction of the whole business betwixt us and them, as haueing done, I desired them say freely, if they could make any exception to hinder them from confessing, that you [as lord lieutenant, and I in my spheare, had performed our parts fully to this last gasp, by all ways possible to haue preuented this misfortune; and that you had been inauovdably forced by their proceedings and faylours to what you have now done irrecoverably. This bearer, Milo Power, can witnesse to you, that they did all

confesse, that they had noething to reply; but must acknowledge themselves and the kingdome undon by the malice to your person of those whoe, now they did see, would infallibly destroy them all, if you doe goe out of Ireland as yett. Wherevoon I told them that they could not expect your stay heere after your leaving the sword. For with the parliament you would not joyne, and did you remayne in any place out of Dublin you could not be safe from their mallice, after such an action, though inforced to it by themselues, as your giving vpp those places and the sword to the parliament. Their reply was, that you have any security to the contrary, and that they did beg it of you by mee, as the only testimony that you would not sacrifise the good men of your country with the badd; and that, since the conditions allowe it you, you would, vpon what pretence you shall thinke best, prolong your stay in this county somewhere out of Dublin, if you could not be allow'd to stay in the castle, but for one month; in which time they make no doubt but that this army and that of the lord Munster shall so awe the councell, as to preuent the destruction which they see uisible before them by the councell and Owen O'Neile, if your leaving the kingdom shall break them, who can no longer hold united then they have their eyes vpon you, and some meanes of feeding themselues with hopes that the gouernment may be againe re-establisht in you from England. And they concluded, that during your stay heere they hope to order businesse soe that the chief part of the country shall petition his majestie for the benefit of the late peace, which, if his majestie were in power, they hoped they shall by your meanes obtayn; 562 and if not, that they might take the next best way for their preseruation, which, by all I can collect, is thought to bee that of quitting Ireland, and follow your fortunes abroad.

Vpon the whole matter thus stated, my opinion to your lord-ship is, that your conditions allowing you liberty for some months to stay heere, and then to goe into France by England, but not allowing you, as I conceiue, to come back heere out of England, that having so fayre a pretence to the commissioners for your staying as your leavies for forraign imployment, and so fayr a pretence for your suddayn change of mind as the intelligence of M. Talon's being shipt to come hither, there being noe need of your holding any intelligence with your countrymen that may give iealousy, since they desire nothing but your personall stay for a while; I say, my opinion is, that you ought to

fix vpon this way, that is, if you can, to prolong your time in the castle; if not, to gett assignement of Rapharnum, this place, or Lutterellstone for the going on with your leavyes. My reasons for it are principally these: first, that haveing been forced to an act, which, how just soeuer, must needs make you infinitely odious, you have so easy a means of redeeming the hatred and obloquy with all those of the country whose affections are to be ualued. Secondly, I must confesse I have a very great misboding to your goeing into England at this time, when it is manifest that your greatest enemyes are the swaying-party; at least till his majestie were in some degree setled, so as to be able to sheild you from dangerous practises and breaches of fayth with you. Thirdly, in regard if your person be in England, and in their power, it is like they may force the king the easilyer to giue commission of the gouernment to another, and you your selfe perhaps bee obliged to contribute to it. Whereas if you remayn heere, I am confident the king will be made obstanate in the poynt, and that vpon so good reasons of the more easy reducing this country by you, then any other, that it will not appear wilfullnesse in him. Fourthly, that by this course, let the worst come that can, you will have meanes of drawing great forces to forreign employment, which if once I gett beyond sea, whether the French answer our expectations or noe, I dare vndertake, shall place you and your freinds in an eminent condition. And lastly, for that I conceive, if there were nothing else in the case, it were worthy your running euen a uery greate hazard to purchase such an acknowledgment of the necessity and iustice of your proceedings with the parliament, so subject to calumny, as will by this meanes be procured you, euen from those whoe are like to vndergoe the greatest ruine by it, and whose sacrifice, if you have not a justification of your actions from themselues, will be the heavyest part in the worke.

These and other reasons are so preualent with me in the case, that I am almost tempted to add a conjurement of freindship, that you will let them take impression with you at least so far as to allow mee a reply before you resolue the contrary.

Yours.

Lexlip, the 22d of July, 1647.

G. DIGBY.

DLXI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

TILL this morning I could not perfectly reade your leter of vesterday's date, importing a proposition, in it self, and in relation to the partys from whome it came, very vnexpected by mee; vet I shall endeuour, in the short time allowed mee, to giue your lordship some satisfactory accoumpt of my sence and resolution vpon it. And since your lordship (whoe in all respects are best able) was pleas'd to vndertake the conuinceing of the gentlemen you met with, that inuincible necessity, and that of 563 their owne imposeing, (I meane the partys whereof they are,) hath forced mee to render to the parliament; and since for what concernes his majestie's interest in my rendring, your lordship can want noe help of arguments from any other, I shall only giue your lordship the trouble of my conceptions vpon the subiect of my goeing hence, or stay here for the time desired, as the one or the other may most probably advantage that party, of whoes preservation I really have, and in all times and places seasonable will auow to haue, an extraordinary care, laying aside as well the benefit of my vindication towards them, as the prejudice and hazards of my stay. Nor will I question the reall intention of the proposers any further then to minde your lordship that Oliver Darcy is one of them, whoe, haveing soe much and soe good English blood in him, I am content to beleeue is by this time beter instructed in the interest of his friends: nor will I demaund what other or greater engagements for my present security and their future performance can bee given, then those at the last treaty soe solemnly entered into, and soe soone declared against. Houlding my self therefore to the proposed question, and professing that I give absolute credit to the rest of those that spoke with you, I confesse I doe not understand why my goeing hence should lay men of courage, and in the possession of a yet prosperous army, open to that infallible destruction they apprehend, vnlesse they shall bee wanting to themselues, and to the seasonable vse they may make of it against the faction of the nuncio and O'Neil; nor can conceiue what vse they can make of my being here, that must not at the same time, and for the same reason it seemes for their preservation, serve likewyse for my destruction; and therein really (perhaps fruitlessly to them) I shall sacrifise my self for those that by the exactest

rules of corespondency can chalenge noe more from mee then my good wishes and endeuours for them of lesse hazard to my self. That there will bee noe neede of houlding intelligence with them, makes litle for my security, since the rumors that must bee amongst them, of my stayeing for some end or expectation of aduantage to them, and their forbeareing mee, where I shall live, meeteing with the suspitious natures of those ruleing here, will bee ground sufficient for remooueing mee out of the kingdome, if not out of the world.

And I doe not see any vse to bee made of my stay here in that despicable condition that may not much beter and truly bee made of my goeing. For I care not if it bee knowen to the world, that I will vse all my power and industry to dispose his majestie and all others to have good thoughts of those I have found faithfull, or doe now believe to bee rightly inclined to the English government; and that I will improve all opertunityes of procureing advantagious conditions for them according to the peace. To which end I will labour to bee by his majestie, with the consent of his parliament, imployed here againe.

As to the reasons your lordship gives for being of opinion I should stay; the first is, by this stay to take of from mee the odiousnes of the action to them that are like to sufer by it. But if they bee conuinced in the necessity of it, and that they have created that necessity, where is the justice of their hatred to me? and if it bee uniust, it is the lesse to bee valued, at least it cannot ballance soe great a hazard as I shall vndergoe by staying. The second, being but of personall danger to my self by breach of faith, I passe by, with this only, that I shall bee as much in their power and more in their jelousy here, where they may also more probably frame accusations against mee, to justifie their breach of faith, then in England. The third, that my being in England may enduce the king to graunt comission to some other, I thus answer: first, my giveing vp the sword and gouernement, and retyreing to a country howse here, will bee strong arguments as my being in England. Secondly, the same preuentatives may bee vsed, I being there as here, if it bee held 564 And lastly, the king hath already ofered the parliament to confirme all the acts done by their new great seale, of which one was to determine my comission. My goeing hence I doe not conceiue does at all thwart your fourth reason; for as

without leaue from the parliament, or whateuer other party shall gouerne in England, there will bee noe meanes of transporting men to foraigne service; soe I conceiue I shall bee beter able to procure such leaue by my being there, then by the meanes of any I can imploy. The last I take to bee spoke to in my conception on the first.

These are some of my reasons for the resolution I have taken to goe hence on Wednesday next, when the sword is to bee left; which, to comply with your desires, I have thus vnhansomely hudled vp, remaining

[The 23d of July, 1647.]

DLXII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord,

IN answer to your lordship's of this daye's date, be pleased to be informed, that I finde by letters of the 21st of this moneth from Mr. Dudley Loftus, and by printed votes of both houses, that they have rejected my proposition of transporting men to foraigne service; soe that if shipping come, or the agent make a journey hither, the charge of the one and the labour of the other is like to be lost. Yesterday I mooved the commissioners, that in regard my servant was not com with my mony, (wherewith I was to discharge debts and other necessary payments,) they would permitt my wife to remaine in the castle till he came; which they refused. Soe that for many reasons I resolve with my famyly to goe hence of Wedensday next, as I still purposed to doe my selfe. And soe I remaine

Your lordship's faithfull humble servant,

Dub. Cast. 26 of July, 1647.

Ormonde.

DLXIII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond. My Lord.

I have instructed Slingesby in all that I have to say to you before your going for England. God send you a prosperous voyage. But I am sure of this, if what hee shall represent vnto you now, both from the strongest of my judgement and affections, take not impression with you, you will leave mee the saddest man alive. Whatever resolutions you take, or fortunes you ruin,

-DLXV.

God soe loue mee and myne, as there is noe concernment in the world soe deare as yours to,

My lord, your excellence's faithfullest seruant,
Lislipp, July 27th, [1647.]
G. DIGBY.

DLXIV.—Lord Digby to the marguis of Ormond.

565

My LORD,

WITH the saddest heart that euer man had, I bid you farewell. God prosper you, and make good rather all your feares for me, then the least part of my apprehensions for you. It demonstrates a strange malice in those that gouerne towards you, the denial of the permission to transport men. Since it is euident that by grauntinge it you, they might have prevented all the mischiefe yett brought upon these quarters by the Irish, and might yett prevent what is further threatned. The thinge is soe highly advantagiouse to their interests, that if their harts bee not sett against all yours, they will yett graunt it, and high beseech your excellence not to desist from the labouringe it, as that wherupon your owne honour and fortune abroad depends, which is now the greatest worldly concernment of

Your excellence's most faithfull

Lexlipp, this Wendsday the 28th July, 1647.

G. DIGBY.

I recommend unto you the care of my distressed wife and children in England; and that if you passe ouer into Fraunce, you will take them alonge with you, where, if God blesse mee, I intend to bee suddainly.

DLXV.—A summary relation of the affairs of Ireland, given his majesty at Hampton-court about the latter end of August, 1647.

NOTWITHSTANDING your majestie's letter from Newcastle, forbidding any further treaty with the Irish, and notwithstanding their haueing failed to send the men conditioned for, without which though it was questionable how I might haue iustifyed the doeing thereof, your majestie's commands in that poynt considered, yet I agreed to a peace.

Soone after the conclusion whereof, I had notice of the prac-

tises of the nuncio and clergie against the same, their a excomunicateing of all that should adheare to the peace, their binterdicting all places where it was proclaymed, and forbidding vppon like paines the collection and payment of monves collected to those formerly appointed thereto by their generall assembly. All which notwithstanding, to the end your majestic might reape the fruits of a peace I had soe farr adventured to conclude, I went to Killkenny, being invited thither, and enformed by divers, especially by those of Preston's party, that my presence would soone remooue the causes or suppresse the effects of the clergie's When I came to Kilkenny, I found those who had concluded the peace with mee (by messengers from them, namely, Mr. Nicholas Plunkett and Mr. Patrick Darcy) treating with the clergie at Waterford vnder colour of endeavouring to appease them; much height and heate there seemed to be betwixt them, and I realy believe some of them weare in earnest. But I easily discovered the drift of others was either to force mee to confirme my lord of Glamorgan's conditions, or at least to engage my selfe in some new ones in point of relligion. But considering how I was limitted therein by your majestie, and how endlesse their demaunds would be, if I once gaue way to any thing like to a new treaty, I positively insisted vppon their publique faith already engaged, and absolutely refused to entangle my selfe in a 566 new treaty with the clergie. Yet I was content to assure them, that without your majestie's directions I would not dispossesse them of the churches then in their possession, nor interupt the iurisdiction of their clergie within the quarters possessed by them, and that I would not vinderstand any directions from your majestie in those particulers to be yours till your majestie should be restored to a free condition. And further, that I would obey all such commands as I should receive from your majestie to their advantage.

Whilest these things weare in agitation, and greate hopes weare given mee that this assurance would content them, soe to bring mee into the greater security; the nuncio and his party sent for Owin O'Neill to cutt of my retreate to Dublin, and to force mee to their owne tearmes; or (as by the sequell is more probable) to destroy the small party of twelue hundred foote and

a Decree at Waterford, and excomunication 12 August, 1646, and printed 5 of October.

b Bishop of Ossory's interdict, 18 Aug. 1646.

two hundred horse I had brought with mee as guards; which if they had effected, being the choyse men of the army, Dublin and all other guarrissons rendring obedience to your majestie's authority would have been theirs with much ease, when their vnited forces should be drawen against them, as afterwards they weare. Vppon notice of Owin O'Neill's being invited by the clergie, haueing reason to be igalous of his readynes to advaunce vppon their summons; for that he had not caused the peace to be proclaymed in his army, as generall Preston had with greate solemnity done in his, I sent severall letters and messages to generall Preston, and to all I beleeved well affected, vrgeing them to draw together for the makeing good of the peace they had soe cheerefully received, and for the preservation of themselves and the cuntry from the rapine of the northerne army, wherewith they had been acquainted. By some I was answered, that their men weare dispersed by the excomunications; by others, that they had noe meanes to draw or keepe together: for that the collectors, terrifyed with the church censures, would pay them noething; and to this effect was Preston's answer alsoe. Wherevppon I sent to speake with him, in hope I might disabuse him, if any thing from the clergie stuck with him: but he made his excuse, pretending, and but pretending, sicknes. Notwithstanding all these ill signes, I vet determined all possible waves to try what might be done; and with this resolution went from Kilkenny to Carrick, and from thence towards Cashell, where the peace had beene proclaymed. But when I was gotten within two or three miles thereof, I mett with a letter from the mayor, desireing mee not to come thither, for that hee and the towne weare threatened, if they received mee, to be vtterly destroyed by the northerne army, then within a dayes march of them. The advaunce of that force in pursuite of mee, the lord Dillon (and others who mett mee that day) gaue mee notice of. I was then also advertised, that Mac Thomas (as they call him) with the Munster horse declared for the Romish clergie, was within some small distance drawing towards mee; and being thereof assured by the earle of Castlehauen and others, I quickly found my selfe forsaken of most of those who had received and proclaymed the peace: and haueing not had before that tyme soe much as intelligence of Owin O'Neill's march, though his way was close by Preston, I conceived it then high tyme to looke back towards my small party of foote, which I had left neere Kilkenny: and accordingly that night I sent them orders to draw back towards Dublin, and haueing my selfe marched all that night, the next day I quartered with the horse five miles short of them at a guarrisson then in your majestie's power. But haueing fresh intelligence that Owin O'Neill marched fast on the left hand of vs a neerer way towards Dublin, I hastned, and by long marches came to Dublin on the thirteenth of September, haueing been forth about three weekes. But neither in my march goeing or comeing was there any violence offered to the country, nor was there any thing taken but what was payd for. When wee weare come to Dublin, my lord Digbye and I considered what was then to be done, and at last determined to make application to the parliament vppon conditions and for reasons to 567 be otherwyse imparted to your majestie.

Not long after my returne to Dublin, I received cletters from sir Lucas Dillon and doctor Gerrard Fennell, (who weare imployed to the clergie,) giving an account of their negotiation and their advices; which (tending to a forbearance of acts of hostillity) I tooke hould of, and in my danswere did in a manner begg a cessation, to the end that misvnderstandings might be removed, and, if it weare possible, the peace might yett be settled. But to this answer of mine there was noe reply, nor soe much as any overture tending towards a lookeing into the former passages, or reconcileing of differences. But the next news I heard was of their drawing forces together, raiseing of new, and at length of Owin O'Neill's summoning of your majestie's eguarrissons, takeing some vppon conditions, and some by force, and vseing exceeding greate feruelty to those resisting. was alsoe drawing together his forces, but yet vsed noe acts of hostillity. Wherevppon I writt gletters to them both, to know what was the end and ground of their proceedings; whereto they severally returned mee hanswers, by which I could gather noething but assurance that they intended the takeing of all your majestie's guarrissons and the destruction of your majestie's servants. And though by letters from collonell Fitz-Williams I had some intimation of Preston's ioyneing therein with Owin O'Neill, I could not beleeve, however his tender conscience

c Sir Lu. Dillon and Dr. Fennells of the 11 and 12 of Sept. 1646. 26 Sept. 1646. e Maryburough, Athy, &c. f Maior Piggott, barbarously murthred at Disert. g Letters to Preston and O'Neill, 8 October, 1646. h Preston and O'Neill's answers dated 10 Octo. 1646. i Coll. Fitz - Williams's letter 22 Sept. Answer 26. and Reply rec. 5 Octob. 1646.

might enduce him not to help vs, (though hee was sufficiently engaged therevnto,) that yet he would, contrary to soe many protestations, appeare actively against vs; and therefore kexpostulated the matter with him in the best and least offensive manner I could; which produced noe other answer then certaine extravagant and vnreasonable propositions; wherevnto I nevertheless returned a reasonable manswer, desireing to be informed with whome I was to treate, and how they weare authorised. Whervnto I never had any reply; but instead thereof had sad assurances that they fell to destroying your majestie's quarters, and at last to the blocking vpp the citty of Dublin, which for meere want of powder (whereof there was not in your majestie's stores foureteene barrells) they had carved, if vppon sending of comissioners to treate with the parliament, according to what was resolved on betweene my lord Digbye and mee, wee had not gotten about thirty barrells from a sea captaine then in the bay of Dublin. Whilest Preston and Owin O'Neile lay thus before the citty, there arrived comissioners from both houses of parliament, with power to treate, and with supplyes of men, mony, and victuall, which at such a tyme, being in want of foode and all necessaryes for deffence, and blocked vpp by two strong armyes, (by whome wee expected howrely to be assaulted,) they thought I durst not refuse, uppon what conditions soever offered; or if I did, that your majestie's army and the inhabitants of Dublin would rise against mee. Yett they wanting your majestie's direction for delivering vnto them the places vnder your majestie's authority, and refuseing to succour vs yppon any other tearmes, the treaty brake of, and they with their men weare sent away sufficiently displeased with mee.

Dureing the aboad of those comissioners at Dublin began the treaty betweene my lord of Clanricard and generall Preston, together with his officers; which though I very much doubted was drawen on rather for feare of my agreement with the afforesaid comissioners, and to breake of my treaty with them, then out of any reall intention or inclination to peace and quietnes; yet, Preston and his officers having soe deeply and solemnly "sworne to stand to the peace, and be thenceforth obedient 568 to your majestie's authority. I suffered my selfe to be perswaded

k Letter to Preston of 27 Octob. 1646.

1 Letter and Pro. of 2 of No. signed by Preston and O'Neile.

m Answer, 4th No. 1646.

n The copy of the engagement of Preston and his officers.

to ovndertake and doe all things that by my lord of Clanricard's engagement was expected from mee, the receiveing of a mastering power of Preston's men into your majestie's guarrissons excepted; which by all meanes possible was endeavoured, though it was neither absolutely agreed to by my lord of Clanricard nor by him prest to be assented vnto. Which pressure of theirs in that poynt added to my suspition, that all their professions weare the effects of a contrivance betweene the nuncio and Preston to procure enterance into and the mastery of Dublin, as since it hath appeared to be. Yett still I resolved to drive them to a point, and being thereto invited by Preston's agreement with and letters to my lord of Clanricard, I marched out in hope of the conjunction of his forces with those few I was able to draw forth, according to his engagement. But being come within a daye's march of the place assigned, I mett with a letter from Preston to the marquis of Clanricard to this effect, that his officers, not being excomunication-proofe, weare fallen from him to the nuncio's party; and therefore he advised mee to proceed noe further, but to expect the issue of a generall assembly, that was to be at Kilkenny on the 10th of January following, where he doubted not but things would be sett right by the consent of the whole kingdom, which would be much more for your majestie's service then to attempt the forceing of a peace vppon those that we re avers to it. Though I was little satisfyed with that disappoyntment, and feared that the power the clergie had to frustrate a peace, concluded by virtue of the best authority any people in their case could deligate, would rather increase then diminish, by the tyme that was given them to worke in; and though I could not apprehend how it would be possible for mee in the meane tyme to mainteyn the army, or, when it should come to want, to keepe of the cry that would be raised by all sorts of people for a new adress to the parliament, the Irish haueing soe often deceived vs; yet, that they might be left without any excuse, I resolved, thorough all difficultyes and hazards, to expect the issue of that assembly. But for the ease of our quarters, (which weare soe wasted by the enemyes lying before Dublin, and the destruction I was forced to make vppon their approach, that they weare vtterly vnable to mainteyne the haulfe of that little army,) I drew out as many more to the men I had

o Answer of 26 Novemb. 1646, to the marquis of Clanricard's letter of the 25 of the same.

with mee as made them in all about twelve hundred foote and six hundred horse, and with them marched into their quarters, where, notwithstanding their provocations by severall breaches of faith, agrauated by high and cruell acts of hostillity, I suffred noe violence to be done vppon any man's person or goods, or any thing to be taken, but necessary provision of meate and drinke; though dureing my aboad in this freindly manner amongst them, the captaine and lieutenant of my guard weare barbarously murthered vppon the highway, haueing stayed at a towne, but a little after their company was marched away, in confidence of the good affection professed by the country. And though not only their new erected councell had proclaymed vs enemyes, and comanded hott warr to be made vppon vs, but, which was more contrary to my expectation, they had prevailed with Preston to p disavow any obligation uppon him by the transaction with my lord of Clanricard. And at length, after all our paines taken to make the nobillity and gentry vnderstand how much the honour and security of their nation was concearned in the vindication of their publique faith, and in their submissions to your majestie's authority; after all the hopes wee could desire was given vs by all the considerable men of English extraction, and by some well affected of Irish desent; and after six weekes patient endureance of very incomodious and hazardous remoovealls from place to place in the depth of winter, there came forth from the 569 assembly that strange q declaration that at once acquitted those that had concluded the peace, as men fully entrusted and faithfully dischargeing that trust; and yett declared the peace soe concluded to be vovd. Soone after came forth certaine propositions offered to them by their clergie, which they approoved of, and solemnly swore to insist vppon them; which weare such as I well knew your majestie would never consent vnto vppon any consideration whatsoever. Heere I humbly conceive your majestie will iudge there was a full period to all our hopes from the Irish.

And now your majestie may please to vnderstand, that vppon the first advaunceing of the armyes vnder Preston and Owin O'Neill's leading to the siedge of Dublin, I applyed my selfe for

p Preston's declaration of the 22 Dec. 1646. My letter to him of the 5 of Jan. concearning the same, and Preston's answere therevnto of 15 Jan. 1646. q Declaration of the assembly at Kilkeny of the 2d February, 1646. r Propositions printed at Kilkeny, &c.

succour to the Scotts in the north of Ireland, by whose sanswer sent by one captaine Cunningham both in writeing and verbally, as alsoe by the papers that passed from the Scotts comissioners in England, and more particularly those said to be the speeches of the chauncellor of Scottland, I conceived some hope that possibly some vse might be made of them for the preservation of your majestie's interests in Ireland. Wherevnto to invite them, I imployed my best endeavours by my tanswers to Cuningham, and by sending soone after him major Seafowle u Gibson, a man of approved faithfullnes: but he returning to mee with an vnsatisfactory vanswer to my propositions, I instructed sir George Hamilton, and sent him from Dublin to attend your majestie then, as I hoped, uppon good tearmes with your Scottish subiects at Newcastle; and in his way he was instructed to make tryall once more of the affections of the Scots army. Hee began his journey at the tyme I was drawing forth vppon Preston's invitation; but thorough sicknes was forced to stay some dayes at Dundalk; and dureing his stay thereabouts he desired a meeteing with collonell John Hamilton; which being given him, he from him vnderstood the resolution taken by the parliament of Scottland, and by their army, to deliuer your majestie to the howses of parliament in England; and with a sad assurance thereof, sir George returned to mee to Trym, where hee found mee and the party I had with mee in such want of provision, and soe harased, that within a few dayes, after haueing made some successles inroades into the county of Cauan, for the gaineing of cattle, and hearing from your majestie's councell at Dublin that the inhabitants there, being brought to extreame poverty, flatly refused longer to contribute towards the support of the army, I was forced to returne to Dublin. Where, vppon consideration of our weake and desperate condition, and of the approach of the spring, which would certainely bring some enemy against vs, it was vnanimously resolved by all your majestie's councell and servants then there, that it was more for your majestie's honour and service, and consequently more agreeable to your pleasure, which wee then had neither meanes nor tyme to consult, to put Dublin, and all the guarrissons that remained in

s 9 Octob. 1646.

t Letter and remembrances of 24th of Octob. 1646, sent by capt. Cunningham.

u Also the letter and instructions of the 29th of Octob. 1646, sent by major Gibson.

v Scots officers answer of the 10th of November, 1646, by major Gibson and coll. George Monros to me of the 2d of the same.

obedience to your majestie, into the hands of the two howses of parliament in England, then to suffer them to be taken by the Irish. And for this opinion some of the reasons weare:

First, it was doubted it would give too much advantage to those calumnyes that had been cast vppon your majestie, of too much fauouring the popish relligion, if all the churches in the quarters, yealding obedience to your majestie, should be given or suffered to be taken to the vse of that relligion; and the exercyse of the protestant relligion either totally supressed or at the best but allowed by conivance in corners, a fauour not then afforded to any within the Irish quarters.

Secondly, it was feared it might reflect vppon your majestie's 570 honour, if those servants and subiects of yours that had soe constantly serued you, and continued soe to doe long after your majestie had noe one place that I can call to minde, houlding for you in all your three kingdomes, should at last be subiected to the tyrany of those that then ruled amongst the Irish; from whom what vseage they weare to expect was plaine by their frequent perfidyes, by the vseage of others of your majestie's party fallen into their hands, and by their haueing giuen rest to all places and people houlding for the parliament, that they might bend the vnited strength of their parte of the kingdom against vs, that only vpheld your majestie's authority, that only had made and kept about three years cessation with them, and that only offered them, nay, that went a begging to them to their owne dores with peace.

A third reason was, vppon consideration of the interests of your majesty's crowne; wherein it appeared in some clearenes to vs, that if the places wee held for your majestie weare put into the hands of the two howses of parliament, they would reuert to your majestie, when either by treaty or otherwise you should recover your rights in England; and that in all probability without expence of treasure or blood. But if they weare given or lost to the confederates, it was to vs very euident, that they would neuer be recovered by treaty, your majestie's knowen pious resolution and their exorbitant expectations in poynt of relligion considered; nor by conquest, but after a long and chargeable warr; wherein how farr they might be assisted by any forraigne prince that would beleeue his affaires advaunced or secured by keepeing your majestie busyed at home, fell likewise into consideration.

After that by the advices afforesaid, for these reasons, and vppon such invincible necessity, I had sent to some of the comissioners formerly imployed to treate with mee from the howses of parliament, letting them know that I was ready to leave Dublin and the other guarrissons to them vppon the conditions they had offered; and yppon the confederates having notice thereof, they dispatched to mee an xoverture for an accommodation as they call'd it, which comeing after they knew I was engaged to the parliament, if they accepted my offer, I vnderstood as intended by them for noe other end, then that they might be able to deny they had imposed any necessity vppon mee to agree with the howses of parliament. Yet, least they might be contrary to their intention, once more engaged to a conjunction with mee, (for now the name of a peace or submission to your majestie they ytterly waued,) they proposed tearmes of accomodation, but such as weare in effect as contrary to your majestie's honour and interest to yeald to, as those they sent when they approached Dublin with their nuncio and two armyes. that they might be sure not to be bound even to those conditions, the persons they had intrusted and wished mee to give creditt to, refused to put theire ouertures in writeing, or (when in their presence, or by their dictating I had written them out) to signe to them.

I was advised by your majestie's councell to such overtures as these, for the obteyneing of a cessation, to giue a delaying answer; which I accordingly did; and soone after arrived Mr. Winter Grant with instructions and dispatches from the queene and prince of Wales; all tending to a reconcileing of the differences, which the confederates, according to their custome, seemed in their discourse very desirous to listen to. But being prest to act something towards it, they sent mee, by Mr. Grant, a ymessage in writeing, relateing to the forementioned overtures, without any alteration: but that now, to be sure there should be noe accomodation, they declared they must insist vppon the proposition of the clergie, wherevnto they had sworne; and that if I would have a cessation with them, I must vndertake to receive noe forces from the parliament for six or twelve moneths, they in 571 the meane tyme proposeing noe way how I should mainteyne

x Mr. Plunket's letter of credence of the last of Febr. 1646, and alsoe of the overtures and explications vppon questions demanded by mee.

y Signed by lord Antrim and others, 10th May, 1647.

your majestie's army, vnless I would agree to their vnreasonable demaunds. Yet findeing that the howses of parliament had left mee liberty of treating by their faileing to performe on their partes, I zyndertooke that I would not receive any forces from them for three weekes, (and withall sent my answer to their overtures for accomodation,) if for that tyme they would agree to a cessation. But to this, though proposed as a means the more conveniently to treate of the accomodation seemeingly desired by them, I neuer had answer; soe that by them, or any that would iustify them, it cannot be denyed, but that the last motion towards a reconcilement went from mee, and lay neglected and vnanswered vppon their hands; and when all hopes of preserueing your majestie's interests by your owne subjects, of what nation soeuer, had been attempted and failed mee, your majestie may have heard what propositions I made elsewhere; and how long beyond the tyme I promised, I attended a returne to them; which to this hower I never had.

These imperfect performances of my duty to your majestie and these confused relations of them doe not at all pretend to iustifications, but are most humbly submitted to your majestie's iudgement.

DLXVI.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond. My Lord,

SOME twoe dayes since, I sent your lordship only notice of

my safe arrivall here, watching the next opportunity to give you a fuller account of myselfe, since you left Ireland, and of my happy escape from the dangers that threatned mee on the parliament's side, and out of the hands of my more detestable ennimyes, the councell of the confederates. Which account I thinke the more necessary, in regard, that with those that vnderstand not the necessitating reasons of my actions, there may bee some scandall raised vpon my chosing rather to passe through the Irish quarters then through the English; having the parliament's commissioners passe; especially, since my ne-

cessary applications to some of the Irish partye for my safetye's sake, may have furnished occasion to have my name tost among them, in such things as their fantesyes are wont, you know, to

z Letter to Mr. Winter Grant, of the 15 of Aprill, 1647. a Sent to Mr. Winter Grant, 15 of May, 1647.

create to themselues, vpon euery new application, though furthest from the applyer's thoughts.

Vpon your lordship's going away, I thought fitt to send Slingsby to colonell Jones, to know whether I might still continue with the same securitye at Lexlipp as I did whilest you were in the kingdome, till I could finde meanes for my transportation beyond sea from Dublin; I engaging my selfe to defend that place from the Irish during my residence there. Unto which message I received a returne from colonel Jones of all the ciuilitye imaginable, viz. that I might rely vpon my secure continuance there, and on his doing his vttmost to make good their passe vnto mee in my transportation beyond sea; and that there was noe thought of guarrisoning that place whilest I was there, and that in case there were, I should have timely warning. Vpon this obleedging message, I employed Slingesby to Dublin, to see if hee could procure mee a safe and convenient transportation into France from thence; whereof hee brought mee this account, that all the seamen did declare, that lett mee haue what passe I could from the parliament, they would either throw mee overboard or carry mee prisoner to London. And withall hee assured mee, that the parliament soldiary of Dublin declared resolutions of noe lesse violence against mee if I came that way, in spight of any protection; of whose aptnesse to make good those threates having had such hazardous experience, euen when your lordship was there; and seeing them dayly soe mutinous, 572 euen against colonell Jones himselfe; and withall receiving positive advises from my freinds there in noe case to adventure: I was necessitated to bethinke my selfe of another course. And therevon I made applications to some in Preston's armye, to see if I could engage Preston and the rest of his officers to procure mee and make good vnto mee a free and safe passage out of the kingdome through the Irish quarters; since without that, I had neither hopes of obtaining a passe from the councell, nor, had I had one, durst I have ventured my selfe vpon it, having had such experience both of their mallice and detestable perfidy. It pleased God that I succeeded soe well in this my application, that I soone procured from generall Preston and all his officers an engagement vnder their hands to procure mee from the councell, and make good vnto mee, a free passe out of the kingdome, accompanying it with a letter to the councell to that effect; but written in a stile of more kindnesse to mee then I could allow

of; which occasioned a letter from mee to Preston, desiring a more ordinary recommendation, which was all that euer past from mee to Preston. Vpon which I had such a letter from Preston and his officers to the councell as procured mee the passe desired. In the interim of my preparations to be gone, and expectations of my passe, the councell, whether jealous of my negotiations with Preston's army vppon that score of forraigne employment, which, you know, hath beene the ground of all lord Digby's traffick with any of the army since their breach of faith; or whether merely out of their former inveterate mallice to affront mee, and drive mee to cast my selfe into the parliament's hands, I know not. But this I know, that they sent positive orders to Preston instantly to putt a guarrison into Lexlipp, by faire meanes or by fowle; and accordinglye one morning, when I looked for nothing lesse, sir Thomas Esmond with a strong party of Preston's armye was drawne before the castle, and summon'd it; wherevnto such a denvall with some shott was returned as became vs. Wherof I gaue an account to colonell Jones; but withall I must tell you, that Preston's orders being soe peremptory, and colonell Jones then in noe condition to releeue vs. I could not have hoped to have escaped the extreamitye, had I not in the point handled sir Thomas Esmond and father Darcy dexterously at a conference agreed on betweene vs without the castle, of which the satisfactory issue to them was a confidence raised in them that noe parliament garrison should bee admitted whilest I was there; which assurance I could boldly, and without hazard, give them vpon colonell Jones his engagement to mee. Thus things stood when the battaile was giuen, I professe, to my greate greefe, haueing soe greate a part of Preston's army sure for forraigne employment; which I was confident, though the parliament had as then denved license for their transportation, they would afterwards, vpon your representations of the reasons, finde it soe much for their aduantage, that they would yeald vnto it.

Vpon the losse of the battaile, being before resolued to venture through the Irish quarters, I made hast away from Lexlipp, which may seeme to cast some reflection vpon mee, with those that vnderstand not the necessitating reason of it; which was, that if after the battaile I had stayed any time in the English quarters, it would have been a certaine pretence with the councell to have violated my passe; since I had lost my maine

security in the losse of that armye, which was engaged for it. And indeed had not the terror of the greate losse to their party in generall awed them, as well as the engagement, for my security, of that armye might have done; and had not I likewise ammused the fooles in my passage by Kilkenny with such discourses as might raise hopes of my being vsefull to them in their distressed condition, I doe not beleeve I ever should have escaped their hands; and even at last I was faine to gett away in disguise in an open barque of eight tunne, commaunded by an English protestant captaine, vnto whome alone I discovered my selfe.

But besides this reason, I must confesse to your lordship in 573 secrett, that although I was very sure that I my selfe, nor noe body from mee, had had any commerce with the Irish vniustifiable, but rather meritorious with the English, were the true grounds of it knowne; yett I was not secure, but that from the discourses which for our ends vppon the Irish forraigne employment, and myne for my safetye in Lexlipp, I was faine to make to Roman catholiques, whoe had accesse vnto mee, of a tincture quite differing from my heart, there might bee collections and inferences concerning mee dispersed among that party, both by discourse and letters, which might expose mee to danger, till the grounds of them were vnderstood; insoemuch, as though I relyed much vpon coll. Jones his honour, whoe was not ignorant of the grounds of my correspondency with Preston, even before the battaile, yett I must confesse I durst not trust my selfe to the playing of an after-game in the parliament's hands, but thought it my wisest course to gett my person of in safetye, though with some little suspition with the ignorant, then to aduenture my selfe in their hands, whoe bore mee soe much ill will vpon another score, that it is not likely that they would have admitted of my purgation in this; which was the only point vpon which they could pretend to violate my passe, and soe to bring mee in question for all such other things as mallice hath possesst the people with against mee. Bee pleased to pardon my troubling you with this narrative, which I thought necessary, not for any vindication of myne with my enimyes, but least any accidents should possibly giue his majestie, or any of those whose estimation I value, a misimpression, that I were in any thing declined from my detestation of the Irish rebellion and perfidy; or from that ferveneve for the interest of the crowne of England in

that nation, which hath made mee entirely concurrent with my opinion in all your proceedings.

And now that I have done with what concernes my selfe, give mee leaue to tell you in short the state that things were in in that kingdome at my coming away. The losse of that greate battaile caused (it is true) a greate consternation in all the old English and more moderate partye of the Irish, as being the only power, with that which remayned in Mounster, whereby they hoped that the violent and incorrigible party of the rebells, depending vpon the nuncio, clergy, and Owen O'Neale, might bee forced to submitt to the obedience of the crowne of England, in case his majestie and his parliament agreeing, they might bee admitted to any moderate conditions of fauour and mercy. But on the contrary I could perceive in all the sayd violent partye palpable symptomes of their being rather pleased with that ouerthrow, as drawing on, as they thought, a necessary consequence of the whole catholique partyes submitting to O'Neale by way of commaund, and to the nuncio and clergy by way of gouernment and support of monyes, it being then assured (which since my coming hither I finde to bee true) that his decano was at St. Mallo with three braue frigatts, and a greate summe of monye from Rome, for mayntainance of that warr; for the further support of which, their consultations, growne to a resolution, (as I was informed before my coming away.) were to have recourse to forraigne avde. Some would have them cast themselves vnder the protection of Spaine; but I conceive that lesse to be feared, because the king of Spaine hath too much businesse vpon his hands to vndertake it, or to afford them much helpe, vnlesse it bee by way of exchange of monye for men. But that which the wiser persons beate most vpon, and which appeares to mee the most dangerous, is, that they should make application to Holland for shipps and money, and to deliuer them for security Duncannon and other cautionary townes and ports; which of what consequence this may bee, I leave vnto your lordship to iudge. Such I confidentlye beleeve to bee the designes of the violent and preuailing partye there. But for the more moderate ones of the old English, and some few of the old Irish, I am confident they will rather submitt to the parliament, if they may bee re- 574 ceiued, or if not, exile themselues, then submitt either to O'Neale or any forraigne power. And to those I thinke your lordship

bound in honour to doe what good offices you may, both with the king and parliament.

To conclude, my lord, my opinion is, that notwithstanding the parliament's late victory there, the interest of the crowne of England may runne greate hazard in that kingdome, should deuisions continue in England, vnlesse some person bee suddenly sent ouer to commaund; vnto whome not only all the protestant party there may willingly submitt, but whoe alsoe may have power to improve and make vse of the devisions among the confederate party themselves. This is the account and opinion which to give you I thought the duty of,

My lord, your excellence's most faithfull and most affectionate humble seruaunt,

Caen, September 19, 1647.

G. DIGBY.

DLX VII.—The prince of Wales to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

HAUING receyued your letter, and heard my lord Biron, I assure you I am abundantly satisfyed of the loyalty, prudence, and honour of all your proceedings in the late affaires of Ireland; and as I haue euer beene farre from enterteyning the least suspition of any action of yours, soe I shall euer account you a person fitt in all respects for the greatest trusts and imployments, and shall with full confidence repose my selfe vpon you in all things that shall concerne eyther the king's seruice or my owne interests. The part that you haue susteyn'd in these late troubles, with soe great wisdome, and soe much aduantage to the king's affaires, hath long since plac'd you in that high esteeme with me, that you may beleeue with as much confidence, as I professe with kindnes and sincerity, that I am,

My lord, your most affectionate freind,

[Received the 5th of Octob. 1647.]

CHARLES P.

Caen, 2° Martii, 1647.

 $\label{eq:def:DLXVIII.} \textbf{--Sir} \, Edward \, \, \textit{Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.}$

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPP;

THERE is none that is more loyed att your lordshipp's happy deliveraunce out of the hands of the tyrants att Westminster,

and att your safe arrivall in France, then your lordshipp's most humble servaunt. I am confident this your lordshipp's enforced leaving of England will prooue much to the good of his majestie's service, by addition of the weight of your lordshipp's prudent advises to the queenes and prince's councells in this present coniuncture of affaires. For, besides, your lordshipp's more particular knowledge of the present condition of his majestie's businesses. of the disposition of the now prevayling party in England, and the inclinations of the people there and elsewhere, that are to be treated with your lordshipp's experience in treaties with rebellious dispositions, (which you have had the ill fortune to be compelled to struggle with,) and your approoved prudent conduct in publique embroiled affaires, wil be of singular advantage in the consultations and resolutions that are to be taken now for his majestie. I lament my owne vnhappy misfortune, that, having soe great and entire affections to serue a person whose vertues I soe much honour, I am for my fidellity to my deere master reduced to such a sad condition, as that I have noe 575 meanes to expresse how very sincerely and really I am,

My most honoured lord,

Your lordshipp's most humble servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

DLXIX.—Lord Inchiquin to the marquis of Ormond.
My Lord,

I have received your comissions, which were sent mee by my lady, and an intimation that your lordship should bee speedily advertized of the state of affaires heere; which I tooke care for by divers wayes, but know not yet with what success. The want of your lordship's presence doth exceedingly obstruct the setling this kingdome in obedience to his majestie, which I may not conveniently now attempt to doe altogether by the sword; and perswasions are of little force to induce people of so much guilt to a concurrence with mee, where they see not an authority with mee to secure their persons and estates; through want whereof I have bin forced to contend with extreame difficultyes, to retaine this vnhappy people in a capacity of doeing good to themselves and service to his majesty. For the nuncio did no sooner perceive that I did declyne this power now ruleing in England, then industriously apply himselfe to the vse of all meanes to

divert the councell and people from a cessation with mee, least it should vsher in his majestie's authority; which is evidenced to

bee his feare, by the advice by him given the councell, to seeke one with mee, when hee beleeves I would not doe soe. This occasioned a great division in the councell, part whereof would not condescend vnto the cessation, because the nuntio declared it to bee against his conscience, and they being the major part who stood vpon such tearmes as I was vnwilling to descend to, least they should instance any confession of myne to induce the like vpon a settlement; I thought it yet more convenient, vpon consideration of the condition his majestie is now in, to graunt them the inclosed articles, rather then breake with them, because I perceived that my lord Taaff, and those who are really for his majestie, would otherwise have scrupled much at the excommunications of their clergy, in regard of the oath vpon them to the authority of the supreame councell; which (they apprehending to bee violated without their concurrence) would bee allowed a ground of excommunication, and would therefore bee a meanes of the deffection of most of their party to the other. And as for prevention of that I was induced to graunt them their desires, soe the promisses that my lord Taaff and others made of supplying mee with monyes, by way of loan, (which they expected to find in your collector's hands,) prevailed with me to declyne part of my demaunds for supportation of my army; for the reliefe whereof I have bin putt to very great streights by their want of performance: so as though I have expended all I haue, or could borrow, or force in my owne quarters; yet divers of my men haue dved of hunger, after they had a while lived vpon catts and doggs, as many now doe. And if, whilst I am in this condition, the parliament shipping should arrive according to our expectation, grounded vpon good advertisements, with some officers, mony, cloathes, and victualls, and make tender thereof vnto our soldiers, if they will give vpp the officers they haue now, and accept others from the parliament, a greater streight then I shall bee in cannot bee imagined, haueing my judgment and reputation at stake, with my life and fortune. For what censure the world (who allwayes iudge of actions according to their owne apprehensions or success, before they know the grounds of them) will pass vpon mee, may not improbably fix a scandall vpon my reputation; and the most charitable will at least censure my judgment, if it bee observable that I have 576 made a cessation, which in the consequences of it doth not onely proue ineffectuall in order to the accomplishment of the end thereof, but destructive to my selfe and my party for want of foresight; whilst I wanted not power to acquire a livelyhood with my sword. But I shall rather relye ypon the Divine Providence for better success, then take any other course (for the preservation of any earthly thing) that might deprive mee of the opertunity I now have lighted vpon to evidence, that as I haue alwayes professed, so it is a reall truth, that though I haue prosecuted the service in this kingdome without his majestie's private approbation of late; vet I was not more confident, that I had just grounds to doe soe by vertue of the act of parliament by him passed, then constant in retayneing my integrity to him; which I did indeavour to manifest as soone as I did observe that party to vsurpe power, that I know were vnfaithfull to him, and with whom I will never comply, if I bee able to avoid it.

I find my lord of Clanrickard very faithfull to his majestie, and in a better posture to serue him in his country then I did expect. Hee hath about 3000 horse and foote as I heare. Taaff is certainely very right, and is now casting those out of his forces that are not soe. The Leynster men also, and 5 of the 12 of the councell, may bee relyed vpon: but some others, whom my lord of Muskerry thought hee had left so, may not bee trusted; soe as the major part of them may not improbably be carryed with the nuncio and Owen O'Neale's faction, if your lordship doe not make your imeadiate repaire hither, and take all the power into your owne hands, which I will take the best care I can to provide for, so as I hope they shall not bee able to oppose it; and vntill this bee done, the kingdome will never bee in a way of serving his majestie. If you come into the harbours of Waterford, I pray doe not land vntill you have a guard sent, evther of Taaff's forces or myne; for I am not confident of Waterford. All my harbours are now open; but my advice to your lordship is, to land either at Baltimore or Crookehaven, least any shipping of the parliament's should bee at Corke or Kinsall, which are the places where they are expected to bee. It will be extreame requisite that your lordship bring some mony with you; and though you should not bee able to procure aboue 5 or 6000l. yet lett it beare the name of 20,000l. which will mightily confirme my army. Doubtless wee shall bee able to borrow mony to aunswear their expectations before that some shall bee exhausted. Ammunition I am reasonably well provided off; but corne will bee exceedingly wanting to carry on any service that may bee requisite this summer. Wherefore it would bee of great advantage that some merchants might bee prevailed withall to send 2 or 3000 barrels hither, where it will yield after the rate of 14d. per gallon.

The Scotts comissioners sent vnto mee at the same tyme when your lordship sent J. B.; and though they then earnestly desired I should take this course I am in, to prevent the independents designes, yett they have not since held any correspondency with mee, which the gentleman they sent tould mee they would doe. Whereof I desire your lordship to take [notice] to my lord Latherdale, to whom I writt, how expedient it were to have one sent from Scotland hither, to confirme those of my army in an assuraunce, that the presbiterian party would all apply their vtmost indeavours to restore his majestie. But I hope I have not now so much cause to feare them as then I had, if their wants bee in any measure supplyed. Owen O'Neale and the nuncio haue began their warre against Birr, which is now beseidged; the men that are now in it are sir Phelim, who with my lord of Ivagh and Alexander Mac Donnell, are fallen off from him. My lord Taaff is now marching with 600 of my horse and 200 of his owne, to ioyne with Preston to releiue Birr and fall vpon Owen's forces, or at least vpon his Creaghts. Besides this 600, I have 800 marching horse reasonable well appointed: but they begin to fall into some want of pistolls and saddles.

I dare not presume to boast of any dutifull intentions to his 577 higness the prince of Wales; but if hee will vouchsafe to honnour mee with any comaunds, they shall find a faithfull obedience to the best of my power: and in the meane tyme I shall not bee indilligent to improve all opertunityes for the advauncement of his service. I heare his majestic hath received an ill character of me; and I shall therefore beseech your lordship to indeavour that no impression of that kind may remayne. It is the greatest reward I ayme at to stand in a good opinion with their majestics and his highness; and I hope my actions will not vpon the strictest scruteny render mee any otherwise vnworthy thereof, then that I have not had the happyness vntill now to bee capable of serving them.

I render your lordship many thankes for cropp; and though I have not bin so happy as by any past services to bee intituled

to such favours, yet I hope my future will at least render mee very faithfully,

My lord, your lordship's most humble servant,

*Corke, 29° Maii,
1648.

INCHIQUIN.

This is a duplicatt of one sent by Mr. Culpeper that carryed letters from Wales to his highness the prince of Wales, which I could not gett him to write over againe, for which I craue your lordship's pardon.

DLXX.—The marquis of Ormond to the prince of Wales.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE;

HAVING long since received his majestie's command to goe into Ireland, together with his pleasure that for the better prosecuting and effecting of his service there, I should receive and obey such authorities, orders, and instructions, as her majesty and your highnesse should judge most proper and conducing therevnto: and having about the beginning of July, as I remember, received those authorities, &c., it may seeme strange to his majesty that soe much time hath beene lost as it may to your highnesse that I am still in France: but as it is very well knowne to your highnesse, that from my first coming to St. Germains, which was about the later end of February, to the time of your departure thence, I was not onely ready to receive my dispatch, but as importunate for it as in reason and good manners I could bee; soe I shall humbly beseech your highnesse, when you shall judge it possible and convenient, to acquitt mee to his majesty of having all that while willingly delayed the execution of his commands. And for your highness's satisfaction concerning my stay since, bee pleased to bee informed, that from your goeing from St. Germins till the 11th of this moneth, I stayed there in expectation of soe much money as was of necessity requisite to send mee thence; that as soone as I had got soe much, I left sir George Hamilton and a servant of mine to receiue what I was further to expect, and to provide and send after mee such things as were meerely necessary; whilest (to saue as much time as I could) I came my selfe into these parts to see the armes and the amunition shipt, the ship appointed for mee victualled for her voyage, and my family setled in such a

way of subsistence as my present condition will affoord it: and that now I am here staving onely for the remainder of the money promised mee, the greater part whereof is received, and then the first reasonable faire wind I shall imbarke my selfe for Ireland; from whence I have heard nothing I dare offer as intelligence of the state of that kingdome, since I received a letter of the 20th of May, from the lord of Inchequin, a copy whereof is herewith humbly presented to your highnesse; by which appeares in what extremity of want the army vnder his command then was, and the expectation hee had that it would bee in some measure releeved vpon my coming, wherewith hee alsoe en-578 couraged his officers and soldiers to beare with patience theire miserable condition. But when they shall find themselves soe farre disappointed, that in a short time after my landing I and the company I bring with mee shall rather become a burthen then any kind of releife to them, it is much to bee feared that theire discouragement and discontent will bee such, that all I can reasonably hope for will bee to keepe them in temper to bee imployde vpon the reducing of such as shall refuse obedience to the king's authority when they are thereunto enabled by the supplyes, which I must not bee sparing to vndertake to them, will speedily, and in some good proportion, bee sent to them by the queene and your highnesse. And vntill those supplyes come, I cannot promise, with any probability of making my word good, that that kingdom can bee brought to obedience, much lesse made vsefull to your highness's service elsewhere. On the contrary, if the army vnder my lord of Inchiquin's command (which is the principal foundation of my hopes there) shall by continuance of theire wants fall to despaire, or at the best become weake and vselesse, I doe much apprehend the consequence will bee, first, a generall dislike in them of all my actions, and perticularly of those which they then will call too large concessions to the Irish; and in conclusion, a hearkening after any overtures that may bee made them of revolting to the parliament, who will not want instruments to foment their discontents, and to dispose them to it by all possible arts: and in case they shall bee proofe against all the temptations that can bee suggested to them by theire owne wants, or the insinuations of those that would pervert them; yet, if they bee noe where led forth, for want of money to fit them for a march, and of victuall to sustaine them in it, the consequence must bee soe inevitably greate

a disreputation and contempt of them in that part of the Irish who are of a faction contrary to peace and his majestye's interest, and such a discouragement in those among them that are for both, that I much feare the first will soone become the stronger party; and I shall bee soe farre from drawing away the officers and souldirs vnder the command of Jones, and others that still adhere to the parliament, that my labour must bee, as soone as I land, to keepe such as are ready to come from coming, vntill I am in case to maintaine them, least they should give too bad a report of theire entertainement to bee removed, when I shall bee really able to give better. Soe that vpon the whole matter all that I dare encourage your highnesse to expect from my endeavours in Ireland vntill I bee supplyed, is noe more then that I may possibly bee able for some time longer to hold the army vnder the lord of Inchiquin's command in quietnesse and obedience, by the expectation of speedy releife and encouragement, which I must continue in them, and the well-affected Irish in the good dispositions they are sayd to bee in, to receive such conditions of security and advantage as I am authorised to And if those expectations of releefe shall faile, or bee long delayed, or shall not come at least in the proportion mentioned by my lord Inchequin, it must necessarily and quickly follow, that his army will revolt or moulder away; that those of any party averse to the king's government will gather strength and courage by our forced lying still; and those well inclined will loose all heart and hopes. Whereas if your highnesse shall bee pleased to send seasonably that quantity of money, and some reasonable proportion of corne to make biskett of for a march, I shall not then doubt but that, by the blessing of God, that kingdome shall bee soe farre setled, that your highnesse may in a yery short time command thence to your service a good body of foote, I hope five thousand, if there bee timely warning, provision of victuall, and shipping sent for theire transportation, and your highness's authority and instruction given for the command of them, and for their reception and setting on worke when they are landed.

Now that I have given your highnesse this humble and cleere accompt of my hopes and feares in the service I am designed for, grounded vpon the best reason I have to judge with, and upon 579 some yeares very sad and troublesome experience of difficulties I have met with in that kingdome, when I had the command of

an indigent army, but better knowne to mee, and not lesse faithfull to the king, then that I am now goeing to: yet bee pleased to receive assurance, that I goe with all the cheerefullnesse imaginable, and that I shall employ the vttermost of my power and diligence to effect his majestye's commands, and to manifest my being

Your highness's most faithfull, humble, and obedient servant.

Haure, the last of August, 1648.

DLXXI.—The marquis of Ormond to Mr. secretary Long. Sir.

I HAUE given his highnesse the best account I am able of the cause of my stay, since I received his commands for Ireland, of the condition I am put into for my voyage, and the compassing of what I am to endeavour when I come there, of my hopes and feares therein: and I have humbly moved him for the speedy sending thither of such supplyes of money and victualls as are absolutely necessary, even to keepe the footing, that by the lord of Inchequin's good affections were are promised there. In most of those, I have forborne to say what the subject would affoord, for feare of giving his highnesse a surfett of my first dispatch; and some necessary perticulars I omitted, reserving them to bee offered him by you, when his highnesse shall find fit to take my letter into consideration, and to doe any thing upon it. And first, it may bee his highnesse may desire to know what money I haue received for this employment; and finding it not much lesse then hee was forced to content himselfe with, when hee began his iourney, if not more, hee may with greate reason believe I might rest satisfyde with it: but when you shall please to mind him how long I have stayed for my dispatch, which I was for a long time put in weekly hope to receive; how many otherwise vnnecessary persons I kept about mee, and sent for into England; how vtterly vnfurnished I and they were for such a journey; what the charge may come to for victualling the ship designed for mee, for his company and mine amounting to 200 persons; the hiring of another to carry the armes, amunition, and goods belonging to mee and my company, which the captaine of the man of warre refused to cumber his with; the expence of

my journey hither; the paying custome, even for the armes and amunition that have formerly beene discharged, and at sea; and what charge I may bee at before the wind and weather serve; with many other litle expences incident to such a journey, as impossible for mee to avoyd or remember, as it would bee vnfit to trouble his highnesse with. When all this shall bee considered, I humbly conceive his highnesse will not believe, that of 3600 pistolls, whereof 3000 onely is yet received, there can remaine much, when I am landed in Ireland, to feed mee there, much lesse to bee employde towards the releefe of the army, or the setting it forth vpon any action; which I conceive it is impossible it can be set voon without both money and corne bee sent, at least if come bee not sent. The proportion of money mentioned by my lord of Inchiquin cannot reach to provide all the necessaries belonging to a marching army, together with the needfull provisions of bread; for you will observe by his lordshipp's letter at what excessive rates come was when hee writt; and though there should have beene a harvest since, yet the weather has beene soe strangely vnseasonable here, that it cannot reasonably bee hoped but the greatest part of the graine in that kingdome, which is much more subject to ill weather, is lost; and consequently corne litle if at all cheaper then it was. Soe that whatever his highnesse shall bee able to send, I wish part of it may bee in corne, provided the other part in money may not stay 580 for it; and that whatever comes, his highnesse would bee pleased to accompany it with gracious letters to my lord Inchequin, and a declaration of the sence hee hath of his and the armie's good affections, and the care hee will have to see them encouraged and rewarded. And as I would not have the money stay for corne, soe I would not have the corne, if it may readilyer bee had, as by this time I hope the prince's credit is well improved, to stay for the money, being most necessary that that army should speedily find themselues looked after. I have beene longer vpon this point then I intended, the necessity of his highness's doeing something, and that speedily, carrying mee beyond my purpose.

Next, I desire you would offer to his highnesse how needfull it is that some ships, as many as can bee spared, may bee designed for the service of Ireland, and commanded to receive orders from mee; and that of them one may bee a frigott to bee sent vpon all emergent occasions, vpon messages to the queene, his highnesse, and elsewhere. But care must bee had that they bee victualled and provided for, soe as that they bee noe charge to vs. By meanes of these ships, if they bee sent in time, I hope to reduce some maritime townes, holding yet for the nuncioe; and much other service they may doe against Dublin, or any other place to the opposite coast of England holding for the parliament. In the last place, I desire that, by your favour, the prince may bee moved to command whatever answere hee thinkes fit to give this dispatch may not bee delayed, nor wee kept from the comfort of receiving his frequent commands; which will bee the greatest satisfaction, next to the accomplishing of them, that can come to

Your affectionate humble servant,

Haure, the last of Aug. 1648.

Besides what come the prince will bee pleased to send for the vse of the army, it would bee of greate advantage to it and the service there that marchants might bee dealt with, to bring come for the releefe of the country; for which they shall have free market, and will receive greate advantage. The ports they should come to are principally Corke, Kinsale, Youghall, Castlehaven, Baltimore, or Dungarvan, these being all in my lord of Inchiquin's power; or to Limericke or Waterford; which though they bee in the Irish quarters, wee yet believe to bee well affected. If a convoy would bee affoorded any that would vndertake it, soe the quantity they venture bee worth it, I conceive a ship were well imployde to that purpose.

DLXXII.—The prince of Wales to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

I have beene distracted with soe much busines since my arrivall heere, that I could not till now returne any answere to your letter of the last of August, which I received the 12th of this moneth. But belieuing that collonell Trafford may possibly find you in France, I thinke fitt to lett you know, that I intend immediately to send a gentleman to you with full instructions concerning all the particulars of your letter, and such other things as, I conceyue, will be necessary for his majestie's seruice in the kingdome of Ireland. I have alsoe resolu'd to send the

fleete vnto some of the ports in Munster vnder the lord Inchiquin, as soone as it shall be victualled for fower moneths, and the wages of the mariners be paid, which I hope will be speedily done; and conceyue that the fleete will then be of greate vse to you many wayes, (which is that I chiefly intend in sending of them thither.)

I shall also take care of you and that kingdome, in all things 581 to the best of my power, and will euer remayne,

My lord, your very affectionate freind,

Hagh, Sept. 1648.

CHARLES P.

DLXXIII.—The marquis of Ormond to the queen.

MADAM,

MY stay heere hath been noe otherwise vnpleasant to mee, then in the delay it hath given to the manifestation of those strong desires I have to imploy, with what hazard soeuer, my vttermost power and dilligence in the king's and your majestie's service, and in my doubts, that my endeavours therein may become less successfull in Ireland by the seuerall misfortunes that haue in the meane tyme befallen those that appeared for his majestie in England. And to these affections and apprehensions your majestie may be pleased to impute the importunityes you haue suffered by mee, and to beleeve that the difficultyes ariseing out of the condition I goe in, or out of those alterations of affaires elswhere soe extreamly to the wors, are not soe much discouragements to the cheerefullnesse of my vndertaking the service I am designed vnto; but that the assurance your majestie is pleased to give mee of your favour, and my experience of your admirable judgement to deserne betwixt willfull and necessitated faileings, and of your justice in the due aplication of successe, are incouragements that farr out-weigh them.

Sir George Hamilton hath acquainted mee with abbot Crely's discours with your majestie, tending to a reconcileing of the party in Ireland, whereof he is, with mee and those that with mee are desirous of such a peace there, as may be advantagious and safe to the nation in generall, and vsefull to the king in his present condition; and that his only doubt is, of my being able heartyly to forgiue the opposition I haue mett with from them. In which doubt I am more directly, singly, and personaly injured, then in those actions of theirs that are the ground of it, in sus-

peeting mee of such an implacability of nature, as, if I had, it would render mee the most vncharitable, and consequently the most vnfitt person in the world for the parte assigned mee. But if he will not allow mee charity, lett him but allow mee any reasonable vnderstanding and care of my owne interest, and he will finde it to be see much secured and advantaged in a generall submission to the king's authority, that it will be euident (if I could lay aside any care of the king's) I shall euen in regard to my owne, be as ready to receive it as any can be to offer themselues to it: and haueing soe done, if it weare in my will, it would not be in my power to be treacherous. For it is principally the king's, your majestie's, and the prince his honour, that will be engaged to the makeing good the conditions I am comanded, without exception, to offer to that people. If after this there remaine any scruple with him, your majestie is only able to remove it by assureing him (which you may as the greatest truth in the world) that you have absolute power to change the most rooted habitts, and entirely to guide the actions of,

Madame, your majestie's most faithfull and most humble subject and servant.

Newhauen, 25 Sep. 1648.

ORMONDE.

DLXXIV.—The marquis of Ormond to the prince of Wales.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNES;

IN my letters of the last of August, coppyes whereof, least they should have miscary'd, are heerewith inclosed, your highnes had a breefe accoumpt of mee, and of the busines designed for mee from my coming into this kingdom till that hour. when, till within a very few dayes, I have continued heere detayned for want of a smal remainder of the mony I was promised, whereof there is mention in my letter to Mr. Long. Now I stay with much impatience only for a winde, haueing this day receiued letters by an expresse from my lord Inchiquin, declareing how very much the affaires of that kingdom haue dis-improved for want of the appeareing of some authority from your highnes to give countenance and encouragement to him, his army, and such as with him are ready to receive and obey it. But he againe insists vppon the necessity of my comeing, provided in some proportion with mony for the support of his men; which necessity is certainely much enforced by soe greate an alteration

and disappointment of their hopes in the Scotts army, and in other places and forces then declared in action for the king, and since in a very greate measure suprest. And though these misfortunes weare not knowen to him or his army on the 19th of August, which is the date of his letter, and was the day, as I take it, that compleated the defeate of the Scotts army and sir Mar. Langdale, soe that it cannot be certainely knowen what effect it hath had or will have vppon them; yet, when it shall be considered that the Scotts engagement and the promiseing appeareance for the king in seuerall partes of England, weare maine arguments whereby my lord Inchiquin prevailed with his men to adheare vnanimously to him, and how much those foundations are shaken, I conceive it may by consequence cleere enough be concluded, that if, when all those foundations seemed hopefully layd, he neuertheless soe earnestly pressed for supplyes, as doubting how the affections of his army might be wrought vppon by want, or corupted by promises of releefe from the parliament, now vppon soe greate a change, and that soe very much to the worse, those apprehensions of his must be increased to a degree threatning much danger to him and mee, and (which is much more considerable with mee, as shall appeare by my goeing in the condition I am) even to the overthrow of all that could be expected by the settlement of that kingdom vnder his majestie's obedience. By this your highnes will judge how needfull it is that my lord Inchiquin and his army may finde that they are in your care, by speedy and frequent declarations expressly sent to that effect, by the tymely application of as many and as good shipps as can be spared from designes of greater importance (if any such designe there can be) to the guard and service of Ireland, which, now that Silly is declared for the king, will with more safety, and perhapps profitt, be done, then formerly; and by the seasonable sending of what proportion of mony, corne, or any vendible comodity your highnes thinks fitt, for the support and encouragement of that army: and I doubt not but that these, or some of them, coming in tyme and from your highnes, will be improoved, soe as to ballance and out-weigh those disasters that otherwyse will sinke if not turne the harts of that army, which is the ground-worke of what can be raised for your highnesse there; and that by the doubled industry those disasters will awaken in your servants, your highnesse may from

thence expect a very considerable and speedy stay to your affaires elswhere, or a hopefull begining to new actions.

I humbly aske your highnes pardon for the vnseemelynes and 583 disorder of this letter, occasioned in some measure by the bearer's hast; and to believe, as a firme truth, that I am

Your highness's most faithfull humble and obedient seruant, Newhauen, 28 of Sept. 1648. Ormonde.

DLXXV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Jermyn.

My Lord,

Newhauen, 30 of Sept. 1648.

SINCE my being ready to imbarque, the winde hath been directly oposite to my voyage, and soe continues; but if the wether comes faire, I will put to sea with any winde, least I be worse becalmed ashore, and haueing received very pressing invitations from my lord of Inchiquin, with some intimation of the disapointment of affaires there, for want of an appeareing authority from the king or prince. His letters are too long to be coppyed; but they are full of his wants, the hopes he has they will be releeued vppon my coming: and in that case he gives very greate assurances of a speedy settlement, and of all the advantages that can be expected by it. This dispatch came by one captain Dyamon, a man imployed long since to him for releefe from South-Wales, who touched at Silly, and brought with him those sent thence to the queene. He is gone hence yesterday to the prince, and carved with him letters from mee to his highnes, wherein I againe vrged the vse and necessity of sending shipps and releefe thither, by all the arguments I had tyme to put together: but they had principally relation to the advantage of my owne imployment, for what may concearne the safety of shipps, and the securest places for them to come first to. Captain Diamon, a very good seaman, and now many moneths practiseing that coast, will sufficiently enforme them. Hee tould mee that my lord Inchiquin had soe fortifyed all the harbours in his power, that noe parliament shipp could come or ride in any of them to the anoyance of any within them; and my lord himselfe tells mee as much of Corke, adviseing my landing there. But from a seruant of mine there I am tould that come is at 5l. a barrell, which is 41. more then vsualy it was at in deere yeares at this tyme of the yeare; soe that they must not think of victualling there, especially for that parte of victuall. How the country may be provided of flesh, I know not; but the captain cannot be ignorant of it. If the fleete or any parte of it come, I pray be pleased to move againe that they would not only bring with them some provisions of graine for the army, but that they would procure merchants to bring good quantytyes vnder their convoy to furnish the marketts, who will not faile to make huge proffit by it, and to returne laden with other vsefull comodityes. I am

Your lordship's faithfull humble servant,

ORMONDE.

The Silly busines seemes to be but a tumultuary riseing of the common souldier; and I feare will come to noething, vnlesse care be taken to reduce it into order by some good gouernour, and mony, with other provisions, to introduce him.

DLXXVI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Taaffe.

584

My Lord,

Cork, Octo. 6, 1648.

I could have dispensed with some of the advantage your being there will bring to the errand I came with, rather then with the want of your companie; but that I consider you are labouring in what will make that contentment more lasting.

The forces now you say are raiseing will be very vseless to that politique end pretended; for it is not the power of all that party that can enduce mee to transgresse the limits given mee, as on the other side I shall hould it a very vnseasonable tyme to dispence his majestie's grace and fauour by parcells, to the loss of the oportunity wee haue more considerably to serue him by a speedy vnion of hearts and hands against whatsoeuer disturbers of the peace or enemys to him shall be found to continue obstinate. But it is much to be aprehended, that when forces are soe hurryed together, raked vpp of all sorts of people, that they may continue together longer, and to other purposes then they weare raised; which may disappoint those good ends aimed at by vs, and that only for a vaine and fruitles ostentation. For, as I tould you, and as the assembly may know by experience, it is not the appearance of force that will mend the conditions, since

I am not ill nor partially informed of the power of the kingdom. Before I received your letter, I had written to the assembly, and appointed Carrick for the place of meeteing, being vnwilling to propose any other place, though more convenient, least it might minister cause of jealousie or produce a refusall. But now I have written to them againe in too severall letters, the one to be delivered in case my former letter be not given before this come to your hands; the other, in case it be. That which must be delivered, in case the other letter be not given, hath the word these at the end of the superscription; and the other, to be given in case the letter by the trumpeter be delivered, wants the word these. But your lordship may be pleased to deliver neither, if you observe any difficulty made of putting Clonmell into the power of such guards as my lord president shall appoint for mee; but rather lett Carrick stand for the place.

I am in English the same, and very constantly,

Your most affectionate seruant,

ORMONDE.

DLXXVII.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My Lord,

YOUR letters to mee and Jack Barry of the 3d, 4th, and 6th of this moneth, finde mee ready to goe to Yeoghall, and from thence either to Clonmell or Carrick, to receive what shall be proposed to mee from the assembly towards the settlement of those confusions, that, besides other inconveniences to mee, depriue mee of the contentment of your company. Inchiquin was gone hence towards his army on Saterday last. I hope on Thursday to meete him, and then your lordship will receive an accoumpt of your desire to have a party of the army sent you, though I hope you will rather be at leisure to affoard vs your assistance in the composure of things, soe as there may bee noething left to be done, but to perswade or compell obedience to what shall be determined. I should readyly send your lordship the authority you desire to treate with sir Charles Coote, but that wee haue not tyme to contrive it fitt for his view, if 585 that be the vse your lordship would make of it: if not, but only for your iustification, you may be pleased to be assured, that I shall readyly confirme any agreement you shall finde fitt to make

with him, in the most authentique way your lordship or he shall desire. Your lordship's questions to Jack Barry, for as many of them as are within my knowledge, or worth your trouble to receiue satisfaction in, I take vppon mee thus to answere: that your declaration vppon your takeing armes was as well approved of by the queene, as the tyme, wherein you did both, was most seasonable: that this will appeare to you by the letters I have brought with mee, and which I keepe till I haue the happyness my selfe to deliuer them to you; and that if it weare not an impertinent presumption in mee to mention my owne full approbation of those your actions, after that of the queene and prince. I should much enlarge my selfe vppon a subject soe delightfull to mee as this is; wherein I could say soe much of the honour and judgement wherewith you have proceeded: yet my affection to your service, and knowledge of your nature, would make it come more properly to others then your self, from

Your most faithfull humble servant.

Corke, 10 of Octo. 1646.

ORMONDE.

DLXXVIII.—The prince of Wales to the marquis of Ormond.

My Lord,

I HAUE receyued both your dispatches, but had written an answer to the first by colonell Trafford before the latter came to my hand. I have now sent this gentleman, Mr. Fanshaw, fully instructed in all things I have to say to you, (whom I have expresly chosen for this imployement, as a person well knowne to you, and in whome I knowe you have a particular confidence.) Hee will acquaint you that I intend to send the whole fleete into Munster, as soone as it can bee victualled and fitted for the voyage; and I intreat you to consider what port will bee fittest to receyue them, and to give order that preparation bee made for their accommodation there. I confesse I am much troubled that I am not able to furnish you with money for a seruice of soe great importance, especially when soe many concurrent ill successes elsewhere make mee thinck it most necessary to give all possible incouragement to that army vnder the lord Inchiquin. Butt I hope the fleete, which shall have direction to obey your orders for the seruice of Ireland, will in some measure supplye that want; and I have prevailed with some marchants to send

corne immediatly thither, and with some others to goe thither, vnder the conuoy of the fleete: and if the fleete meete any shipps laden with corne and belonging to English by the way, they shall have order to carrie them into Ireland. In all other things, I intreat you to give credit to Mr. Fanshaw, and to direct him in all that hee is to doe by his instructions for his majestie's service in that kingdome. And soe wishing you all happines and good successe, I remayne,

My lord, your verie affectionate friend,

From the Hague, the 10th of Octobre, n. s. 1648.

CHARLES P.

DLXXIX.—Sir Edward Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

I hope this will come timely to congratulate your safe and seasonable arrivall in Ireland, where all that haue loyall harts will, I doubt not, waite on your excellency, and ioyne with cheerefulnes in what shall concerne the peace of that kingdome and the good of his majestie's services on that side.

I have by severall letters made knowne to his majestie your 586 excellencie's constant care of your charge, how you have preferred it before your owne fortune or family; and have advertised that your excellency went over with freshe assuraunces from lord Inchiquin, that your presence would be a soveraigne meanes to reduce to his majestie's obedience; and I therefore desired the king not to be too forward to make any conclusions at the present treaty concearning Ireland, till he vnderstood truly from your lordship the condition of his affaires in that kingdome, least he parted with more in Ireland then he would by the treaty gaine in England.

I haue, in answer to my severall letters sent to the prince's court, received from lord Hopton, as a secrett, (though indeede prince Charles is soe unhappy in those about him, as little of his councells are secretts,) these very words: "That prince Charles takes greate care of the marquess of Ormonde's demands, and is dispatching Mr. Fanshaw into Ireland to his lord-ship, with assuraunce that the fleete is intended to winter there, and thence to send out the lesser shipps vppon reprisalls." The lord Willoughby being sick, prince Rupert is (I heare) appointed to be vice-admirall, to comand the fleete in cheefe;

whereas, I heare from a good hand, lord Jermyn is much disquieted.

You will, by the inclosed coppy of the king's promise, see att how deere a rate the king is content to purchase a peace for his subjects in England; and by it your excellency may gues, that his majestie will not stick at any thing he can possibly grant, to give the houses and army satisfaction and security. And yet I may tell your excellency, I much doubt there wil be no peace vpon any conditions condiscended vnto by those who now prevaile in England.

I have herein sent your excellency the freshest news I have received of these partes, where the differences are growen to such a height, as though they be for a little tyme pacifyed, yet by comparing the parliament and Parisians practices heere, with what passed at the begining of the distractions in England, I cannot possibly imagine how things can in this kingdom be accommodated without blowes. It is believed that cardinall Mazarini will returne no more to Paris.

As I had written thus farre, I received from Paris the welcome newes of your excellencie's safe arrivall in Ireland, and that you were there received with great acclamations of ioye; that the marquess of Clanricard is master of Connaght, and that Owen Roe is forced to shelter himself among the bogs: of all which I have sent to advertise the king.

I doubt not but your excellency will frequently by some meanes or other advertise his majestic of your condition in Ireland, and what probability you finde there of doeing him service, that he may know how to gouerne himselfe vpon any motion that may be made to him concerning that kingdom.

It is beleeved that prince Rupert shall goe to sea with the fleete, as soone as it's victualed, (which, I suppose, it is by this time,) and that prince Charles will winter in Holland. Of all which, your excellency will fully know the truth by Mr. Fanshaw. There are here discourses of some petty treaty with the duke of Lowraine; but little credditt is given to it, or to their councells or negotiations who are imployed in it. If that duke may be induced to supply the prince with some money, it's the best assistance that can be desired from him, who is said to be very rich.

It's hoped by some, that if the treaty succeede not, (as I am very confident it will not, because vpon a peace the army must

disband, and which the guilty men, who now prevayle, will neuer beleeue to be secure for them,) that the earle of Warwick will come in with his shipps to the prince; but I doubt his lordship hath hardly reputation enoughe among the seamen to effect such a gallant worke, and that he is not capable of being perswaded to expiate his former offences by soe noble an action; 587 though that would not only make his peace with the king, but restore it to the kingdom of England, and render him a glorious instrument of it; and if he doe it not, is like to be ouer-run againe by a Scotts faction of independents, as formerly by their presbiterians.

If your excellency will vouchsafe to let me know wherein I may here best serve you in any particular of your owne, or most advantagiously contribute to any of his majestie's services under your care, I would reddily and industriously apply my selfe to satisfy your expectation, without giving you the trouble of so many impertinences from,

My noble lord, your excellencie's most humble servant,

Caen, 120 Octobris, 1648.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

DLXXX.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Inchiquin.

My LORD,

Dungarvan, 12 of October, 1648.

I HAUE received 3 of your letters since I began my journey; but was soe vncertaine where any answer from mee might finde you, that I forbore answering them till now, that I judge it may be necessary your lordship should know my sence touching the question made to you, whither I would approve of bishop Darcy's being a treater. Which is, that to mee it will be very indifferent; rather I wish he may be, if those that motion it are confident of him, and that it be not any occasion of discontent to the army and the rest of the protestants. When I say discontent, I meane such as may draw essentiall prejudice vppon the maine of our busines; for as for discourse, I have learnt to neglect it, when it comes in competition with busines. But if the bishop proove exorbitant in his expectations in matters of relligion, it will be a greate blemish to any conclusion that shall be made without him, that hee, who hath seemeingly been of the moderate party, should declare against it. If these two objections weare removed, I have noe auersion to his being one, that is not ouer-ballanced by any reall advantage to our end.

James Butler goes hence to morrow. God send our Dublin news as true as that of Wexford. I am

Your most affectionate humble seruant,

ORMONDE.

DLXXXI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Taaffe.

My LORD,

YOUR letter mett mee this afternoone as I was vppon the way; and because it requires a speedy answer, bee pleased to receive it as it comes, disorderly and vppon a suddaine.

First, I thanke your lordship for your very pertinent and vsefull advertisement of the propositions that are like to come: to which, what my answer must be, they that know them, and haue judgment to foresee what my powers, in relation to other interests, should be, are best able to judge.

I have given my lord Inchiquin my sence of the sending a prelate, as a comissioner, to treate, with whom I wish your lordship would speake; and if the objections I made against it to him be removed, I have noe dislike of the thing, but am of your lordship's minde.

I could rather wish you not of the comissioners then of them, by reason of the greater and freer vse you may be of, both with your army and with those that are to gouerne the treators; and alsoe in regard to your selfe, though I answer for my selfe, that noe ill successe of this busines shall remove the settled affection 588 I haue for you, and dare say as much for the queene and prince. This, my lord, in breefe, is all that my sleepynesse will giue mee leaue to say. I am

Your lordship's most affectionate humble servant,

*Carick, the 13th of October,
at night, [1648.]

Ormonde.

DLXXXII.—Sir Edward Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.

[Caen,] 190 Octobris, 1648.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

SINCE my former, of the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{2}$ th present, I have receaved from a very good hand from Paris aduertisement, that it's resolued (if it alter not) that the prince shall goe for this winter to Jersey, and the duke of Yorke with the fleete to Ireland, and there to be gouerned by your directions; and that whosoever

shal be comander of Silly, which is now declared for the king, shall have command to obey your orders. I am likewise advertised, that it's not absolutely agreed that prince Rupert shall be vice-admirall, and it is conceaued that Dr. Goff's late iourney from Holland to Paris, and back againe within two dayes, was principally to prevent that designe.

The lord Culpeper hath beene lately accused in Holland to have given intelligence of prince Charles his councells and designes to those at Derby-house, which hath (I heare) put the prince Charles his affaires and councells into much distraction. How true that charge may prove, I know not; but it's most certeyne, that the queen's and prince's councells have beene a long tyme still knowne to the rebells in England, as soone as resolved on; and vntil that pernicious fault be remedied, his majestie's affaires cannot prosper, nor will honnest men wilingly mix councells where there is soe great an absence, viz. of secrecy.

I have herein sent your excellency a coppy of the king's propositions sent to the houses, which, though exceeding large, is by vote of the commons declared not satisfactory. The king (I heare) hoped his soe gracyous concessions would have had a better influence. But it's now by this very evident that nothing will satisfy the prevalent party in England; and I doubt vse wil be made of those his majestie's strange offers, only to defame him and his loyall party. It's written from good hands, that the king hath a Christian and rationall man's resolution; and that if it be possible he will have peace, at least he will doe for it as much as in him lyes. The issue must be left to the God of peace.

Cromwell is still in Scotland, and stayes there to assist in perfecting the busines of indighting a new parliament there, contrary to their lawes; and order is giuen, that none that haue bene of duke Hamilton's party shal be chosen or admitted to sitt in the next parliament there. I much apprehend, that when Cromwell returnes, the army will take the like course in England. One who is intimate with lord Digby writes to me that his lordship designs to goe into Ireland when the fleete goes.

As I had written thus farre, this honnest gentleman, Mr. Ri. Fanshawe, came to this towne, as he was going for S. Mallo to imbarque for Ireland. He will make to your excellency a full and faithfull relation of all occurrences, and of the condition of affaires in Holland and att Paris. I have failed this post of

letters from Holland, which I now expect every day; and when I shall from thence or elsewhere receaue any thing worthy your excellencie's notice, I shall imparte it to you with all freedome; but I humbly desire, that what I now or shall hereafter send you may not be knowne to come from mee. There is an accommodation for the present made vpp betweene the French king and the parliamentaries of Paris; but it's obteyned by yeelding to the populace all that they insisted on, a la mode d'Angleterre. I presume your excellency hath full advertisement of all those particulars from better hands, and therefore I shall 589 now add noe more, but that I am, without designes or interests, really and firmely,

My noble lord, your excellencie's most humble and faithfull servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Sir Jo. Wintour and his lady and daughter are gone towards England, the queene having discharged her guards, and being now begining to lessen her family. The lord Arrundell of Wardour and other papists are alsoe going for England, being full of hopes (as I heare) to have good conditions from the independants; but may perhaps be deceaved. The seige of Cremona is raised. There is very great likelihood of a peace to be concluded in the empire before Christmas, all the princes there having lately much pressed the emperor to accord to it, thoughe with some disadvantage to his imperiall majesty.

DLXXXIII.—Sir Richard Blake to the nuncio.

My LORD,

I am commanded by this assembly to lett your lordship know, that the confederate catholiques of Ireland, in their great and filliall respect to his holynesse, haueing with too great and vnexampled patience borne with the manyfold oppressions, divisions, transcendent crimes, and capitall offences your lordship hath continually, and without intermission, acted and done in this kingdome for the space of almost three yeares now past, and doth as yet continue and do therein, tending to the vnspeakeable detriment of catholique religion, ruine and destruction of so ancient and catholique nation, and the dishonour your actions and

proceedings during your nunciature in this land have endeauoured to cast upon the sea apostolique, haue necessitated this generall assembly to make their recourse to warrantable and just mediums for the preservation of that which remaines undestroyed of the greatest interests of the kingdome, by your meanes, and unwarrantable intermeddling in affaires, reduced to the lowest ebb. They do therefore lett your lordship know, that there is a declaration and protestation in preparation against you to be sent to his holynesse, importing in part the matters contained in the inclosed, whereof your lordship may be pleased to take notice, and prepare your selfe for your journey to Rome and defence against that charge there: and in the meane time, that your lordship, on the penalty which may ensue by the lawes of God and nations, by your selfe or any of your instruments, directly or indirectly, intermeddle not in any the affaires of this kingdome.

Your lordship's very loueing friend,

19 October, 1648.

RICH. BLAKE.

DLXXXIV.—Abstract of part of the charge against the nuncio.

FIRST, that his lordship arriveing in this kingdome in October 1645, hee found the confederate catholiques all united and prone to a settlement upon honourable conditions, and their quarters in great plenty, and catholique religion in its lustre exercised in more then three parts of fower of this kingdome.

2. That his lordship, in a generall assembly held in Kilkeny-castle in February 1645, and in March 1645 and 1646, in the name of his holynesse, did promise unto the confederats fower friggatts of warr, did undertake to maintaine the warr in any of the fower prouinces at his holynesse' charge, by giueing very considerable summes to that end at that time; and his lordship 590 thereupon desired the peace then to be concluded, to bee forborn untill the first of May then next ensuing, and by that time hee undertooke better conditions by his holinesse' intercession. In violation of which promise, his lordship hath deliuered no friggatt to the use of the confederats, and noe conditions yet come from Rome. And of all the said promised moneyes and ayds, his lordship imployed for the seruice of this kingdome no more then about six thousand pounds, in the service of Connnaght in summer 1646, and about fower thousand pounds the said summer

in the service of Ulster; and gott acquittances, as payd by himselfe, of seuerall other great summes of money of the publique revenue of the kingdome, and loane moneyees as yet vnsatisfyed.

- 3. That his lordship neuer gaue or tendred any accompt or information to the generall assembly or supream councell, of such money, armes, ammunition, or frigats deliuered him, or his deane, or others by his appointment, by his holynesse, or other pious princes, prelate, or persons, since he was designed nuntio to this day.
- 4. That then the said assembly, in the said months of February and March, his lordship did promise, in the name of his holynesse, to confirme cardinall Poole's bull, and dispensation touching the possessions of dissolued abbyes, prioryes, and the like, if any defect therein were; and that he was qualifyed with power so to do. In violation of which promise, his lordship gaue and procured bulls, and gaue warrants to dispossesse confederate catholiques of the possessions of sundry dissolued abbyes and prioryes, &c. And of his owne authority altered possessions from many that held ecclesiasticall liueings from the pope himselfe by bulls contrary to the said bulls.
- 5. That sitting the said assembly, his lordship, in his holynesse' name, did promise to the committee of instructions, composed of fifty or more select members of the said assembly, that no bishoprick or other ecclesiasticall lineings in this kingdome should bee disposed of in Rome or otherwise, but onely unto such as the gouernement, in his majestie's right, or other the respective patrons, should nominate or present unto. In violation of which promise, made in the name of pope Vrban the Eight, by his then minister to the supream councell, his lordship haueing accepted presentations from the councell to the bishopricks of Clonfert and Rosse, of meet and able persons, hath procured two others to be invested in the said bishopricks; and likewise his lordship hath taken upon him the sole and absolute disposition of all ecclesiasticall liveings in this kingdome, contrary to the fundamentall lawes of the land in all ages practised in the catholique times, and to the disherison of the crowne, and of his majestie's loyall subjects of their just rights and interests; and in the distribution of the said liveings his lordship most commonly maketh choyce of restlesse spirits, opposite to any settlement or gouernement in the nation, as by very many instances to be showne is to be evidenced.

- 6. That his lordship hath procured and countenanced the late generall Owen O'Neill and many others to raise arms against the gouernement, to bring great armyes neare Kilkeny, to awe the last generall assembly. Which late generall did intend to imprison, and, if need were, to kill many members thereof, and to plunder this citty; and with armyes haue alwayes sithence distroyed many thousands of the said confederate catholiques in all the parts of this land by sword, fire, and famine.
- 7. That in this present yeare, 1648, a yeare of generall jubile, in which it was most proper for his lordship by preaching, prayers, and example, to draw the flock of Christ in this kingdome to take advantage thereof, hath, by his vnlawfull and temerarious edicts and censures, prohibited divine service to be said, and caused the doores of churches, opened with the expence of the blood and fortunes of the confederates, to be shutt against them; and upon the legall appeale made by the con-591 federates to his holynesse, his lordship did proceed with great[er] violence then before, if greater could be.
- 8. That his lordship, in the month of Aprill last, approved and advised a cessation with the lord baron of Inchiquin, though a protestant, at such time as hee held for the parliament; but no sooner was his lordship declared for his majestie, then his lordship declared the cessation, made with him by the councell, to be against conscience; and thereupon his lordship, and the pretended delegats cull'd out for his purpos, proceeded to promulge excommunications against all those that would adhere to the said cessation, contrary to the trust reposed in his lordship and the pretended delegats, by the rest of the clergy who deputed them.
- 9. That his lordship thereupon departed abruptly from Kilkeny, without takeing leaue with the councell, repaired to Owen O'Neill, caused him and many thousand of others to take armes against the gouernement and their oath of assosiation; and his lordship industriously endeauoured, by great rewards and otherwise, to put his majestie's castle of Athlone into the hands of the said Owen O'Neill, then in rebellion against his majestie and the gouernement: that his lordship hath endeauoured, by his minister's resideing in Duncannon, to corrupt the captain of Duncannon, gained by the confederate catholiques against a long and chargeable seidge, and caused him, contrary to his oath of association and trust, to oppose the gouernement; and by his

instruments and ministers procured the said captain to stop from his passage the reverend father father John Roe, prouinciall of the discalceate Carmelits in this kingdome, that was intrusted by the gouernement to carry their appeale from his lordship's censures to his holynesse.

- 10. That his lordship, in the months of June, July, and August last, and alwayes since, and now, sitting this assembly, hath raised rebellions in the prouince of Connaght, and other parts of this kingdome; and continually endeauoured to betray the towne of Galway and other places of great importance to rebells and traytors, to whom he hath issued many armes and ammunition to that end: and that in the months of June and August last he hath signed decrees, whereby hee declares it lawfull to kill, pillage, and plunder his majestie's subjects, that are conformable to the gouernement, and that obeyed the said just and most necessary cessation.
- 11. That his lordship sent his edicts and excommunication unto all the armyes obedient to the said gouernement of the confederate catholiques, requiring on pain thereof no further to obey the said gouernement; and by his meanes and practises he hath procured lieutenant generall Farrell to violate his oath of association, and his particular oath of trust to the prouince of Connaght, and to adhere to Owen O'Neill, then and now in rebellion.
- 12. That his lordship hath usurped a tyrannicall and arbitrary power and jurisdiction ouer the liues, estates, and fortunes of the said confederats; as is euidenced by his edict to captain James Gough, to deliuer to his lordship certaine goods on paine of excommunication; by the bulls and warrants hee did frequently grant of temporall lands; by his nomination and appointment of gouernours of countyes, generalls, and other commanders of rebellious armyes; by his exacting of great and heavy loans of moneyes, by threats and sleights, from severall countyes, corporations, and particular persons; by his breach of publique faith, by him ingaged for the timely payment thereof; the summes taken by him, as aforesaid, amounting to many thousand pounds already knowne, and by his distribution of all, or the most part thereof, to rebells and traytors.
- 13. That his lordship hath endeauoured to compell a reverend prelate, and resident member of the supreame councell, to violate his oath of extream secrecy imposed by the generall assembly,

and to reveale the secrets of the councell to his lordship; and hath by his seuerall letters required the prelats of this kingdome 592 not to assist or appeare in this generall assembly: and when the councell sent for the prelats of the kingdome, to be satisfyed by them in the matters in difference between them, the said lord nuncio prohibited the said prelats sub pæna excommunicationis, not to repaire to the said councell, nor to deliuer any opinion in the matter of cessation.

- 14. That his lordship hath usurped an unwarrantable power to appoint such as hee thought fitt to command in the military and civill lyst of the said confederats, and to reject such of either lyst as hee thought most for his owne ends.
- 15. That his lordship issued his edicts, on paine of excommunication, to many of seuerall religious orders, that they should not obey their respective provincialls, that declared their opinions for the government, which is against the priviledge of the said orders; and in case any religious persons did deliver their conscience and opinions against his lordship's sence, and that their respective provincialls did go his lordship's wayes, that his lordship did require the said dissenting religious persons, under the paine aforesaid, to obey their said provintialls.
- 16. That his lordship did take upon himselfe the absolute and ordinary jurisdiction ouer the dignitaryes, parish preists, and curats in this kingdome, without any relation or notice giuen unto the archbishops or bishops, in whose respective diocesses they are.
- 17. That his lordship being expostulated by a reuerend prelate and a religious father, that it stood not with his lordship's honour to side with Owen O'Neill and his party against the loyall, interested, and considerable persons of the kingdome, who, if they did beare the sway, would bring euil consequence upon his lordship, and by which effusion of blood of confederates would happen in the meane time; unto which his lordship answered, that the preualent party would be accompted the best catholiques in Rome.
- 18. That very lately, sitting this assembly, the religious order of the Carmelits in the towne of Galway, takeing aduantage of the benefit of the appeale made from his lordship's said censures to his holynesse, and exerciseing their function as became them, by his lordship's procurement and directions, the said Carmelits chappell in Galway was by night assaulted, themselues abused in

their persons, and pull'd downe their bell which they rung for masse, and as yet detaine the same, and appointed two preists in the entry of the said chappell, who by force kept catholiques from masse, to the great scandall of catholique religion in the country, where there are many protestants, that by good example might be converted to the catholique faith.

19. That his lordship, by himself, and by his continuall practices, ministers, and accomplices, hath endeauoured to withdraw this nation from their allegeance to his majestie, to subvert the fundamentall lawes and gouernement of the land; and instead thereof, to introduce a forraigne, arbitrary, and tyrannicall gouernement, as by the course of his lordship's proceedings is to be undenyably evidenced. By meanes of all which, and other his lordship's proceedings and actions in this kingdome, many hundreds of churches and chappells, wherein catholique service was publiquely said, are fallen into the enemies hands. Great numbers of religious convents dispersed, whole and great countryes inhabited by confederats left wast and unpeopled, and a generall famine, unparalled in this kingdome by any age before, occasioned, and universall desolation like suddenly to ensue, if not speedily preuented.

[19 Oct. 1648.]

DLXXXV.—The king to lord Hatton.

593

Newport, Satterday, 28 Octob. 1648.

HATTON, I thanke you for the particuler and large account you have given mee by yours of the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{4}{4}$ of this month, and returne you heere inclosed as much as for the present I thinke fitt for my service, in consideration of this present treaty, which is the second alternative of your two propositions. Which though for the present it may seeme least convenient for that noble person who desires it; yet I am sure, all things considered, it is fittest for my service, and I am confident will prove as steadible to him. As for your selfe, I assure you that your not attendance on mee at this tyme was no ways caused by the least disesteemation of your person, but meerely by the conjuncture of affaires. In a word, be confident, that I am no wayes lessned in being

Your most assured, reall, constant freind,

CHARLES R.

DLXXXVI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Broghill.

My Lord,

WHEN I was in France, I had notice of your lordship's inclinations to serue the king by any power you had or could make in this kingdom; wherewith I was exceedingly satisfyed, in consideration of those advantages your person and interest would bring vnto his service, and out of the greate desire I had to be instrumentall in acquireing soe considerable an adition to the cause of relligion and monarchy, and to your owne honour in engageing with vs in it. Wherevnto I should then haue invited you, but that I was not certaine of the power I now haue to assure your lordship, that your conjunction with vs will be receiued heere with all security and honour to your person, and with whateuer other advantage you can expect from the condition wee are, or, by the blessing of God vppon our endeauours, shall be in: and for this be pleased to receiue the engagement of

Your lordship's most affectionate humble servant,

Carrick, 2 of November, 1648.

ORMONDE.

DLXXXVII.—The marquis of Ormond to the prince of Wales.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNES;

YOUR letter of the 16 of September of the stile there, I receiued by collonell Trafford on the 29th of Octo. this stile, being then entered into a treaty for a peace with the confederate assembly now mett at Kilkenny, and haueing soe farr advaunced in it, as that I had good ground to hope it would speedyly be concluded, vppon the conditions your highnes gaue mee power to giue them. But I finde it interupted by a very dangerous muteny raised in the army against it by some leading officers, who takeing advantage of my want of mony to content the souldery, and of the ill successe of those in England and Scotland that appeared for his majestie, endeauour not only to frustrate the peace, as that which would render all that should consent to it in as desperate condition as the confederates, but to encline them to a treaty and submission to the parliament. To preuent them heerein, it is held necessary by my lord Inchiquin and others, more knowing in the humors of the army then I am, and to whoes judgements I therefore agree, to delay the conclusion of the

treaty in such manner as may induce the mutineers to beleeue it 594 will be wholy waved for their satisfaction, yet with a resolution (if the army can be quieted, and the heads of this faction secured, which will be speedyly attempted) to proceed in it. This forced delay may be of ill consequence, in relation to the confederate assembly, which being now as well composed for vs, and in as good temper as wee can expect any assembly euer will be, may be see disgusted at it, as to change their present good inclinations into apprehensions that there is noe reall intention of concludeing with them, or if there be, that yet it hath but a second place in our consideration, that of contenting the army (though with the rejection of all their good affections, and the neglect of the hazards they have vndergone to manifest them) being first. This wee shall endeauour to preuent, by perswading a better beleefe of our intentions towards them in some of the most considerable and best-affected.

And though this our present condition be hazardous to my lord Inchiquin and mee, yet your highnes may be most certaine, that if wee can keepe our persons free, the fleete will not only be secure in the harbours of Corke and Kinsale, but that the coming of it soe provided, as your highnes mentions, will intirely secure this army to your service. And if there could any land men be sent in them, though but one good regiment, with a proportion of spare armes for horse and foote, but especially for horse, wee should take our condition to be soe good, as humbly to invite your highnes to the possession of the better parte of this kingdom, and in a very short tyme to the absolute comand and dispose of very considerable armys; which your highnesse may bee pleased to atribute cheefly to the dutefull affection, courage, and indgement of the lord Inchiquin.

This, sir, is all I shall now trouble you with. Vppon any alteration of affaires heere, whateuer it be, I shall endeauour to give your highnes an accoumpt of it. I remaine your

[2 Nov. 1648.]

DLXXXVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to the prince of Wales.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE;

THE lord Inchiquin haueing, as hee tells mee, given your highness an accoumpt of the condition of this army in relation to the late mutiny and the present composure of that distemper,

I have nothing to ad vpon that subject, ether to his lordship's leters, or to mine of the 27 of this month, (wherof I herewith send a duplicate): but the lord Byrons being perswaded to bee the bearer of this leter for your highness's service, wee desire it may bee ynderstood how that in all our judgements the speedy accesse of the fleete, and your highness's person also, is become soe absolutely necessary, that without both together, or that at least the fleete doe with it self bring vs assurance of your highness's resolution to come very soone after it, there appeares litle hope that this army can bee long contained from seekeing their owne security in a submission to the preualent party in England. To which I have ground to feare they will bee inuited by some of the presbiterian party, and perhaps by such vpon whoes aduices they were induced to the declarations they have made against the independents, whoe may now endeuour to make the reuolt of this army the price of their owne reconciliation and safety, and will hope to preuaile vpon it by suggesting that the lord Inchiquin endeuours to engage in the king's quarell beyond (if not flatly contrary to) the presbiterian principles; wherunto his great zeale to the restoreation of his majestie to liberty and just power in the first place may give credit. But if your highnesse ariue speedily with your fleete, that power, and the awe of your presence, joyned with the obligations 59.5 you will have layd vpon them by trusting your person with them, and laying the foundation of your fortune vpon their faith and courage, will vidoubtedly confirme such as are wauering, and give your highnesse power to mould the army into what shape you please. Thus farr of the necessity of your highness's comeing with your fleete.

In relation to this army, it remains that I humbly informe your highnes that I am now goeing hence to proceede in the treaty with the confederate party; but haueing discoursed with my lord Inchiquin and others, faithfull to his majestie, of the conditions insisted on by the confederates, I euidently finde the distance in affection, diference in interest, and consequently contrariety in desires and expectation, to bee soe great, that I haue litle hope by perswasions (which are but weake arguments against soe great and apparent hopes and feares, as will bee held forth on both sides) to bring them to any conclusion, much lesse to so confident a one as is necessary to carry on a hopefull begining, the great worke that seemes to bee reserved for your highnesse,

vpon the grounds that shall bee layd heere. Soe that if I can keepe life in the treaty, and prepare beter vnderstandings of each other in them, or but hould them from greater difidencys and auersions, till your highness's arrival, which only can produce those greater effects aimed at, it is all that is hoped for by,

DLXXXIX.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Inchiquin.
My Lord,

HAUEING read both your leters and some parte of the intelligence you sent mee, I acknowledge that I was and still am very vncertaine what to determine touching my remoone hence or stay here, and that I cannot satisfie my self in any resolution therin till I haue first deliuered my sense vpon our busines. as I vnderstand it by your lordship's information of that parte of it there, and as I am able to judge of the intentions of this people here, and till I have then received your opinion, whereunto I shall very readily conforme mine, both out of the esteeme I have of it, and for the advantage your knowledge of the disposition of the army gives you. I supose it may bee layd as a ground, that noe conclusion to bee made with the confederates by treaty can bee soe valid or effectuall as that which shall be transacted imediatly with a generall assembly of them: and I thinke it will bee noe lesse cleere, that wee cannot expect that any assembly will euer bee soe well composed for moderation as this now sitting is. Whence it follows, that now is the time to make a finall triall of what may euer bee hoped for from this people by way of agreement; for if this assemblye bee dissolued and disabled, with a beleef in them that the reason why the treaty proceedes not is, to satisfie such as would have noe peace at all with them vpon any conditions, (and that they will beleeue, if none bee ofered them,) what can bee expected but that their first worke will bee to make up the decisions which the hopes of peace hath occasion'd, and to fortifie themselues in their confederacy against future ruptures, and the ruine threatned them by any assistances they can call to them, whether foraigne or domestique? And though I could promis my self to retaine the lord Dillon and the lord Taaff, with some others, yet I doubt they will not bee able to divert the bulk of the armies and

a division in

people from those contrary resolutions to which they will bee persuaded by the clergye with more reasonable arguments then they ever vet had. Besides, I confesse I could not without much reluctancy encourage such as wee haue found active in promoteing the peace for the king's seruice, to an oposition wherin there is soe litle hope of their prevaileing, it being out of my power to assure them of a retreat if they faile. What I would shew by all I have sayd is, that if I goe hence, and ofer noe conditions, 596 there is very litle or noe hope that the Irish, notwithstanding all that can bee sayd or done, will euer bee found in soe good a disposition or posture to bee treated with. Soe that the reason for putting it of must arise from the consideration of the affaires of England, of the condition of the prince and his fleete, and of the temper of the army. In the two first, it appeares, by the intelligence your lordship sent mee, there is greater cause to despaire of then hope for an amendement. For the later, it is true, the removueall of the oficers, now endeuouring to seduce the army, may bee a meanes to secure and dispose it to reason: but it is to bee doubted, that the losse of the prince his fleete, which, it seemes, wee are to looke voon as a thing to probable. will raise at least as great auersions to peace in the remaining party, as disaffection hath done in the mutinying oficers. though, by their being cast out of the army, it should bee kept from the madnes of runing to the independents, and [continue] right for the king, I doe not vnderstand what vse can bee made of it, as to his seruice, if (being to weake of it self euen to subsist) it refuse a conjunction with the only party that can bee had to ioyne with; or if by the delay, occasioned for their satisfaction, that conjunction become impossible to bee obtained. By this your lordship may judge, that my sence inclines to endeuour to peece with these people, vpon any conditions warranted by my instructions, as soone as those refractory oficers are one way or other secured; and if those conditions bee reiected, wee stand acquited towards the king, and towards the party wee haue engaged to worke for a peace on this side, and are at liberty to shift for our selues the best wee may, to anoyd the torrent of tyrrany that now ouerbeares all. Yet, for all this is my sense, if it appeare to your lordship that any further proceeding vpon the treaty, till wee haue endeavoured the satisfaction of the army, will loose it, or such a parte of it as euidently

to endanger the losse of the portes, whereunto it is yet possible the prince of Wales his fleete may get, or some of it, I shall, vpon the next aduertisment, prepare to remoue my selfe to Corke, being as fully perswaded that these people will bee at least as vselesse towards the restoration of the king vpon their owne strength, as the army will bee barely vpon theirs. In the meane time, I shall endeuour to know the lowest degree these people will desend vnto, and put my self into the readyest condition I may for ether resolution, which shall bee taken absolutely from the aduices you please to send to

Your

I shall bee able, as sum of my friends tell mee, to keepe of their expectation of an answer to their propositions till Friday next, by which time I hope to heare againe from you.

[The 13th of November, 1648.]

DXC.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Inchiquin.

My Lord,

SINCE the dispatching of the mesenger that brought me yours of the 12 of this month, with my answer, I have considered that noe arguments will bee of force to gaine a beleef in this people of our faire dealeing with them hetherto, and of our intention to give them reasonable satisfaction in the conclusion. but to see those oficers that have given the interuption to their present setlement removued from a possibility of doeing it any more. And I shall freely confesse to your lordship, that I am very vnwilling to have any thing at all to doe with those oficers, and very litle hope of rectifying the misvnderstanding of those 597 more moderately enclined, till wee bee quit of them that have but delay'd their designe, wayting for a more hopefull opertunity of accomplishing their end; which I vnderstand to bee, to betray your lordship and mee to the independents. My opinion and desire therefore is, that since the foote are firme, the townes secured, and the horse taken of from their late designe, those oficers may ether bee imediatly sent away, or imprison'd, and others, more to bee rely'd on for their faith to the king, put into their comands: which being done, I shall put my self confidently vpon the army, not doubting but that ether I shall fairely satisfie

them, or bee satisfied by them, in such maner as to run one fortune with them. And soe, in hast, I rest

Your lordship's,

Just now I am informed that one Freeman, sent from the queene, and Mr. Fanshaw, from the prince, are landed att Watterford.

[The 16th of November, 1648.]

DXCI.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Inchiquin.

My Lord, Kilkeny, 17th of November, 1648.

FREEMAN, mentioned in my last letter of yesterdayes date, came hither late last night, and brings mee letters from the queene, from my lord Jermyn, and from secretary Nicholas. Those from the queene and my lord Jermyn referr to letters they sent by Mr. Fanshaw, who is not landed, but is howerly expected with Plunckett and the bishop of Fearnes, who have been long ready to imbarque at St. Maloes. All I can gather touching the prince and his fleete, out of all my intelligence, is, that the two fleetes lye still, expecting the euent of the treaty; that it is believed, if the treaty breake, (the king haveing offered soe much satisfaction,) that not only the prince his seamen will be more firme to him then euer; but that those, or a greate manny of them, vnder my lord of Warwick's comand, will quitt the parliament service, and iovne with the prince his fleete. And my lord Jermyn sayes, in his letter of the 5th of November, their stile, that in case of a breach of the treaty, the course mentioned in his letter by Fanshaw will be held; which I presume is to come hither: nor doe I finde any doubt made, but that it will be able soe to doe. I conceiue it possible your lordship by this winde may have heard what is becom of the treaty, which secretary Nicholas sayes was like to breake; the parliament haueing voted the king's answers vnsatisfactory, though they weare as large, if not larger, then he could give: for to my sence, he hath parted with more then his owne. I received a letter inclosed in the queenes, which, to my greate misfortune, I can make nothing of; yet I beleeue I haue the sence of it another way, and would send it your lordship; but that I dare not trust it by soe slender a conveyance.

It is heere very confidently reported, and I beleeue it, that Antrym is gone to Dublin, at least into Jones his quarters. Some say he was conveyed thither in state by 300 horse: how true that may be, I will not say. It is also affirmed, with more confidence, that Jones hath furnished Owin O'Neile with 60 barrells of powder; some say he hath received cattell in truck for it: however, the brotherly assistance is certainely given. His nephew, Rory Maguire, is kill'd in the takeing of Drumrosk, where 3 foot companyes and one horse troope weare sacrifised to his infernall ghost; for soe, without breach of charity, I may tearme his, that had the blood of inocents shed by him and for him.

Haueing read the propositions given mee from the assembly, I finde some of them new, (I meane others then those I had at Carrick,) some imposible, and very many vnreasonable; soe that, for any thing that yett appeares to mee, those dislikeing a peace will be sooner satisfyed then those that wish for it. Yet I continue still of oppinion, that it is my duty, and a greate parte of my errand hither, to offer things reasonable, and to lett the breach 598 and the inconveniencys of it (if a breach must be) to lye rather vppon this party then vppon mee. I am to make my excuse for making vse of my owne disorderly pen, whilest my secretary is imployed in the decyphering of some letters, I beleeue, of smal importance. Thus much, how vncertaine soeuer, I held needfull to send you; and soe I remaine

Your lordship's most affectionate humble servant,
Ormonde.

DXCII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord, Kilkeny, 21 November, 1648.

THE letters I received by coll. Freeman weare the only I have had, either out of France or Holland, since I landed. By letters he brought mee from Caen, I finde that a dispach of mine from Yeoghall, soone after my landing, is long since with you. I hope you have received duplicates of it another way, with an addition of what I was able to say more particularly of a muteny, then a hatching in apearance, against my proceedings with the confederates, but intentionally and principally against my lord of Inchiquin's person and mine, and for the parliament, or rather for their successe, and the consequences of it. This muteny is in effect suprest by my lord of Inchiquin's iudgement and courage, as soone almost as it was discovered by his industry and vigilence. I am now goeing to Corke, to remove whateuer ill humor may remaine in any by the infusions and false sugges-

tions of the malitious mutineers, and then to returne hither to endeauour to put an end to the treaty, whereof, notwithstanding som practises on both sides, I haue greate hope; at least I haue treated for my master with honour, freedom, and safety, my owne guards being admitted into this castle. My lord of Antrym (haueing raised an vnsuccessfull comotion, against not the king nor his ould masters the supreame councell, but as he sayes, against mee) is now gone to comand the Vlster army; wherevnto he is invited, as some beleeue, not for his conduct soe much as for his quallity, to give countenance by it to that declineing faction. Jones has given him rope enough; for soe his giveing him passage and convoy thorough his quarters, which was refused by this assembly, may prove to him; and if to him. I hope to Jones, who in his letters to London cryes out against my endeauours to bring this people to a submission to the crowne of England; and in the meane tyme furnishes the worst of Irish rebells with a wyse and valliant generall, and, as I am informed. with amunition. And it is observable, that this kindness is wrought by the mediation of the two bishopps of Clogher, and one Rely, viccar generall of Dublin; bishopp Mc Mahon and Rely haueing bin principalls in the contriuance of the rebellion; and bishopp Jones, their now correspondent, the industrious inquisitor of the blood spilt by it; wherein he finds the northerne people guilty of the greatest quantity, and particularly Mc Mahon of the death of about 14 poore tenants of the late earle of Essex: but his and their auersion to peace with the king is absolution. Mr. Fanshaw is not yet landed; soe I am in the darke as to what he brings. It hath been worth your secretary's paines to have made duplicates of that dispatch.

I am in noe better condition by the little letter the queene sent mee, wanting the cypher; but that is somewhat suplyed by that note in yours. I am not able to hould open my eys any longer, and dare not venture to send the queene a drowsy letter. Be pleased to make my excuses, and beleeue I am still

Your most faithfull humble seruant,

ORMONDE.

DXCIII.—Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond. 599
My Lord, Paris, the 27th November, 1648.

I HOPE e're this Mr. Fanshawe is arriu'd, as alsoe the gentleman that was sent vnto you with a letter from the king; of

which I have sent 2 duplicates by the way of London, according to your direction; although I begin now to be out of conceite with that conveyance, having sent 5 or 6 letters that waye, without ever hearing of the receipt of any, or indeed having receiv'd any one letter from you since your going; but onely that by the ship that caryed you, and a duplicate of the same. I beseech your excellence be carefull to give vs frequent and more particular advertisements of your condition, it being all our remaining hope of the publique, and sever'd from that, all the comfort I have left in this world in relation to my owne particular.

I have little to add at present to those former dispatches. more then that the queene hath constantly applyed her authority with the prince and his councell, to have those resolutions put speedyly in execution, whereof I gaue you accompt by Mr. Fan-But the disorders in the councell and in the fleete haue occasioned such a pernitious delay, as I doubt much whether the fleete doe still preserve either the obedience or the power to make theire wave through my lord of Warwicks into Ireland. However, the last letters say it was resolu'd to be attempted the next faire wind; which having been these dayes past, I expect by this time that a considerable party of the fleete is either lost or gott through vpon its waye to you: onely I doubt whether the duke of Yorke wil be with it or no, in regard the last letters say, that he had newly contracted a great auersion from that iourney, of which hitherto he had been very fond.

One thing I thinke necessary to aduertise you of, that prince Rupert hath sett his rest to comand this expedition of the fleete, and the councell haue complyed with him in it; insoemuch as, if it arrives safe in Ireland, you must expect him there alsoe. I hope his aime is only at the honour of carying the fleete thither through soe much hazard, and then returning to the prince; but if he haue any further designe of continuing to comand the fleete, or of remaining in that kingdom, I feare the consequences of it, knowing what aplications haue been made to him formerly, and how vnsettled and weake a people you haue there, apt to catch at any thing that's new, to interupt the course that they are brought into (I feare) with litle good affection. But I hope your excellence will, e're hee arrive there, haue soe settled and confirmed your power by the assistance of lord Inchiquin and

such of the other party as are entire vnto you, as that you will have meanes to prevent any newe disorders, and to settle the fleete alsoe in that obedience and subordination to you, without which I expect noe good from it.

I would to God I were able to give you any good accompt of successe in my constant and industrious sollicitation for supplyes of money for you. But the queene receiving not as yet any thing considerable of her pension, and lord Jermyn telling me still that the rubye coller, that is the only remaining thing that could raise mony, must be wholy applyed to the redeeming of the queene her jewells.

I can give you noe hopes of any thing but good wishes and kind words from this court. As for present assistance in consideration of leauves, the abundance of men offered at soe cheape rates in England, hath quite destroyed our treaty with the Venetians; and for France, although the disorders are appearingly compos'd, yet the indigence continues still the same. truth is, they have not a groate, nor are not likely to have, till the beginning of January. Then I believe they wil be engaged in 600 disbursing a considerable summe for leauves, since I find the prince of Condy very fond of frameing this yeare a considerable body of strangers. I doe therefore desire your excellence to lett me knowe punctually, whether, if towards the moneth of February or March I shall be able to send you ouer foure thousand pistolls, you wil be able to deliuer for the service of France two thousand men at the waters side at some port of Mounster: for I beleeve I shal be able to obtaine the rate of 2 pistolls a man, which is about what they have hitherto given. I am very hopefull alsoe, that if they heare you are in a prosperous condition, they may be willing to purchase you to theire interests, and to diuert you from the Spanish, by giving you some considerable supplye; if not, I thinke you ought to make your applications where else it may be had.

I may not conclude without representing one thing to your consideration; which is, that as soone as your affaires there shall appeare in any measure settled, you must expect to see the prince hasten to you, and with him a confluence of all his disorderly, factious, and interested company, whose ambition will vexe you out of your life, with pretensions to this and the other employment. I doe therefore aduise you, before the prince come, to be sure to fill all charges and offices there, both civill and

martiall, with those persons that you shall think the fittest to discharge and mannage them faithfully and ably, vnlesse your owne iudgment shall leade you to thinke that some persons about the prince or the queene may be really fitter for the execution of them, then others that you have allready with you. You see, my lord, how my frendship to you, and affection to the king's service vnder you, transports me to give you an advice that will draw great malignity vppon mee should it be knowen; but I am resolu'd neuer to have, out of any caution towards my selfe, the least reserve in what, I thinke, may be for your service, or an expression how entirely I am devoted

Your lordship's &c.

G. DIGBY.

This bearer, capt. Darcy, is soe well knowne to your excellencie, that I hope he will not need my recommendation; however, I cannot but giue it him, with much earnestnesse, to your fauour, for some good sea employment, when you shall have it to bestowe: I am confident he will discharge it faithfully, stoutly, and ably. We will acquaint your excellencie what good intelligence I have settled with the governour of Brest for such prizes as shall be brought thither.

DXCIV.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Inchiquin.
My Lord,

I MUST aske your pardon for deteyning your messenger thus long, but much more for returning him to you with soe insignificant a dispatch as this is like to be, thorough the vncertainty of things heere, and the small tyme allowed mee. The intelligence you weare pleased to send mee, as well in your letter as in the printed paper, is the same I had from seuerall hands out of England, with this addition in mine, that Mun Temple is not to sett foote on shore, or to com within any comand; but to treate with your lordship, or, if you will not, with some principall officers of the army at sea; that my lord Blaney is still designed for an honorable spye, and to take his tyme to betray mee, (sayes my intelligencer,) as he did my lord of Holland and that party: if he arriue, your lordship knows how to deale with him. That Browne's offer to the parliament to raise men to justify their conclusion with the king, did not, for ought appeareing, take with

them. And to conclude, that your lordship had offered, vppon conditions, to deliuer the places vnder your comand, and my person, to the parliament; and this later there was care taken should be spoaken where I might com to heare of it, and by persons likely to gaine credit: but in this their policy had failed them, that they make the transaction soe very publique, that if there could be roomé for such a jealousy in mee, that alone would be sufficient to remove it. Yet thus farr I agree with the print, that your lordship hath indeed secured mee.

The assembly are in very greate impatience for an answer to 601 their propositions, and begin to misvnderstand the most necessary questions I put to them, takeing them for delayes. They insist much beyond reason vppon the two points wherein, your lordship tould me, the army was to be satisfyed, namely, relligion, and what they call heere an intervall government. But as in that of relligion, I shall keepe mee to my instructions; soe in that other, wherein my instructions have not limited mee, I shall take all the care I can, that noe more be granted then men in their condition may reasonably expect at such a tyme as this is. I remaine

Your lordship's affectionate humble servant,

*Kilkeny, the 12 of Dec.**
ORMONDE.*

DXCV.—The prince of Wales to the marquis of Ormond.

Charles P.

RIGHT trustice and right entirely beloued cosin. By this enclosed sentence and judgment of ours you will find the just sense were haue of a late insolent and vnpardonable attempt made by sir Robert Walsh vpon the lord Culpeper; which would have beene severely punished by this state, if hee had not fledd the justice thereof. Since which tyme wee are informed, that hee is gone into the kingdome of Ireland, where, least hee should receaue any protection or encouragement as a person who hath not misbehaued himself in our service, wee have thought fitt to let you know how vnworthy hee is of any such regard, and how necessary it is that hee feele the weight of our displeasure in any parts where our interest and power is acknowledged, after his contempt of vs and our dignity in that odious act. And when the lord Culpeper was by our immediate and

positive commaund restrayned from righting himself, wee conceauing our owne honour and that of our royall father most nearly concerned; and after hee had privately lurked some tyme in these parts, and was ready to depart the countrey, hee the said sir Robert Walsh caused a scandalous pamphlett to bee printed, entituled, The Declaration of sir Robert Walsh in relation to the busnes betweene him and the lord Culpeper; full of such grosse and palpable slaunders and falshoods throughout the same, that wee are assured it cannot make the least impression in any person of honour or judgement, to the prejudice of the lord Culpeper, who, as hee hath beene highly trusty by our royall father and our selfe in affaires of the greatest concernment, soe wee must declare that hee hath alwaies discharged the same with most vaquestionable honour and integrity. And that the relation made in that impudent discourse, of a correspondence with the parliament by the lord Culpeper, is soe farre from any shadow or colour of truth, that when sir Robert Walsh was sent for to appeare before vs, to justify some reports hee had loosely scattered in cabaretts and ordinaries to that purpose, hee absented himself. And the gentleman, from whom hee pretended to have receaved his advertisement, being examined before vs what hee had said to sir Robert Walsh, and vpon what grounds, declared, that comming lately from England, hee had mett with a Norfolk gentleman, a recusant, (a person of whom wee had neuer before heard,) who wished him to remember his seruice to sir Robert Walsh, and tell him, that somebody about the prince discouered all his councells to those at London, and that hee believed it to bee the lord Culpeper: which, hee said, was all hee could say or had said to sir Robert Walsh: soe that it is no wonder if such goodly euidence made no more impression on vs. and that wee gaue no more countenance to such groundlesse aspersions, which in these tymes leave the creditt and reputation of few persons, in any trust and employment, vntraduced. wee were the lesse sollicitous to proceed in any further examination of sir Robert Walsh, (though the lord Culpeper often and 602 earnestly pressed the same,) being in a place where wee had no power to punish his license with that seuerity as was due to it; and because wee were credibly informed, that hee protested hee neuer gaue any creditt to the report, but mentioned it onely as a ridiculous and scandalous matter; and therefore wee cannot but declare this libellous pamphlett to proceed onely from the guilt

and malice of his owne heart. And our expresse will is, if the said sir Robert Walsh come into any place within your power, that you cause him to bee imprisoned till our further pleasure shall bee signified, with such circumstances of restraynt as are fitt to bee vsed towards a person who hath soe eminently misbehaued himself towards vs. And if the said pamphlett, which hee calls his declaration, (the notorious falshood of most of which is very well knowne to our selfe, and of the rest to many persons of honour and truth,) shal bee found in that kingdome, you shall cause it to bee burnt by the hand of the hangman, that it maie bee vnderstood by all men to bee a false, idle, and malicious libell, very scandalous to vs and to our honour, and published on purpose to make our councells the lesse valued and regarded. See not doubting of your full care herein, as a matter wherein our owne honour is exceedingly concerned, wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at the Haghe, the 15th day of December, in the 24th yeare of the reigne of the king our royall father.

DXCVI.—The prince's order, forbidding sir Robert Walsh the court.

VPON consideration and examination had of an insolent and barbarous attempt made vpon the person of the lord Culpeper on Monday last by sir Robert Walsh, the same appeares to bee this: that the said sir Robert Walsh, with three others, armed with swords, and one of them carrying the said sir Robert Walsh his sword in his hand, meeting the lord Culpeper vnarmed betweene his lodging and the court, saluted him civilly, and walked with him, and without any shew of passion expostulated with the said lord Culpeper concerning some words vttered by his lordshipp in councell; to the which having receased faire and ciuill answers, hee continued his walke with him, seeming onely temperately to debate the same, till on the suddayne, without giuing or receauing the least vnkind or rough word, hee gaue the said lord Culpeper a rude blow on the face with his hand, those others with him interposing betweene the lord Culpeper and his servant, and laying hands on his seruant to preuent the deliuery of his sword to his lord. All which being duly weighed and considered, his highnes doth hereby declare, that hee lookes vpon and must alwaies remember this act, committed vpon a peere of the realme of England, a priuy councellor to his royall father, and in that quality now attending his highnesse person, as the most malitious contempt of the authority of the king and his owne dignity that hath beene at any tyme committed by any person; soe that in it selfe, all other considerations set apart, it was an infamous, ruffianly act, vnworthy a person of courage or reputation, hauing in noe degree then or formerly required satisfaction: and therefore his highnes, conceauing a just indignation against him and this odious and vngentlemanly demeanour of his, doth expressly inhibit and forbidd the said sir Robert Walsh any more to come within his presence or into his court, as a man vnworthy of his highnes' countenance or protection.

And of this signification of his pleasure his highnes requires the officers of his house to take notice in such manner, that hee bee no more permitted to enter into any roome within his highness power and disposall. Dated at the Haghe, the 4th day of Nouember, 1648.

CHARLES P.

DXCVII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

603

BY the duplicates of my late dispaches to the prince of Wales, you will have found that the opinion you left mee in, concearning his not coming into Ireland vntill a full settlement of the kingdom, is soe farr changed, as now earnestly to invite him; it appeareing evidently vnto mee, that without his presence and the countenance of his fleete it will be impossible to continue this army in the resolutions they have taken for the king's service, much less to induce them to a conjunction with the Irish for the same end. Soe that all the inconveniencys that may befall vs by his coming, through division in those about him, must be (as much as is possible) preuented on that side before his comeing, as it shall be heere striuen against as much as shall lye in our power. But his speedy coming is becom soe absoelutely necessary, that it must not be delay'd vppon that consideration, nor yet for want of victual for the fleete; for if it haue but sufficient to bring it hither, wee shall be able, by one meanes or other, to put it in condition for service, prouided it ariue before the season for victualling bee past, which will bee before the later end of January.

ORMOND, VOL. VI.

Care is to be taken that noe knowledge of the little hopes I have of peace, vntill the prince com over, come to any of the Irish agents there.

In my letters to the prince when I was in France, I desired that what parte of the fleete should be imployed hither might receiue my orders; and I conceiue it soe distructiue to the service of this kingdom to have the maritime and land power diuided, that in case it be necessary, for some more important end, to dispose otherwise of the power to comand the fleete, that alsoe of governing the kingdom may be added; which I shall in noe person more readyly submitt vnto then in that of prince Rupert.

You may be sure, that whither you prevaile in procuring mony or noe, you will yet receive all imaginable satisfaction in my desires to serve you, and to be joyned with you, in whatever I am to vndertake; but I cannot be soe indulgent to my owne content therein, as not to lett you know, that without a round supply of mony I doe not finde that alacrity for your reception in this kingdom in any beside my selfe, though my lord of Inchiquin vppon all occasions expresses greate civilityes to you.

I shall take care, vppon sir Ken. Digbye's landing, that noe discovery on my parte shall hinder the recomending of him to the place you mention; but I see in this army soe much auersion to be comanded by men of his relligion, that I feare to satisfy them will be the more difficult work; wherein there shall want noe industry of mine to facilitate his way to that or to any thing els that may be of honour and advantage to him.

DXCVIII.—The prince of Wales to the marquis of Ormond. My Lord,

I RECEAUED your letter of the second of Nouember from Carrick vpon the 26th daie of December, new style, and account it a misfortune that it hath had soe slow a passage to mee; which, I know, hath beene occasioned by the great difficulty of sending from thence hither. The matter of it is of greate importance, and such as I received with full satisfaction in the care and prudence of your selfe and of lord Inchiquin; and cannot but hope, that by your wisdome and industry that obstruction of the army will in the end be overcome; and intreat you to bee as-

sured, that I will not faile to contribute all that shall be in my power to your assistance in the greate worke you have in hand.

The fleete is now ready to sett sayle, and I hope will be 604 speedyly with you; and in it there will come some land men, though not soe many as you desire; and I will endeavour to gett armes to send to you, and hope to prevaile therein; whereof I will give you an account by my next letters; and I shall be very willing to come in person into that kingdom, when I shall be advised to it by you and lord Inchiquin.

I heare a report of some letter that hath beene extorted from the king, which may be prejudiciall to his owne interest, and to the peace and vnion of that kingdom. But I rely soe much vppon your courage and wisdome in mannageing of that greate busines now in your hands, that I am confident you will not by any such letter be diverted from the course you are in, according to the comissions and instructions you have from me; being assured that his majestie wil be better pleased by your doing that which shall be necessary for his service in the settlement of that kingdom, then by obeying any letter to the contrary that hath beene extorted from him in this his sad condition and impious restraint. And for mee, I am and will continue firme to those grounds and intentions I had when I parted from you; which are expressed in the seuerall comissions and instructions I then gaue you. Lastly, I intreat you to assure my lord Inchiquin, that I have a dew sence of his extraordinary meritt, affections, and prudence in the conduct of this busines, and rely much vppon him for the good successe thereof, as by this other letter I have signified vnto him.

I wish you all happines, and shall euer remayne,

My lord, your very affectionate freind,

Haghe, January the 7th, $16\frac{48}{10}$.

CHARLES P.

DXCIX.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Hatton.

My Lord,

Kilkenny, 21 Jan. 1648.

THE pacquett your lordship sent mee by the way of Caen came safely to my hands, and very seasonably in many respects; though I could make noething of the principall letter thorough some mistake of the cypher it was in. The remonstrance of the army put a speedy end to our contestations about the conditions

of the peace; for it gaue mee and all others such horror, that wee iudged it a very vnseasonable thrift to spend tyme in disputeing about circumstances of gouernement, whilest the whole frame of it was soe neare subversion. Your lordship will be fully informed by my lord Byron of the present state of things heere, and of my sence touching the prince his speedy coming hither to take possession of good armys, and, I am confident, in a short tyme of one entire kingdom. You may please to remember, in the first letter you had from mee, I professed against cerimony, I shall therefore conclude very heartyly with my being

Your lordship's faithfull humble servant,

ORMONDE.

DC.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Digby.

My Lord, Kilkenny, 22 Jan. 1648.

THE peace is at length concluded, and that, I think, cleerely within the powers I had. I must say for this people, that I have observed in them a greate readynes to comply with what I was able to give them, and a very greate sence of the king's sadd condition. I am most confident, if wee can but receive moderate countenance and assistance from abroade, this kingdom will very spedyly be in absolute subjection to the king's au-605 thority, and ready powerfully to assist any designe that may be for his restauration in both, or either of the other.

Jones and those with him are in greate want, and in noe less aprehension that their best men will desert them; as I am, vppon the matter, sure they will, if I can but gett early into the feild. From Owen O'Neile there came more men than wee wish or dare trust, and my lord of Antrym signifyes noething; yet he proposes for himselfe conditions for a conqueror. Mony, and that but a little, if joyned to the prince his presence, with an vndeuided councell, and a contracted retinue, would infallibly end the matter heere.

I finde the French offers for men very meane, and perhaps their dis-esteeme of any aydes or prejudices from hence are the cause wee are noe more considered; but if wee haue leaue, (which certainely the queene, in justice to vs that are thus deepely engaged in her cause, will not refuse vs,) wee shall, and indeed must very speedyly, lett the contrary appeare: and soe much I have freely tould the French resident, who is vppon his voyage for France.

I have not tyme nor matter for a longer letter, my lord Byron goeing charged with larger dispatches to the prince, which he will shew the queene. I am constantly

Your most faithfull humble servant,

ORMONDE.

DCI—The marquis of Ormond to the prince of Wales.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESSE;

THE articles of peace lately concluded here will shew, that your highness's comands in that particular are obey'd; and if you shall please to looke vpon my instructions, I hope it will bee found that they are not (if at all) materially transgressed. I shall only mention, that wee met with many difficultyes in the transaction of it, to doe right to those by whoes assistance they are ouercome. First, by the remarkeable constancy of the lord president of Mounster on the one side, and then by the very eminent loyalty of the assembly on the other; nether of which were shaken by the successe God hath permited the monstrous rebellion of England, nor by the mischifeous practice of noe lesse malitious rebells heere: soe that, I presume, your highnesse may bee confident, that the English army in Mounster, and the Irish armys of Mounster, Leinster, and Conaght, together with all the citys subject to those armies, will readily submit vnto this peace, and cheerefully engage against all that shall opose it. And it is hoped, not without some ground, that those of Dublin and other English garrisons, as also the partys left vnder Owin O'Neile and the marquis of Antrym, if any hee haue, will adhere to the justice of our cause; or if not, that they may bee speedily reduced. That which would in all probabillity perfect the worke of this kingdome, were, that your highnesse would giue strength and reputation to our endeuours by your presence here, furnished as well with mony for your owne suport, and of all other necessarys for warr, as your highness can procure; not that your highness's person, without those asistances, or any of them, will not bee most cheerefully received, and your commands most faithfully obey'd. But in case your highnesse can bring noe other suply, then that of your owne conduct and authority which is it wee most value; that then your highnesse, considering

the pouerty of this kingdome, and the necessity of aplying all it is able to beare to the suport of the warre, may bee pleas'd suteably to contract your charge. If it did appeare to mee that there were any place or party in England or Scotland not entirely subdued by or adhereing to the rebells of England, I should not venture to inuite your highnesse soe farr from the 606 more vitall parte of your hopes; but that not appearing to mee, I humbly begg your pardon, that I aduise your highnesse would not discourage many hearts and hands here, already declared and armed for your interest, by the delay of your presence with them, depending vpon vncertaine expectations of the rising of other partys, which you may perhaps bee deceiptfully put in hope of, to preuent your comeing hether; or which may faile, or bee presently suprest by those that are both watchfull and strong rebells. The rather, that being here, you are not much further from the intelligences and corespondences your highnesse may haue in ether of the other kingdomes, but in some respects nearer; and that the reputation of your being in the head of strong armys may give encouragement to those that remaine faithfull to his majestie to atempt vpon all opertunities to appeare for him, and to your highnesse power to second them with good bodys of men, and, when you shall judge fit, by your person. Your highnesse may bee pleas'd to give credit to my lord Byron, whoe I have stayd here thus long after his purpose to atend you, to bring your highness knowledge of the conclusion of the peace, and of some other things judged necessary for your seruice. I remaine.

[22 Jan. 1648.]

DCII.—The marquis of Ormond to lord Jermyn.

My Lord, Kilkeny, 24° of January, 1648.

BY the articles of peace and other papers sent by the lord Byron for her majestie's consideration, you will be enformed of the present state of affaires heere; and by the coppie of my letter to the prince, your lordship will find my sence of his comeing hither. Soe that there remaines very little matter for a letter; yet you may please to receive this short collection out of all: that all the armyes and townes, except those possessed by Jones, and the party vnder Owen O'Neale, wee reckon vpon as ours: that these armyes will bee about 15,000 foote and 2500 horse: that the country is soe wasted by the incursions of Jones and O'Neale, and by the want of good order in the armyes that are right, that the best care that can now bee taken of it will not recouer it to a degree to be able to doe much more then to keepe the army in quarters; and that consequently, for action in the feild, (which, if early vndertaken, will probably bee successfull,) wee must looke vpon your endeauours that are abroade to furnish vs in the best proportion you are able, as well with money as with ammunition, and what other necessaryes for warr you can possibly procure.

Wee are heere in very greate paine by reason of our ignorance of what hath passed in England since that desperately wicked remonstrance of the army, which, whatever mischeefe it may doe, hath yet done this good, that it put vs quite of from all disputes vpon the nicetyes of conditions, and was noe small cause of the speedy and, I hope, happie conclusion of the peace. I beseech you, my lord, remember, that wee are heere put forth vpon a troublesome adventure, and let vs not want the comfort of your frequent advices, and, if it be worth it, of your approbation of our endeauours. And lett me haue the greate satisfaction of being assured that I am still beleeued to bee, as I really am.

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

ORMONDE.

DCIII.—The marquis of Ormond to the prince.

607

SIR.

I have received your letter of the 21st of January, and the other by prince Rupert, touching whom your highness's commands have met with most ready inclinations in me to honour and serve him, even separate from all other obligations, then those his own virtue and favour to me have bound me by. And if any there be that shall make it their design to beget any misunderstandings in me of his highness, they will quickly find their art misapplied. My fear is, that such may endeavour to find out fitter subjects to prevail on amongst those that are but newly returned to their obedience, and that have either natures more pliable to such impressions, or something of their past carriage that may make them more easily wrought on to mis-

doubt their safety in the increase of your highness's power. And of this I already find beginnings here, and among the late confederates, whereunto some advantage is given by the indiscretion of those of the king's party lately arrived. And though I doubt not but that the endeavours of the prince and my lord Inchiquin will prove effectual to the prevention of any ill effect of such workings, and that I am certain my utmost industry shall not be wanting to the same end; yet I can never be assured that we are past the fear of a relapse into the disorders we are but now coming out of, till your highness shall please to honour us with your presence, and that by your command we be all orderly set about your work in those stations and within those limits you shall judge fit to give us.

Sir, I have been constrained, for want of force, or means to raise or keep any dependant only on the king's authority in me, and for obtaining such a peace as might not only settle and reduce the English army in Munster and the confederate party to his majesty's obedience, but also work in them (after a long and bloody war) those mutual confidences necessary for the successful carrying on your highness's designs, to subject his majesty's just power (much against my will, and not without some violence upon my own nature) to compliances agreeable with neither. And this also is a reason why your highness should hasten over betimes to redeem the king's authority from that slackness towards it that may otherwise gather strength by a too long continued indulgence. I remain, &c.

Feb. 1648.

ORMONDE.

DCIV.—The marquis of Ormond to the marquis of Clanricard.

My Lord,

YOUR letter of the first of this moneth came to mee to Corke, as I was returning hither. My intention was to have returned your lordship an answer to all the partes of that dispatch that could there receive answers at Yeoghill, but a few miles of that towne I was mett by sir Piercy Smith, full of the inhumane tragedy acted vppon the king by the execrable rebells in England. The greefe, horror, and amazement of this barbarous action tooke vpp for some tyme all my thoughts and facultyes; and the first I could recover or recollect, I thought due to the fittest wayes and manner of proclayming the king; and

vppon the best advice and consideration I could take, I conceiued it better to doe it after the manner your lordship will finde in the short proclamation now sent you, then, in a tyme of soe much distraction, to stay for calling of a grand councell of the peers, whereof many are necessaryly imployed in those ser- 608 vices that must make this or any other proclamation effectuall. I wish I may meete with such publique and disinterested determinations in others, as those are that enduce your lordship to devest your selfe of that comand, to which euen that resignation, besides many other preheminencys, giues you much title. How farr forth it may be made vse of, I yett know not; but I am sure it shall be only for that advantage you propose, or not at all.

The bishop of Fernes and Mr. Plunckett are designed to goe, as they call it, to parte fairely with the nuncio. I hope it is to noe other purpose; and in confidence of it, I have given Mr. Plunckett, besides my consent to the journey, comission from mee to tell the nuncio, that if he will now at parteing take of his excomunication, and dispose the people to an absolute obedience to the peace and the king's authority, he will fully retribute for all the divisions and the evill consequences of them, both to the king and country, which he hath been the occasion of; and that thus doeing, he will not only receive all possible civility from mee heere and vppon his departure, but that I shall make a very advantagious mention of him to the queene, whose distressed condition will certainely gaine some creditt to her at Roome, if it be not worse then London.

And all this your lordship may please, with what addition or alteration of wordes you thinke fitt, to confirme to him, either by your selfe, or whome you shall iudge convenient to imploy to him.

All the other particulers of your lordship's dispatches you will be pleased to receive an accoumpt of by George Lane; only in generall, I may tell you, care shall be had of them. I am

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Carrick, the 17 of Febr. 1648.

ORMONDE.

My lord president has prevailed with mee to consent he may have the hounds.

DCV.—The marquis of Ormond to colonel John Barry.

Cousin,

IT weare to be wished that the murther of our king, and slauery threatened to all men by soe bould a villanny, had that impression in other that is in you and mee; then I should hope, that to free vs from that thraldome, and to reuenge soe execrable an action, men would lay aside interests of gaine and ambition more then I can finde they doe. However, my resolutions are, to beare euen beyond my nature, and that I think is farr, with all sortes of men, and that in their most vnreasonable and irregular pretentions, and to promote that worke to which I have vowed the remainder of my life, and intend to entayle, vnder a curse, to my posterity, if they slaken in it. I haue (which keep to your selfe) by an original of the inclosed, invited coll. Jones to a conjunction with mee, and my lord Inchiquin hath seconded it. O'Neile shall want noe aplications proper for him, nor any satisfaction that may consist with the doeing of our worke.

The Scotts in the north are ready, vppon any countenance of force, to act considerably against these hel-hounds; and, I beleeue, they will be incouraged out of England. The only rubb that can be is the cursed couenant, touching which, (though noe earthly consideration shall euer make mee take it,) I will constraine my selfe to a complyance with it. I am not certaine whither, from a generall rendezvous I meane to haue of the Mounster forces, I shall goe to Lymerick or noe. The reason is, some doubt that is made of their reception of mee without some limitation of my traine and guards; and I would be loath to be compelled as yet to resent affronts: but of this you shall know more if you come not to the rendezvous, as I desire you should.

I wishe you more happyness in your new honest vocation 609 then this age promises to any that is soe, and remaine

Your affectionate cousin and servant.

Carrick, 17 of Feb. 1648.

ORMONDE.

DCVI.—The marquis of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

VNTILL the receipt of your excellence's dispatch of the 17th this afternoone, I was desirous to flatter my imagination with some hopes that the sad newes of the most odious and horrid murder comitted vpon the person of the king had bin false, though severall waves related to me with much apparence of But now that all expectations of comforte is quite cut of, I know not how to express the perplexity and astonishment I am in, not only for the fatall losse of soe excellent a person, and our soueraigne withall; but that I canot keepe it backe from my present apprehention, that the maior parte of that kingdome, ether through private disgusts, self-interests, or pussillanimity, haue bin coniuing, or in some sorte accessary to this impiety; and that by consequence, as farre as one may presume to search into God's secrett judgments, England, the head of our monarchy, is like, at least for some time, to proue the most contemptible, vnfortunat, and abject nation within our knowledge; and those that are dependants of it, (to speake with moderation,) not soe free from improvidence, and want of timely forecast to preuent this fatall stroake, but that they probably may be subject to some vnhappy destiny, though in a less proportion. whose consciences are cleere haue only this consolation left, according to your excellence's late mouing expressions, that if they must fall, it is with a flourishing monarchy, and that they suffer with opprest princes.

I should continue confin'd to these sad contemplations, did not the spirit of reuenge, due to the memory of our late greate master, and my duty and zeale to the seruice of his royall and most hopefull successor, stirre me vp to offer at somthing conducing to both those ends; and what hath occurred to my present observation I have indevoired to digest into severall heads heer inclosed, that I may receive your commands with more ease to your excellence and cleernes to my owne vnderstanding, together with some additions that this letter hath in charge humbly to represent vnto you.

Notwithstanding the inclosed intelligences of O'Neill's advance into these parts, which are not however to be sleighted, I have received some kind of oblique intimations from him of his desire, if he knew it would be acceptable to me, that I would be a

mediator betweene your excellence and him; and that he was vet timerous to make suite for any personall addresses to you. by reason of many violent aduersarves, through whom he must necessarily pass vnto your excellence. I have made answere, that if he thought fitt to write vnto me, or send any person of quality authoris'd by him, I would give a returne with as much ciuility and sattisfaction as lay in my power. If he shall pursue this course, I humbly desire your excellence's speedy resolution and instruction how I am to proceede in this busines, and whether you will admitt of any personall meeting betweene vs; which seemes to be likewise desired by him. In the meane time, I shall presume to offer my humble aduice, that, as affaires now stand, it would be of greate aduantage to gaine him; or if that be not agreable to your lordship's judgment and observation, I am cleerly of opinion, that, before you ingage your self in any other designes, he ought to be prosecuted with all the forces 610 that can with expedition be drawne together; his craft, the vnsetlednes of many men's dispositions, and the bussy working of a violent party of the cleargy, makes any delay dangerous: espetially the Franciscans, who have lately held a chapter in the county of Cauan, contrary to the orders of the late generall assembly; and for preuention of such scandallous proceedings, I send your excellence a copy of a late letter of mine to some of the prelates; wherin, if I have bin more large in my expressions then agrees with your excellence's intentions, or the formality of state, yet, all things consider'd, I conceiue it was not very improper to come from me to them at this time. The copy of my letter to the nuntio I have not heere, coming in some hast yesterday from Loghreagh; but the effect of it was, and that by the aduice of some of the prelates, that a multitude of barbarous destructive people had taken armes in this province, giving out, that they were of Owen O'Neill's party, and received inuitation and incouradgment from his grace; and desired to know whether he would owne any such scandallous and rebellious proceedings; if not, that for his owne iustification, and the preuention of the ruine of many poore inocent people that might be destroyed by them, he would be pleased to sett forth a publicke declaration against them. His answere I have not yet received, and am informed that he shipped much of his goods vpon Friday and Saterday last, and meanes to departe imediatly. But I must confess I am somwhat hard of beleefe, he still continuing his

former violent proceedings, as Tom Trafford can more at large informe your excellence, having had a full view of him when he was in his spendor at Gallway; and by that time the bishop of Ferns and the knight of the golden spurre ariues, who must pass by me, I shall indevoire to observe your excellence's commands the best I am able concerning him and their negotiation with him.

I find, by my lord Bermingham, that ether your excellence or some other from you hath given him incouradgment to expect the master of the ordinance place, or muster master generall, and was not vnwilling to have me put your excellence in mind of it. He is certainly a very honest, noble, and vsefull person, and very worthy of your excellence's reguard.

Amongst the many that expects preferrment, ould captaine Thomas Leicester hopes that you will not forgett him, your excellence, as he tells me, having formerly lookt vpon him with a fauerable countenance. He aimes at the prouost marshall's, or muster master's place of this province: he was, without question, a most desarving servitor, both in the former warres and in these more searching times; is very able, and fitt for ether imployment, and yet not likely to keepe it long from others, and hath in present no imployment.

I vnderstand, that by the new establishments of the army the lieutenant generalls and maior generalls of prouinces will be put downe. Maior generall Taaffe is a very gallant and discreete person, and carefull and knowing in his profession: if it may be possible, it will be a very just and noble act in your excellence to find some fitt imployment for him.

Hauing now, I presume, fully tired your excellence, both with reading and importunityes in the behalf of others, inforced vpon me, it is time to hasten to the conclusion, that is, to represent me to your excellence in the quality and condition of

Your excellence's most faithfull humble servant,

Portumna, the 20th of Feb. 1648.

CLANRICARDE.

611

DCVII.—General Digby to the marquis of Ormond.

O MY DEARE LORD!

I AM seised with such astonishment and horrour with this morning's dismall newes, that my trembling hand cannot without

greate difficulty performe this sad office of acquainting your excellence with the king's beeing beeheaded on the 30th of the last stilo veteri, the perticulers whereof your excellence will receiue at large in the prints. After sentence pronounced, the warrant for execution was signed by Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Prid, Huson, and one whose name is not come to us. From the creation to the accursed day of this damnable murther, nothing to parallell it was euer heard of.

Euen the crucifying of our blessed Sauiour, if wee consider him only in his humane nature, did nothing equal this; his kingdome not beeing of this world, and hee, though as unjustly condemned, yett iudged at a lawfull tribunall. Since then this is to horrid an action to bee sett forth in its true colours, and neuer to bee sufficiently lamented, may all teares for his majestic bee dried up in such an indignation as may enflame all honest hearts to a noble vengeance of so inocent a suffering; wherin a firme beleife that your excellence is designed by Heauen to bee a glorious instrument possesseth the heart of

Your excellence's most deuoted and humblest seruant, Caen, February 21, 1648. John Digby.

DCVIII.—The marquis of Ormond to Mr. Rich. Fanshaw.

SIR, Carrick, 21° Febr. 1648.

I HAUE little to add to those remembrances sent by my lord Byron and those now offered to your care. I doe not well remember what it was I writt to you from Yeoghall, touching the king's goeing into Scottland, nor haue you sent mee a coppy of that letter, as I desired and still desire you would, as I think my opinion was, that vnless the king resolue intirely, and without reserve, to give himselfe and his people vp to the covenant and presbitery, he would not, uppon any pretence of a possibility of moderateing it, goe into Scottland. And truely, what I have since heard of Argile's being in power there, and of his inciteing Crumwell, when he was in Scottland, to the tryall of the king, giues mee greate aprehensions of the king's danger, euen in case he resolue a full complyance with the most rigid couenanters. But in this I presume his majestie will receive very cleere and impartiall light from my lords Lanerick and Latherdale; yet my duty will not permitt my silence in such high concearnements. I

offer some of these remembrances to his majestie only in case he come not hither in person; if hee doe, (which, meerely in relation to his interest, I pray he may,) it will be easyly discerned there how many of them are to be considered before his comeing. If you can assist my wife for her transportation, I doubt not but you will, and send her this inclosed letter. I am

Your faithfull freind and servant,

ORMONDE.

612

DCIX.—The marquis of Ormond to king Charles II.

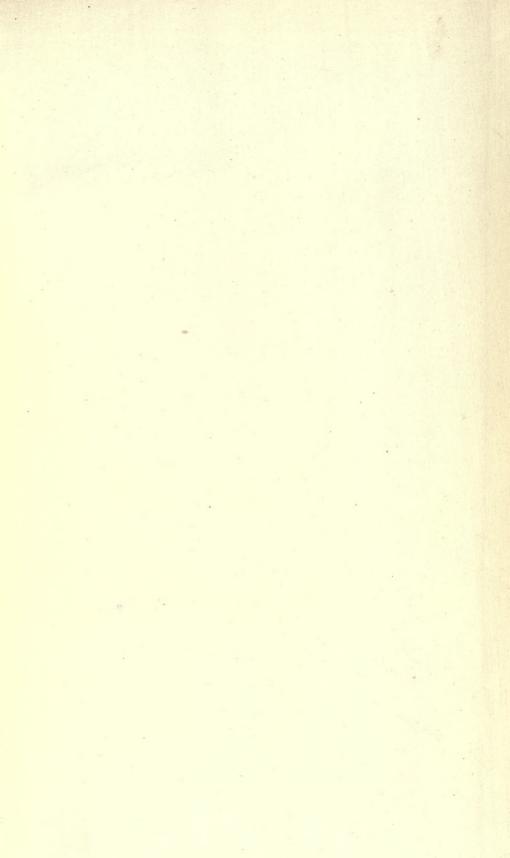
MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

THE death of your royall father and my gracious master, as it is a subject for deepest greefe and amazement in all, soe the maner of it requires an vnusual duty from the world, and more especially from your majestie and all your subjects, whoe haue bin by soe insolent a treason depriued of the best king that ever ruled, your majestie's gouernment, whoe only are like to equall and surpasse him, being yet vnknowen to your people. This duty is a justice vpon the inhumane parricides, proportionable, if this world can afforde it, to their vnparrellell'd villany. To which end, together with my most humble and hearty acknowledgement of your majestie's succession, I ofer at your feete my life and the vtermost of my endeuours. The bearer, Mr. Fanshaw, will informe your majesty in the state of affaires here, and ofer vnto you the desires and humble opinion of

Your

[February 21, 1648.]

THE END.





DA 940 •5 0703 1851 v.6 Carte, Thomas
The life of James, Duke
of Ormond New ed.

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

